National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

National Capital Region History Program
Northeast Capital Parks—East

"Willing to Sacrifice"

Carter G. Woodson, the Father of Black History, and the Carter G. Woodson Home

HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY
THE CARTER G. WOODSON HOME NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

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WOODSON HOME NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY

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PREPARED UNDER COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT WITH
THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS

National Park Service
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One of the most inspiring and instructive stories in Black history is the story of how Carter G. Woodson, the Father of Black History, saved himself for the history he saved and transformed.

The skeletal facts of his personal struggle for light and of his rise from the coal mines of West Virginia to the summit of academic achievement are eloquent in and of themselves . . .

For in an extraordinary career spanning three crucial decades, the man and the history became one — so much so that it is impossible to deal with the history of Black people without touching, at some point, the personal history of Carter G. Woodson, who taught the teachers, transformed the vision of the masses and became, almost despite himself, an institution, a cause, and a month. One could go further and say that the systematic and scientific study of Black history began with Woodson, who almost single-handedly created the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (now the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History) and the prestigious Journal of Negro History. *Not content with these achievements, he ventured into the field of mass education, creating annual Black history celebrations.*

What makes this so remarkable is that Woodson created these cultural monuments largely by his own efforts.

—Lerone Bennett Jr.,
"Still on the Case: Carter G. Woodson, Father of Black History"
(February 1999)

Preface

The aim of this generation should be to collect the records of the Negro and treat them scientifically in order that the race may not become a negligible factor in the thought of the world.

—Carter G. Woodson, 1939

Do not wait until the last moment to prepare for Negro History Week. The time is nigh at hand. Secure the necessary literature at once and begin to plan immediately to demonstrate to the community what you and your coworkers have learned about the Negro during the year. For free literature write to C. G. Woodson, 1538 Ninth St., N.W., Washington, D.C.

—Carter G. Woodson, 1940

This Historic Resource Study is about Carter G. Woodson (1875–1950)—his life, work, contributions, and legacy—and the historical evolution and significance of the Carter G. Woodson Home National Historic Site, located at 1538 Ninth Street NW in Washington, D.C. From 1922 until 1950, this three-story Victorian-style row house served as the thriving headquarters for the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH) and Associated Publishers, Inc., as well as Woodson's modest "office home." The nucleus of the early black history movement, the house represented a black historical, cultural, and intellectual hub for the vibrant Shaw neighborhood (dubbed "Black Broadway"). In a tribute to Woodson as "the father of black history," The Residence of the Phyllis Wheatley Y.W.C.A. (901 Rhode Island Avenue, Washington, D.C.), referred to him using a house metaphor: "We deeply appreciated having known Dr. Woodson, who was truly 'The House by the Side of the Road.'" After earning a Ph.D. in history from Harvard University in 1912 during an era of widespread Jim Crow segregation, Woodson, his ASNLH co-workers, a diverse group of black scholar-activists, and other contributors to the early black history movement (spanning 1915 to 1950) promoted the study of African Americans' past and published a significant body of historical scholarship on Afro-diasporic and African American history. Woodson and his colleagues challenged racism in U.S. popular culture and the ivory towers of the American academies, laid the foundations for the rigorous scientific study of African American history, and, equally important, were committed to teaching and popularizing black history throughout black communities. Woodson's actions, and those of his co-workers, foreshadowed the motto of the National Council of Black Studies, "Academic Excellence, Social Responsibility." An extraordinary organizer and motivator with a herculean work ethic (an eighteen-hour workday seemed routine for him), Woodson was a quintessential educational reformer and innovator who used history as his vehicle for generating far-reaching social and cultural change.

The central figure in the early black history movement, Woodson was born to the former slaves James Henry and Eliza Riddle in New Canton (Buckington County), Virginia, on December 19, 1875. Though they were landowners and homeowners, the Woodson family was similar to many other poor landowning blacks and sharecroppers. As a child, Woodson grew up on his father ten- to twenty-acre farm, and, like many black youth who came of age

during the immediate post-Reconstruction period or "the nadir" (1877 through the early 1900s), he attended a rural school for only about four months out of the year. At the dawn of the 1890s, he hired himself out as a farmworker and manual laborer and drove a garbage truck in Buckingham County, Virginia. In 1892 Woodson moved to Fayette County, West Virginia, to work in the coal mines. While working in the mines, he met a black Civil War veteran named Oliver Jones, who introduced him to books by pioneering amateur, self-trained black historians such as George Washington Williams, J. T. Wilson, and W. J. Simmons.

At the age of twenty in 1895, Woodson moved to Huntington, West Virginia, to live with his parents. He attended Frederick Douglass High School from 1895 to 1896, and in the fall of the following year he ventured to Berea College in Kentucky. Before receiving a bachelor of laws degree from Berea on June 3, 1903, he educated the children of black miners at a school in Winona, West Virginia, (receiving a teacher's certificate in May 1901), and from 1900 until 1903 he returned to Frederick Douglass High School to teach history and serve as the principal. From mid-December 1903 until early February 1907, Woodson worked in the Philippines for the U.S. War Department. Woodson then traveled around the world to Africa, Asia, and Europe, spending roughly half of a year in Europe. He briefly attended the Sorbonne and studied European history. After returning from Europe, Woodson enrolled at the University of Chicago and in the summer of 1908 he received a master's degree in history, romance languages, and literature. Woodson then enrolled at Harvard University as a doctoral student. In 1909 he left Cambridge and settled in the Washington, D.C. area teaching first at Armstrong Manual Training School and then at the prestigious M Street High School, where he taught French, Spanish, English, and history.

After earning his doctorate from Harvard University in 1912 at the age of thirty-seven, Woodson, who "was almost nineteen before he had learned the fundamentals of reading, writing, and arithmetic," published his first book, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861* (1915) and established the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH). The association—which he co-founded in Chicago on September 9, 1915, with George Cleveland Hall, James E. Stamps, and Alexander L. Jackson—resolved that they would collect records pertaining to black America's past and disseminate the truth about African American history. In 1918 Woodson published his second major monograph, *A Century of Negro Migration,* and became the principal of Armstrong Manual Training School, where he advocated vocational and classical education and inaugurated an adult education program. From 1919 until 1920 he served as the dean of Howard University's School of Liberal Arts, and from 1920 until 1922 he served as a dean at West Virginia Collegiate Institute. In 1921, while he was a dean at Howard, he published his third major monograph, *The History of the Negro Church*, wrote an unpublished manuscript, "The Case of the Negro," that was rediscovered in 2005, and founded Associated Publishers, Inc., the first major scholarly press for research on black history. After founding the ASNLH, he also became active in black organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the National Urban League, the Friends of Negro Freedom, and the Committee of 200. A scholar-activist, Woodson at times consciously strove to separate his radical political philosophy and black liberation ideologies from his scientific scholarship.

During the early 1920s Woodson was what we call today a "multitasker." He was directing the ASNLH, editing a journal, and managing Associated Publishers, Inc. In 1922, Woodson resigned from his position at West Virginia Institute and decided to commit his

life to the ASNLH. On July 18, 1922, he purchased a three-story, late-nineteenth century Italianate-style row house in Washington, D.C., located at 1538 Ninth Street, NW that became his personal residence, the office for the Associated Publishers, Inc., the epicenter for the early black history movement, and the national headquarters of the ASNLH until the early 1970s. Beginning in the early 1920s, Woodson wholeheartedly devoted his life to maintaining the association; publishing scholarship on black American and Afro-Diasporic history; training young black scholars; democratizing and popularizing the study of black history; and to speaking out for blacks' civil rights. The 1920s were "golden years" for the association. During this decade he received thousands of dollars from the Carnegie Foundation, the Julius Rosenwald Foundation, and from three Rockefeller trusts. These funds allowed him to sustain the association and to hire young black scholars who produced corrective and pioneering historical and sociological scholarship. From 1922 until 1929, Woodson was prolific, publishing four articles in the *Journal of Negro History* and numerous books. By the early 1930s, after white philanthropists withdrew their support from the association, Woodson relied on black communities throughout the country to maintain his organization's activities, revolutionized the American historical profession, and democratized the study of black history by extending the discipline to various groups of nonprofessionally trained scholars.

After launching Negro History Week, Woodson spoke at countless elementary and high schools and at the graduation ceremonies for many HBCUs. For instance, in Detroit in February 1935 he addressed "more than three thousand persons" and in 1942 he challenged more than 2,500 delegates of the Georgia Teachers Educational Association at Sisters Chapel of Spelman College to "'start leading and stop misleading our young people.'"[1] Woodson's 1947 Founder's Day speech at Virginia Union University was celebrated. According to Dean Gordon B. Hancock, who dubbed Woodson "the high priest of Negro history," Woodson offered a "brilliant and timely" message as "a glowing example of constructive leadership." Hancock noted, "He [Woodson] did not spend time disparaging other Negro leaders and their philosophies; he did not say anything that would further confuse the already confused minds of Negro youth; he did not try to build himself up as the only trustworthy Negro leader by trying to tear down all others; he did not leave the students with more fears, doubts, and qualms because he had addressed them." Hancock added that Woodson defended Booker T. Washington from those black leaders who viewed the Tuskegeean as the "epitome of Uncle Tomism."[2]

During the 1930s and 1940s, Woodson routinely and candidly spoke out about the various challenges facing black America in articles in the *Negro History Bulletin* and in essays and columns in leading black newspapers such as the *New York Age*, the *Pittsburgh Courier*, the *Afro-American* (Baltimore), and the *Chicago Defender*. While Woodson had controversial opinions since the founding of the ASNLH, he did not extensively publicize such views before severing ties from white philanthropists in the early 1930s. By the early 1930s, when the ASNLH was more independent, Woodson more readily showcased his iconoclastic leanings. In numerous thought-provoking essays, Woodson, as he did in *The Mis-Education of the Negro*, played the role of a critical social commentator unrestricted by the standards of scientific

1 Cliff Mackay, "Teachers Urged By Dr. Woodson to Adopt More 'Realistic Approach,'" *Atlanta Daily World*, April 17, 1942, p. 1.

2 Dean Gordon B. Hancock, "Between the Lines," *Los Angeles Sentinel*, March 13, 1947, p. 7.

history or the mores of the traditional U.S. historical profession. He spoke his mind in no uncertain terms and addressed countless contemporary subjects, including Negro History Week, the ASNLH's work, segregation, education, the Great Depression, the black church, black businesses and economic nationalism, politics, antiblack violence, and, of course, the plight of the "highly-educated Negro." At one point a self-proclaimed radical who asked African Americans to become more radical and defended black communists, he was considered a leading black historian, scholar-activist, and public intellectual of the Jim Crow era.

Responding to Thomas Jesse Jones's allegations that the ASNLH was "a 'radical' organization opposed to interracial cooperation," in a 1935 essay in the *Atlanta Daily World* Woodson provided a rare direct description of his role in the black struggle for liberation. "It is evident, then, that an organization which does not take orders from the self-constituted bosses of the race must be killed," Woodson proclaimed, "It is not yet clear, however, why the founder of the association should be a 'radical.' He does not attend indignation meetings to pass resolutions. *He believes that the Negro should struggle for political recognition, economic opportunity, social equality, and every other kind of equality which others enjoy: but he believes in keeping with the teachings of history that these things can be obtained only by actual effort in the development of worth which will bring these privileges without the asking.*"[3]

Woodson died suddenly from a heart attack on April 3, 1950, and is most widely recognized in American, specifically African American, academic and popular cultures for many pioneering and enduring accomplishments, including founding the (ASNLH), the *Journal of Negro History* (now the *Journal of African American History*) in 1916, Associated Publishers, Inc. in 1921, and the *Negro History Bulletin* in 1937; authoring numerous books, journal articles, newspaper columns, and countless book reviews; mentoring generations of African American scholars and historians; educating, in the words of the *Chicago Defender*, "hundreds of thousands of students in thousands of schools the world over;" and creating Negro History Week in 1926 that in the immediate post–black power era developed into what we celebrate today as Black History Month, a concrete, modern manifestation of the successful, though at times commercial popularization of African American history. He was, simply put, a black history institution builder.

Woodson's "office home" was crucial to the success of his early black history movement. Though walking around Washington, D.C., was one of his favorite pastimes and he traveled extensively, Woodson spent a great deal of time at 1538 Ninth Street, NW between 1922 and the day of his death. He died peacefully in his bed on the third floor of his home. In the January 1958 volume of the *Journal of Negro History*, under the heading "Historical News," Woodson's disciples challenged the misinformation printed by *Ebony Magazine,* stressing the importance of the *deeper meaning of home* to their deceased leader:

> *Ebony Magazine* for February 1958 p. 27 contains the following regrettable sentence: "He had no home of his own, lived in rented lodgings as a boarder or ate out in restaurants." A sentence similar to this appeared in *Masses and Mainstream* for June, 1950. Both were fragrantly untrue and ridiculous! Dr. Woodson owned his home at 1538 Ninth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., where he lived the last 30 years of his life and died. His meals were prepared to order at the Phyllis Wheatley

3 Carter G. Woodson, "Opposition and Indifference to Racial History is Explained," *Atlanta Daily World,* August 14, 1935, p. 2. [Emphasis added.]

Y.W.C.A. a half-block away! Moreover, he owned a 9-room home in Huntington, West Va., where his surviving relatives still live.[4]

Woodson's "office home" played a vital role in his mission to promote the scholarly study and popularization of black history. It housed the Associated Publishers, Inc. and served as the base of operations for the *Journal of Negro History*, the *Negro History Bulletin*, and the ASNLH. Woodson wrote and dictated to his secretaries and stenographers numerous books, letters, memos, announcements, and essays in the comfort of his office home. Important figures of the early black history movement visited the association's headquarters and during the ASNLH's annual meetings held in Washington, D.C., in 1917, 1919, 1920, 1925, 1929, 1933, 1937, 1942, and 1949 the "national office," as Woodson routinely referred to his office home, was probably a very busy place. The Executive Council of the association certainly met there on more than a few occasions. The office home also functioned in other practical capacities. Books published by the Associated Publishers, Inc. and issues of the *Journal of Negro History* and the *Negro History Bulletin* were stored in the basement along with other important documents. In his annual report for 1941, Woodson noted: "The Association . . . has on hand in its fireproof safe in the national office an additional 1,000 or more manuscripts which will be turned over to the Library of Congress as soon as they can be properly assorted. These manuscripts consist of valuable letters of the most noted Negroes of our time: Francis J. Grimké, Charles Young, Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, and Richard Theodore Greerer."[5]

Equally important, the association's headquarters was in charge of overseeing association branches throughout the country and disseminating Negro History Week supplies. Branches routinely corresponded with the "national office" and Woodson conceived of the branches as being "of service to the national office." Woodson received hundreds of letters at at his office home from schoolteachers, children, and others requesting resources dealing with black history and offering their suggestions for Negro History Week. Routinely in the *Negro History Bulletin*, Woodson advertised the ASNLH's headquarters as a clearinghouse of free information on black history and encouraged his readers to write to him. Under headings such as "Negro History Week Literature Available Free of Charge" and "Negro History Week Literature Still Available," Woodson portrayed his office home as being a free reference bureau. In the *Negrp History Bulletin* in February 1940, Woodson announced:

> Some Negro History Week materials may still be obtained free of charge by writing Carter G. Woodson, 1538 Ninth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. The demand has been so great that new supplies have been printed at the expense of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. This increasing demand is due to the fact that whites as well as Negroes are celebrating Negro History Week throughout the country.[6]

4 "Historical News," *Journal of Negro History,* 43 (Jan. 1958), 82.

5 "Annual Report of the Director," *ibid*., 26 (Oct. 1941), 420.

6 "Negro History Week Literature Still Literature," *Negro History Bulletin,* 3 (Feb. 1940), p. 72.

Five years later, Woodson reiterated his offer, encouraging those interested in black history to take advantage of the resources housed at 1538 Ninth Street, NW.

> Literature for the celebration of Negro History Week, beginning February 10 and continuing through the 17th, will be available the first of December. Posters and information in other forms will be distributed free of charge. Send to the office of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History your plans that you may have the fullest cooperation. The address is 1538 Ninth Street, N.W., Washington 1, D.C.[7]

Woodson took great pride in noting that black history movements throughout the country were guided "under the stimulus and direction of the national office." Six months before he passed away, Woodson highlighted the importance of the "national office" as an informational outreach center. "Research is the most important concern of the Association," Woodson noted in his annual report of 1949, "When it is not working on any special project of its own it is, nevertheless, busy helping others thus engaged. Calls for such assistance from graduate students and their professors come daily to the national office."[8]

This study is designed to serve as an accessible narrative and resource guide for National Park Service managers, historians, archivists, planners, and cultural resource specialists to interpret, historicize, and publicize the significance of the Carter G. Woodson Home national historic site; Woodson's life, accomplishments, and philosophy; the early black history "mass education movement" that Woodson pioneered; and Woodson's overall contributions to U.S. and African American history and culture. Serving as a guide to refurnishing, interpreting, and historicizing the Carter G. Woodson Home and the resource management involved therein, this study strives to assist in documenting this national historic site and informing contemporary and future interpretations of Woodson's life and legacy. Though straightforward and free from excessive scholarly jargon and theoretical formulations, this Historic Resource Study incorporates a diverse range of sources in reconstructing the story of Woodson's life, work, and home, including the available wealth of primary sources and scholarship on Woodson and the early black history movement that he spearheaded. To provide an intimate window onto Woodson's "intricate" disposition, I explore his co-workers' numerous published and unpublished recollections of "the Father of Negro History." In highlighting the significance of the Carter G. Woodson Home, I draw on scholarship on the black community of Washington, D.C., the historic Shaw neighborhood, and theories in spatial history as well as the articles, legislation, government documents, and structural studies on the Carter G. Woodson Home generated from the 1970s through the present.

Without reservations, I admit that I am a Woodsonian scholar and historian. If I had been born during "the nadir," under certain ideal circumstances of course, I would have attempted to join the ranks of his "boys." I am a lifetime member of the ASALH, "the fruit of his conviction."[9] At the same time, rejecting hagiography and striving toward historical objectivity, I acknowledge and recognize that above all else Woodson was a human being and a "complex, many-sided man." Described by a 1930 editorial in the Baltimore newspaper *Afro-American* as "the strange Harvard bachelor whose only true love has been his

7 "Negro History Week Celebrated February 10–17, 1946," *ibid*., 9 (Dec. 1945), p. 71.

8 "Annual Report," *Journal of Negro History,* 34 (Oct. 1949):, p. 384–85.

9 "Carter G. Woodson," *Negro History Bulletin,* 17 (Oct. 1953), 24.

devotion to historical truth," Woodson himself acknowledged his peculiar personality. In the mid-1920s he confessed to Lorenzo J. Greene before hiring him: "'I suppose you have heard, Mr. Greene, that I am eccentric, that I do things in fits and starts."[10] Woodson was, however, no "ordinary" person. In the process of validating his people's past, he left deep imprints on the walls of American culture. The historian Charles H. Wesley (1891–1987), who followed in the footsteps of his mentor by becoming the third African American to earn a Ph.D. in history (at Harvard University in 1925) and had his fair share of drama with Woodson, perhaps contextualized Woodson's significance best in his 1951 essay "Carter G. Woodson—As a Scholar."

> We are almost too close in time to present an accurate view of Carter G. Woodson among scholars. The measure of the achievement of one whom we consider as a great scholar can be made with completeness not only by his work but also through the critical and creative achievements along similar lines of a subsequent generation of scholars. These scholars draw upon his discoveries and conclusions and build paths leading to truths. Smoller, the German historian, has stated that "History is in league with genius." In other words, as the nation and the people pass along the years, the individual and his work grow the greater. Then it becomes difficult to separate fact from fiction. The lives of the great men of American History have been of this pattern of developing halo and glory. Men and women who are often discounted or regarded as average persons develop with the passing years into those who are greater. Truly, in this respect, history is in league with genius.
>
> This fundamental principle of our history makes itself manifest in the life and career of Carter G. Woodson. However, in his case we do not have to wait for the years to place him among the scholars, although we do not know how the future will rank all his historical writings. The discovery of new historical materials, the re-interpretations and the re-writing of history have led to re-appraisals of many a man's work. Nevertheless, we can now make our appraisal, with certainty, concerning Woodson. We do not have to ask for the fictionist, the poet and the builders of dreams to create his greatness. He has been a builder of his own monument.[11]

"Willing to Sacrifice": Carter G. Woodson, the Father of Black History, and the Carter G. Woodson Home, NHS is written with the conviction that the information it contains and the Woodson Home—an example of African Americans' "living history"—can play an important role in properly contextualizing Woodson's contributions to American history and civilization while helping educate the American public about African American history, an often-marginalized ingredient of the American experience.

10 Lorenzo Johnston Greene, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson: The Man As I Knew Him," folder 1, box 92, Papers of Lorenzo Johnston Greene, Manuscript Division (Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.).

11 Charles H. Wesley, "Carter G. Woodson—As a Scholar," *Journal of Negro History,* 36 (Oct. 1951), 12.

Introduction

If a race has no history, it has no worth-while tradition, it becomes a negligible factor in the thought of the world, and it stands in danger of being exterminated . . . In such a millennium the achievements of the Negro properly set forth will crown him as a factor in early human progress and a maker of civilization . . . Must we let this generation continue ignorant of these eloquent facts?. . . Let truth destroy the dividing prejudices of nationality and teach universal love without distinction of race, merit or rank.

—Carter G. Woodson, "NEGRO HISTORY WEEK," 1926

On March 23, 1945, Carter G. Woodson wrote to Lorenzo Johnston Greene, one of his understudies and the driving force behind the early black history movement in Missouri, praising him as "one of the few who appreciate the objectives" of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH) and who was "*willing to sacrifice* something to attain these ends."[1] Embracing and embodying this self-explanatory and demanding "willing to sacrifice" mantra, Woodson wholeheartedly surrendered his life to the struggle of establishing, popularizing, legitimizing, and advancing the serious study of African American history from the founding of the ASNLH on September 9, 1915, until his sudden death on April 3, 1950. As underscored by the sentiments cited at the outset of this introduction, Woodson believed that disseminating knowledge of black history in black and white communities was an essential ingredient in the struggle for African American historical recognition and in reforming the master narrative of American history that widely and often systematically, denied, marginalized, and underappreciated the African American historical experience.

"Although he purportedly had several romantic and long-term relationships with women" and once "proposed marriage to a young lady" sometime between 1903 and 1907, Woodson remained a bachelor throughout his life.[2] "As a man with a cause, he was wedded only to his work and declared that no woman could stand his rigid regimen," the pioneering Woodson biographer Sister Anthony Scally ascertained in 1985, "He lived in two rooms on the top floor of the Association's office on Ninth Street, where the basement was used as a warehouse for books. His dedication to the work of the Association absorbed him totally."[3] In remembering his mentor during the black power era, the physical anthropologist and Distinguished Professor of Anatomy at Howard University College of Medicine W.

1 Carter G. Woodson to Lorenzo Johnston Greene, March 23, 1945, folder 8, box 74, Greene Papers. (Emphasis added). Woodson used the phrase "willing to sacrifice" elsewhere. See, for example, Carter G. Woodson, "Early Negro Education in West Virginia," *Journal of Negro History* 7 (Jan. 1922), 51.

2 Jacqueline Goggin, "Introduction," in *A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of Papers of Carter G. Woodson and the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1915-1950,* ed. Daniel Lewis (Bethesda, 1999), xi. According to Goggin, in the early 1920s Woodson "purportedly" had a relationship with Alethe Smith, one of his secretaries. According to Lorenzo J. Greene, Woodson told him that he had been in love with at least one woman, but he did not marry because it would have interfered with his work. According to Marion Pryde, Woodson proposed to a woman named Ursula who refused because she did not want to relocate to the Philippines. Greene also said that Woodson once told him that he was in love with a woman and considered marriage.

3 Sister Anthony Scally, *Carter G. Woodson: A Bio-Bibliography* (Westport , 1985), 12.

Montague Cobb corroborated Scally's observations: "Dr. Woodson had no aversion to the ladies but he never married. He said he could not afford a wife. He even cautioned me against over-doing it in my earlier years, saying, 'You have a wife and children, Dr. Cobb, and you can't live like I live. I am a coal miner and I can take almost anything.' . . . His bride was truly the Association and to her he left is worldly goods and his files."[4]

While working as an ASNLH researcher during the Great Depression, Greene had a similar exchange with Woodson. "One day I told him it was a pity that he never married, that he should have a son to carry on his work," Greene recalled, "'This is my offspring,' he [Woodson] replied, 'my intellectual child.'"[5] In a 1933 essay in the *Pittsburgh Courier* Woodson explained why he never married and advised others dedicated to black history like himself not to: "I have never married because, if I had done so, in my indigent circumstances my wife would not have a husband. When I began the work of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History in 1915 I realized that I would have a hard struggle . . . I had to take the vow of poverty; and I did not proceed very far before I ran into so many unexpected difficulties that to continue the effort I had to take also the vow of celibacy . . . With the exception of twelve or fifteen dollars a week which I spend on myself and a smaller amount I give to a widowed sister, I turn back into the work all money which I can obtain . . . To be married under such circumstances would be out of the question, for I find that some of our modern women spend more than this amount in a moment for cigarettes and drinks."[6]

In inducting Woodson into their Hall of Fame in 1958, *Ebony* may have oversimplified Woodson's complex and multifaceted character, but they were on the right track in emphasizing that he "had only one consuming interest in his lifetime: the resurrection of the lost history of his people." For more than three decades, "it was his custom to devote virtually every waking hour to research, writing and editing. Nothing else mattered" and he "came close as any man can to being an island 'intire of itself,'" an island, it must be added, that was frequently visited by inquisitive intellectual tourists in search of black America's past.[7]

No other individual has contributed as much as Woodson did to the evolution of African American history as an academic field of study, a conduit for American educational reform, and a vehicle of black psychological and cultural liberation. As Lorenzo J. Greene surmised during the black power era, "At the risk of seeming irreverent, what Paul was to Christianity, Woodson was to Negro History."[8] Indeed, as the site manager for the Mary McLeod Bethune Council House and the Carter G. Woodson Home, Robert T. Parker recently told a reporter for *National Parks*: "There would be no African-American history without the pioneering work of Woodson."[9] The Woodson Home was designated a national historic landmark on May 11, 1976, and on December 19, 2003, Public Law 108-192 authorized the National Park Service to acquire the building to incorporate it as a national historic site. The three-story, Victorian-style row house located at 1538 Ninth Street, NW in

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4 W. Montague Cobb, "Carter Godwin Woodson," *Negro History Bulletin,* 36 (Nov. 1973), 155.

5 Greene, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson ," folder 1, box 92, Greene Papers.

6 Carter G. Woodson, "Carter Woodson Tells Reason Why He Never Married," *Pittsburgh Courier*, Jan. 7, 1933, p. A2.

7 "Newest member of Hall of Fame: Honor Goes to Historian Carter G. Woodson," *Ebony,* 13 (Spring 1958), 26–27.

8 Greene, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson."

9 Ethan Gilsdorf, "Historic Highlights: Where Black History Began," *National Parks*, 82 (Summer 2008), 58.

Washington, D.C. that Woodson signed the sales contract for on July 18, 1922 served as his "office home" and the national headquarters of the ASNLH, the center of operations for the early black history movement for close to three decades, and a monument to the work of a self-made man.

After decades of struggle to formally memorialize Woodson's contributions, on June 10, 2003, the Hon. Eleanor Holmes Norton, now in her ninth term as the Congresswoman from the District of Columbia, spoke passionately at the hearing before the Subcommittee on National Parks of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, United States Senate (108th Congress, First Session), emphasizing in no uncertain terms the profound significance of the Carter G. Woodson Home.[10] Evoking Woodson and the collective spirit of generations of black historians, in her prepared statement she declared:

> Mr. Chairman, I dare to say, there is not a Member of the House of Senate who does not commemorate in some way Black History Month annually in her state or his district. Yet, the home from which Dr. Woodson did his outstanding work here stands boarded up, as if to mock these celebrations. The Woodson home is a historic site because of the work that was done there and the influence of Dr. Woodson on American history and historiography and because his work helped bring changes in American attitudes concerning black people and ultimately changes in the legal status of American-Americans in our country . . . With the bill before you, an architectural landmark would be saved and preserved and the nation's pride and purpose in celebrating Black History Month would no longer be marred by neglect of the home of the founder of the commemoration and of the study of black history itself . . . Out of his Ninth Street home, Dr. Woodson trained researchers and staff and managed the organization's budget and fundraising efforts while at the same time pursuing his own extraordinary discoveries in African-American history. The three-story Victorian style house . . . served as the headquarters of ASNLH into the early 70's, well after Dr. Woodson's death in 1950. However, it has been unoccupied since the early 80's, and today, it stands boarded up and badly in need of renovation. The walls inside the house are crumbling, there is termite infestation, water seeps through the roof during heavy rainstorms, and the house also constitutes a fire hazard jeopardizing adjacent buildings. This house is a priceless American treasure that must not be lost.
>
> Passage of the Carter G. Woodson Home National Park Site Establishment Act of 2003 would not only honor a great American scholar. It would continue Dr. Woodson's seminal work of helping Americans to discover and appreciate their own history. Again, I appreciate your work, Mr. Chairman, in moving the bill toward that destination.[11]

Simply put, Woodson's modest "office home," as Willie Leanna Miles dubbed the Ninth Street residence, was symbolically and actually one of the most important

10 For information on Norton, see http://www.norton.home.gov/. (accessed on November 15, 2008).

11 "Statement of Hon. Eleanor Holmes Norton, Delegate from the District of Columbia," *Hearing Before the Subcommittee on National Parks of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, United States Senate, One Hundred Eighth Congress, First Session on S. 499, S. 546, S. 643, S. 677, S. 1060, H.R. 255, H.R. 1012, S. H.R. 1577, June 10, 2003* (Washington, 2003), 5-6.

autonomous spaces for African American cultural, scholarly, and intellectual activism and production during the pivotal era of Jim Crow segregation. It embodied the heart and soul of the early black history movement. Between 1922 and 1950 from his Shaw neighborhood home, Woodson and the ASNLH orchestrated what L. D. Reddick deemed a "mass education movement."

Bearing the title of one of Woodson's mottos, this NPS Historic Resource Study, seeks to serve as a straightforward yet nuanced and complex narrative and resource guide for National Park Service managers, historians, archivists, planners, cultural resource specialists, and the interested general public to interpret, understand, and contextualize the fundamental historical, cultural, and spatial significance of the Carter G. Woodson Home (the base of operation for the ASNLH from late August 1922 until 1971); Woodson's life, accomplishments, philosophy, and legacy; the early black history "mass education movement" that Woodson pioneered; and Woodson's overall contributions to U.S. and African American history and culture.

Central to this study is familiarizing readers with why Woodson has been called "the father of black history"; unraveling Woodson's "intricate" personality based largely on the recollections of those who knew him best; highlighting the importance of Woodson's home as an early black history movement center; unearthing Woodson's relationship to the home, the Shaw neighborhood, and the District of Columbia; and, as an exercise in spatial and public history, exploring how the use of the Carter G. Woodson Home has evolved over time (primarily from 1922 until 2005 when the NPS purchased the home). To help reconstruct Woodson's persona, throughout the chapters of this study I analyze and cite what Woodson wrote in more obscure essays in black newspaper articles that previous scholars have not acknowledged. In particular, this study is the first to draw widely on important, revealing commentaries that Woodson published in the *Atlanta Daily World*, the *Los Angeles Sentinel*, and the *Norfolk Journal and Guide*. This study has been specifically prepared to assist in documenting this national historic site and informing contemporary and future interpretations of Woodson's life and legacy. Rooted in a variety of historical and historiographical research methodologies, this study is also multidisciplinary, synthesizing a range of historical and African American Studies approaches, theories, and analytical tools.

In the mid-1980s, the committed ASNLH worker and (by 1981) the head librarian at the Carter G. Woodson Library, Sister Anthony Scally remarked, "Anyone writing about Carter G. Woodson discovers how difficult it is to find accurate materials."[12] Several important book-length studies on the ASNLH founder have been published since Scally's observation.[13] Acknowledging and contributing to these efforts, this Historic Resource Study incorporates a wide range of materials in reconstructing the story of Woodson's life, work, and home, including the available wealth of primary sources and scholarship on Woodson and the early black history profession and movement. As a historian and polemicist, Woodson was prolific. This study draws from available archives and paper collections, Woodson's numerous publications (monographs, anthologies, journal articles, book reviews,

12 Scally, *Carter G. Woodson*, ix.

13 For a thorough assessment of the scholarship and popular writings on Woodson, see Pero Gaglo Dagbovie, *The Early Black History Movement, Carter G. Woodson, and Lorenzo Johnston Greene* (Urbana , 2007), 15–43.

and newspaper columns), as well as essays and articles in *The Journal of Negro History* and *The Negro History Bulletin* by and about Woodson. To probe the evolution of Woodson's iconoclastic nature and worldview, I analyze many of Woodson's commentaries, essays, and columns in leading black newspapers and magazines, especially the *Chicago Defender*, the *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, the *Atlanta Sentinel*, the *Atlanta Daily World*, the *Pittsburgh Courier*, and the *New York Age*. In reconstructing Woodson's "intricate" personality, I revisit his co-workers' numerous published and unpublished recollections. In contextualizing the significance of the Carter G. Woodson Home, I draw on the scholarship on the black community of Washington, D.C., the historic Shaw neighborhood, and various articles, legislation, government documents, and structural studies on the Carter G. Woodson Home. Ultimately, I hope that this Historic Resource Study informs its readers about Woodson's importance in U.S. history in a clear and straightforward manner and helps transform the Woodson home into an influential teaching tool.

Chapter 1, "Carter G. Woodson (1875–1950) and the Development of the Black Historical Enterprise," explores Woodson's life from his birth in New Canton in New Buckington County, Virginia, on December 19, 1875, until his sudden death on April 3, 1950. This chapter not only overviews the fundamental dimensions of Woodson's life and accomplishments but also contextualizes his contributions within the broader evolution of the black and U.S. historical professions. I delve into Woodson's early years from 1875 until earning his Ph.D. in 1912; Woodson's place in the black historical profession during "the nadir," especially his status vis-à-vis George Washington Williams, W. E. B. Du Bois, and other writers of black history during what William Banks has identified as the "formative years" of the black intellectual from approximately 1865 until 1915; the flowering of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History from 1915 until Woodson's death; the contributions of many of Woodson's co-workers, highlighting Mary McLeod Bethune's role as president of the ASNLH from 1936 until 1952; the meaning of Woodson's death; and Woodson's overall contributions to the early black history movement.

Chapter 2, "Woodson's Life in the Nation's Capital and the Woodson Home," focuses on Woodson's and the Association's work emanating from Woodson's "office home" that he purchased on July 18, 1922. By 1922, Woodson decided to devote his life to the Association, establishing its headquarters at 1538 Ninth Street, NW. He resigned from his position at West Virginia Collegiate Institute and moved permanently to D.C. where he firmly established the ASNLH. For the next twenty-eight years, he devoted his life to maintaining the association; scientifically studying and documenting black America's dynamic past; training a cadre of black historians; democratizing and popularizing the study of black history; and tirelessly struggling for equal rights and social justice for his people. By the early 1930s, Woodson had severed ties from major white philanthropists and depended on the black community to support the ASNLH's activities. The following questions help frame the focus of this chapter. What were the factors that influenced Woodson to purchase the home at 1538 Ninth Street in Washington, D.C.? How did the Ninth Street office differ symbolically and actually from the previous association headquarters in terms of structure, function, spaciousness, and location? In what ways did he use his "office home" as a base of operations for the ASNLH? What was Woodson's life like in the District of Columbia, what were his church affiliations and religious views, how was he molded by his surroundings, and how did he influence black life there? What role did the Woodson home play in the Shaw

neighborhood, referred to as "Black Broadway," and in the broader black intellectual and scholarly community throughout the nation? What happened to Woodson's "office home" in the years following his death?

Chapter 3, "'Because of his selfless dedication to the work of the Association': Negro History Week, Woodson's 'Mass Education Movement,' and *The Mis-Education of the Negro* (1933)," showcases how Woodson and the ASNLH democratized and popularized African American history among black youth, the middle class and the working class primarily from the founding of Negro History Week in February 1926 until February 1950, two months before Woodson's death. Though a meticulous scientific historian who did not devote much scholarship to abstractly philosophizing history's meaning, Woodson's role as a popularizer of black history from the Ninth Street association headquarters was equally as important as his contributions to rigorous black historiography. The ultimate pragmatist, Woodson decided that the most effective way to run the organization was out of his personal residence. He woke up in near his desk and office and retired in his workplace. Why did Woodson create Negro History Week and how did it impact blacks, and to a lesser degree whites, throughout the nation? How did the Negro History Weeks of Woodson's time differ from the post—black power era Black History Month celebrations? What types of extension services did the ASNLH engage in during Woodson's reign as association director? How did Woodson's home serve as a center for outreach education? What was the role and function of the *Negro History Bulletin,* founded in 1937? What was Woodson arguing in *The Mis-Education of the Negro* and why is this book most widely associated with his worldview and legacy and still considered a classic in black intellectual thought?

Chapter 4, "Chipping Past Woodson's 'forbidding exterior': 'The Father of Negro History' Remembered,'" unearths Woodson's relationships with other black scholars and his co-workers by highlighting how his co-workers, employees, colleagues, and disciples recalled him and their experiences with the association founder. Exploring the recollections of Woodson's friends and co-workers is very important to reconstructing Woodson "intricate" personality. Woodson was complex; remembered by different people in different ways. As Lorenzo J. Greene noted, "it is virtually impossible to evaluate a personality as intricate as that of Dr. Woodson," few "really knew him." Only Mary McLeod Bethune and Nannie Helen Burroughs called him by his first name.[14] A host of questions help frame the purpose of this chapter. What types of relationships did Woodson have with his "boys," other black historians, and his ASNLH co-workers? How was Woodson remembered by his colleagues, co-workers, disciples, and friends? How do the published commentaries on Woodson after he died, especially those featured in the Journal *of Negro History* and the *Negro History Bulletin*, differ from those published in journals such as *Phylon* and *Masses and Mainstream*? What is the value of unpublished reminiscences, such as Lorenzo Johnston Greene's "Carter G. Woodson: The Man As I Knew Him," in reconstructing Woodson's "intricate" personality? The recollections of the following diverse group of people are featured: Lorenzo Johnston Greene, W. Montague Cobb, Langston Hughes, Alrutheus A. Taylor, W. E. B. Du Bois, William M. Brewer, Rayford W. Logan, Nannie Helen Burroughs, Benjamin Quarles, Arnett Lindsay, Dr. McConnell, John W. Davis, the attorney Louis Mehlinger, Miss Dorothy Revallion, Mary McLeod Bethune, Charles H. Wesley, Jessie H. Roy, L. D. Reddick, John

14 Greene, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson."

Hope Franklin, Adelaide M. Cromwell, Willie Leanna Miles, Marion J. Pryde, Florence J. Radcliffe, Mary Pearl Daugherty, and Ann Gardner.

The "Conclusion" is broken down into four parts. One, I reflect on how this study enhanced my knowledge of Woodson. I also address elements that I would have liked to have incorporated into this study if I had had more time and, more importantly, if the research conditions were ideal. Two, I offer suggestions and recommendations for how the Carter G. Woodson Home could help visitors in my estimation best understand Woodson's and the ASNLH's experiences and contributions during the period from 1922 until 1950; appreciate the historical significance of Woodson's former "office home"; and decipher the pioneering movement to democratize and institutionalize black history, especially in Washington, D.C. Three, offer a personality trait analysis of Woodson that I hope is useful for those who will provide the public with characterizations of the association founder's "intricate" and distinct disposition. Four, I critically reflect on dimensions of Woodson's most enduring legacy in popular culture, focusing on Black History Month, a byproduct of Negro History Week. Various questions frame this part of the study, including: What is Woodson's legacy? How does Woodson's early black history movement compare with those since the modern civil rights movement? How did Negro History Week evolve after Woodson's death, especially since the black power era when Negro History Week developed into Black History Month? Where does the Woodson Home fit within the spatial history of black historical spaces, landmarks, and National Historic Sites? Why is restoring the Woodson Home so important as we proceed into the new millennium? How will the home serve Washington, D.C. and the nation? How will the Carter G. Woodson Home, NHS perhaps contribute to the black history movement in the new millennium?

This study also includes seven appendices. "Appendix A: Chronology" includes important dates pertaining to the life and legacy of Woodson. "Appendix B: Books Published by the Associated Publishers, Inc. and Carter G. Woodson's Book Publications" includes books published by the Associated Publishers, Inc. from 1923 until 1949 as well as books that Woodson wrote and edited. "Appendix C: Bibliography of Select Sources" includes what I consider to be the most important scholarship on Woodson in an annotated form. "Appendix D: Manuscript and Paper Collections and Archives" lists the various collections where sources pertaining to Woodson are housed. "Appendix E: Photographs Related to Carter G. Woodson" features photos of Woodson, some images of his ASNLH co-workers, as well as images of ASNLH announcements and posters. "Appendix F: Annual Meetings of the ASNLH, 1917–1950" includes the dates and locations of the annual meetings from 1917 until 1950, highlighting the nine meetings in the District of Columbia during the period at hand. "Appendix G: Glossary" includes terms that general readers may not be familiar with.

Chapter 1

Carter G. Woodson (1875-1950) and the Development of the Black Historical Enterprise

A 1937 editorial in the *Chicago Defender* pronounced: "It is a feat for one who at 17 was just completing what is now regarded as an elementary education, to be acclaimed the greatest living authority on Race history at 62. Yet, that is the record of one of the greatest teachers of our time.... Others, however—though perhaps not faced with the difficulties which confronted him—have done as much. But few there are living or dead who have contributed so much to the knowledge of the world as this great instructor.... The man is Carter Godwin Woodson who was born of ex-slave parents.... As he was one of the rather large family of nine children, his parents, who started life in poverty, could not provide him with ordinary comforts of life and could not regularly send him to the five months district school any longer than when he was old enough to work on the farm."[1]

Reiterating the sentiments of the *Chicago Defender* editorial, sixty years after Woodson founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History toward the end of the black power era, Michael R. Winston, then director of the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center at Howard University, underscored in reference to Woodson: "The details of his early life are charged with melodrama. No admirer of Horatio Alger stories could fail to respond to the bare facts of his early life." In May 1920 Woodson wrote to Jesse E. Moorland: "You should know enough about me to understand that I am the most independently hungry man in the United States. I once drove a garbage wagon in my home town, toiled for six years as a coal miner, often saw the day when my mother had her breakfast and did not know where she would find her dinner. Many a time it was necessary for me to retire early on Saturday night that my mother might wash out the only clothing that I had that I might have something clean to wear the following day."[2] A decade later, Woodson explained how his redemptive suffering and humble beginnings impacted his drive. He reflected: "A poor man can write a more beautiful poem than one who is surfeited. The man in the hovel composes a more charming song than the one in the palace. The painter in the ghetto gets an inspiration for a more striking painting than his landlord can appreciate. The ill fed sculptor live more abundantly than the millionaire who purchases the expression of thought in marble and bronze."[3] When one considers Woodson's early years, his accomplishments later in the twentieth century are nothing short of remarkable.

Nearly one century ago, Woodson began laying the foundation for the current advanced state of African American history and black studies. He was the only individual of slave parentage to earn a Ph.D. in history and though W. E. B. Du Bois preceded him by close to two decades in earning a doctorate in history from Harvard University in 1895, Woodson was the first professionally trained historian to devote his scholarly career to advancing

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1 "The Personal History of a Historian," *Chicago Defender,* March 6, 1937, p. 17.

2 Michael R. Winston, "Carter Godwin Woodson: Prophet of Black Tradition," *Journal of Negro History,* 60 (Oct. 1975), 460.

3 "The Poverty of the Depression Not Alarming—Woodson, Quoting Many," *Norfolk Journal and Guide,* April 2, 1932, p. 7.

black history as if he was involved in what he routinely called a "life-and-death struggle." He made great sacrifices for the cause of black history. As he testified to *Pittsburgh Courier* readers in 1933, he had to "take the vow of poverty" and made "every sacrifice to maintain the work of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History."[4] During the peak of the Great Depression, Woodson expanded on his and his committed co-workers' sacrifice and selflessness ethos. In 1932, he noted:

> I have never wanted wealth. I do not know what would become of me if I have to spend twenty-five thousand dollars a year on myself. I would rather have an allowance of twelve dollars and a half a week. The only need I have for money is to relieve the stress of others. It would take up too much of my valuable time to devise selfish schemes for throwing away a large fortune, and I would not have time to help humanity.[5]

A year later, Woodson continued:

> In the sphere in which we are working there is no possibility for adequate compensation. The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History cannot pay men according to what they are worth. We have never had a staff of six or seven employees receiving four and five thousand dollars each annually.
>
> In the work of the Association an employee is supposed to catch the spirit of the organization and give his time and labor for a mere pittance. At present I am paying an employee on my staff twice as much as I receive because he has more dependants that I have; and, although he has been offered elsewhere more than he received from the Association, he remains with us.
>
> Several persons have said to me that you are doing your work at too great a sacrifice, for the public should do more to support it. . . . Yet I do not think that any of our workers feel that they should be praised for what they have done. These sacrifices have been willingly made. These workers who make such sacrifices for the good of others are doing what all Negroes in the service of their people must learn to do if the race is to be extricated from its present predicament.[6]

In 1930, one of Woodson's disciples was amazed with Woodson's commitment to his cause: "His capacity for work is certainly outstanding. Eighteen hours a day seems to be routine for him," Lorenzo J. Greene noted in his diary, "He does everything from writing books, editing the *Journal*, wrapping books, mailing letters and parcels. Nor is he above acting as a janitor and sometimes his own cook. Truly a remarkable man."[7] Two decades later, the Harlem Renaissance poet-activist extraordinaire Langston Hughes echoed

4 Woodson, "Carter Woodson Tells Reason Why He Never Married," A2.

5 "The Poverty of the Depression Not Alarming," 7.

6 "Woodson And His Co-Workers Take The Vow Of Poverty To Help Race," *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, Jan. 7, 1933.

7 Lorenzo Johnston Greene, "Dr. Woodson Prepares for Negro History Week, 1930," *Negro History Bulletin,* 28 (Summer 1965), 195. For similar assessments of Woodson's dedication to the study and promotion of black history, see Wesley, "Carter G. Woodson—As Scholar," 12-24; Mary McLeod Bethune, "True Leadership is Timeless," *Negro History Bulletin* 13 (May 1950), 173; John Hope Franklin, "The Place of Carter G. Woodson in American Historiography," *ibid*., 174–76; L. D. Reddick, "Twenty-Five Negro History Weeks," *ibid*., 178–79; Arnett G. Lindsay, "Dr. Woodson as a Teacher," *ibid*., 183, 191; Alrutheus A. Taylor, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson: Inspirer and Benefactor of Young Scholars," *ibid*., 186,189; L. D. Reddick, "Carter G. Woodson (1875–1950) An Appreciation," *Phylon,* 11(2nd quarter, 1950), 177–79.

Greene's observations. A month following Woodson's death, Hughes eloquently recalled:

> In the mid-1920's when I worked for Dr. Woodson, he set an example in industry and stick-to-it-tiveness for his entire staff since he himself worked very hard. He did everything from editing *The Journal of Negro History* to banking the furnace, writing books to wrapping books. One never got the idea that the boss would ask you to do anything that he would not do himself. His own working day extended from early morning to late at night. Those working with him seldom wished to keep the same pace. But he always saw that we had enough to do ahead to keep our own working hours entirely occupied.
>
> One time Dr. Woodson went away on a trip which those of us in his office thought would take about a week. Instead, he came back on the third day and found us all in the shipping room playing cards. Nobody got fired. Instead he requested our presence in his study where he gave us a long and very serious talk on our responsibilities to our work, to history, and to the Negro race. And he predicted that neither we nor the race would get ahead playing cards during working hours.
>
> My job was to open the office in the mornings, keep it clean, wrap and mail books assist in answering the mail, read proofs, bank the furnace at night when Dr. Woodson was away, and do anything else that came to hand which the secretaries could not do. . . . It may be said truly of Dr. Woodson that *never did anyone with so little bring self-respect to so many*.[8]

Many of Woodson's other disciples, co-workers, and friends (from acquaintances to those who truly chipped past his rugged exterior) shared and reiterated Greene's and Hughes' sentiments. From the late summer of 1922 until the day of his death, Woodson worked out of his "office home" at 1538 Ninth Street, NW in Washington, D.C. One of Woodson's close coworkers "never knew Woodson to miss a day from the office because of illness."[9] At the same time, Woodson's unrelenting work ethic took its toll on his physical well-being and may have even contributed to his sudden death. In response to rumors that his health was failing in 1926, Woodson announced to readers of several leading African American newspapers that he was healthy. "A physician did tell me sometime ago that if I did not go more slowly I would kill myself soon," Woodson dispelled the hearsay, "I am working myself to death for the Negro, but my health is generally good."[10]

During the first half of the twentieth century, Woodson—fittingly called "the father of Negro history" and later beginning during the black power era "the father of black history," laid the foundation for the rigorous study and popularization of African American history. A committed educational reformer and forerunner of the interwar Intercultural Educational Movement, he was the central figure in the early black history movement that lasted from the founding of the ASNLH until his death. Woodson was a prolific scholar, but he also systematically democratized, popularized, and legitimized the study of African American history in U.S. educational institutions and popular culture during "the nadir" and the era of Jim Crow segregation.

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8 Langston Hughes, "When I worked for Dr. Woodson," *Negro History Bulletin,* 13 (May 1950), 188.

9 Greene, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson."

10 "Carter G. Woodson Refutes Report About His Health," *Norfolk Guide and Journal,* Feb. 27, 1926, p. 1.

Woodson's life was similar to the lives of many famous African Americans who, as late as the hip-hop generation and new millennium, overcame seemingly insurmountable odds and obstacles to achieve monumental feats. Though born during Reconstruction, his early years were similar to those of one of his ideological mentors, Booker T. Washington, who rose "up from slavery." Before his sudden death on April 3, 1950, Woodson accomplished a great deal and wore many different hats. He labored as a sharecropper and even worked as a garbage collector; he graduated from high school and college; he traveled around the world and worked for the U.S. War Department; he served as a high school teacher and principal and college professor and dean; he earned a doctorate in history from Harvard University; he produced an important body of scholarship; he founded the first major organization, publishing house, and scholarly journal devoted to promoting, documenting, and studying black history; he mentored many professionally and non-professionally trained black scholars; he lectured at countless venues, including at many elementary and high schools and more than a few HBCU commencement ceremonies; he received many awards; he joined and/or supported organizations such as the Committee of 200, the National Urban League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Friends of Negro Freedom, the New Negro Alliance, and the National Negro Business League; and he worked tirelessly as a leader, activist, and spokesperson for African American advancement.

Contextualizing Woodson's Early Years and his Place within the Evolution of the Black Historical Enterprise during "the Nadir,"[11] 1875–1915

The circumstances of Woodson's early years and upbringing clearly influenced his radical social vision after he earned his Ph.D. in 1912. The son of the former slaves James Henry and Anne Eliza (Riddle) born during the unstable Reconstruction era in New Canton, Virginia, Woodson was a late intellectual bloomer. As a young man, Woodson joined the manual labor work force to help his family survive. He told one of his understudies that he was "almost nineteen before he had learned the fundamentals of reading, writing, and arithmetic."[12] In 1985, Sister Anthony Scally commented: "Anyone writing about Carter G. Woodson discovers how difficult it is to find accurate materials." This Woodson biographer added: "Most of the accounts of Dr. Woodson contain errors of fact, not yet of great importance, indeed, in assessing the undoubted value of his work, but annoying and puzzling to the researcher."[13] In reconstructing the important dates, events, and experiences in Woodson's life, I have found that there are a range of interpretations. Scally, Goggin, and others, for instance, offer more than a few different specific dates for certain events in Woodson's life.

Part of the problem facing historians of Woodson is that unlike W. E. B. Du Bois, who published three major autobiographies, Woodson never wrote an autobiography. Besides Du Bois, who wore many scholarly hats and is often described as being more of a sociologist than a historian, John Hope Franklin is the only black historian to write an autobiography, *Mirror to America: The Autobiography of John Hope Franklin* (2005). Though they often lack

11 The term "nadir" appears throughout this study and is important to understand when examining and contextualizing Woodson's life and accomplishments. For a definition of this term, see the "Glossary."

12 Greene, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson."

13 Scally, *Carter G. Woodson*, ix.

objectivity, autobiographies are important documents for reconstructing people's lives. Why did Woodson decide not to chronicle his own life? According to Lorenzo J. Greene it may have had something to do with his modesty. "Dr. Woodson was modest regarding his achievements," Greene observed, "Realizing his greatness and his vast contribution to historiography which he was making, I asked him one day who would write his biography. 'No one,' he replied with a twinkle in his eye, 'because there would be nothing to write about.' Of course, I discounted that. So did he with a knowing laugh. He added that someday he would write a short autobiography."[14] In 1940, Woodson also told his "boys" in no uncertain terms that he did not want them to publish a testimonial volume of essays about his life and work. Nonetheless, fortunately in a 1932 essay printed in the *New York Age* and the *Chicago Defende*r, and in a 1944 article in the *Negro History Bulletin*, Woodson provided some important details of his early life experiences and influences and his relationship with his parents and relatives.

Woodson was born in New Canton, Virginia, in Buckington County on December 19, 1875, toward the end of Reconstruction. Both of Woodson's parents were former slaves and shared with him first-hand histories of life during slavery. His father told his son how he had physically overpowered his master to take his freedom. He instilled in his son a sense of rebelliousness. Like Frederick Douglass, Woodson's father was hired out by his owner and created a life within the restrictive institution of slavery, learning how to make furniture and to fish. During the Civil War, he joined thousands of blacks by becoming contraband behind Union lines. Later in his life, Woodson commented that his father's stories sparked his later interest in documenting the stories of ex-slaves. As a professional historian, Woodson stressed the importance of documenting and recording the personal life histories of everyday people. He often instructed black youth during Negro History Week to interview their elders and document the histories of their families and communities. Like many blacks of his time, he came from a large family, nine children in total, including two infants who died from a whooping cough epidemic. Woodson's literate mother and his father instilled "high morality," "a strong character," self-respect, and a "thirst for education" in their children.

In 1932 in the *Chicago Defender* and the *New York Age* Woodson recounted the notions of self-sufficiency, dignity, and elementary black nationalism that he learned from his father. Foreshadowing Malcolm X's famous 1963 celebration of the "field Negro," Woodson asserted:

> From my father. . . . I learned better. . . . He had been a field slave and could neither read nor write, but he proved to be the greatest factor in my education. . . . This former slave, an illiterate man, taught me that you do not have to wait until you die to think of losing your soul. He insisted that when you learn to accept insult, to compromise on principle, to mislead your people, you have lost your soul. . . . He taught his children to be polite to everybody but to insist always on recognition as human beings; and, if necessary, fight to the limit for it. Do not do for the traducer of the race anything he will do for you. Do not curry his horse, and grin at him for a favor. Do not brush his hat with one hand while holding the other for a tip. Do not clean his spittoons for the pittance which he offers. Do not serve in his kitchen for the refuse from his table. Do not shine his shoes to get the wornout ones for yourself. . . . He often said to me, "I had to do these things when

14 Greene, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson."

> I was a slave. If I continue to do them, I am not a free man. If you do these things you cannot look the oppressor in the eye and say, 'Sir, I am your equal.' Neither he nor you will believe it"... In spite of this poverty, however, my father believed that such a life was more honorable than to serve some one as a menial. While his children were under his vine and fig tree, then, he never hired one to anybody; he never permitted one to wear anyone's cast-off clothing; and he never permitted one to go to any man's back door.[15]

A year before Woodson's birth, his parents settled in New Canton, Virginia, buying a house and farm for his growing family. The family owned land and a home, but their life was similar to that of many landowning blacks and even sharecroppers. As a child, Woodson grew up on his father's farm of ten to twenty-one acres (depending on which source one reads) and like many black youth coming of age during the immediate post-Reconstruction period or "the nadir," he attended a rural school for only about four months out of the year. According to Scally: "When he learned to read, his father required him to read to him every day from whatever discarded newspaper they could salvage. It was stale news, but a small window on a wider world."[16] His family had to work hard to make ends meet; he worked on the family farm until he was about fifteen. Woodson grew up very poor, as he recounted in 1932: "Often I remember that I had only one garment and had to go to bed early on Saturday night that my mother might wash this and iron it over night. In this way only I would have something clean to wear to Sunday school. Often during the winter and early in spring we did not have sufficient food, and we would leave the table hungry to go to the woods and pluck the persimmons which the birds had pierced with their beaks and left on the trees. Sometimes in the fields we had to eat the sour grass that grew early in spring out of the providence of God."[17] In the dawning of the 1890s, he hired himself out as a farm and manual laborer and he drove a garbage truck in Buckingham County, Virginia.

In 1892, Woodson moved to Fayette County, West Virginia to work in the coal mines. This was certainly hard and dangerous work. A piece of slate once fell on him, injuring his head. Woodson's years toiling, as he put it, in the mines left a deep impression on him. As he told W. Montague Cobb decades later: "I am a coal miner and I can take almost anything." Willie Leanna Miles remembered that when she worked in the ASNLH office during the 1940s Woodson ritualistically told visitors about his experiences in the coal mines. Even with a Ph.D. from Harvard, Woodson held onto his working-class, coal miner identity. He took great pride in his poor, working-class background. Perhaps this helps explain his drive to make the ASNLH relevant to the lives of everyday black people. He knew from first-hand experiences what the masses of black people were going through.

Looking back on his life in his late 1960s, Woodson also described this period as very significant to his intellectual development. While working in the mines he met a black Civil War veteran named Oliver Jones. "He was well educated," Woodson recalled, "but could neither read not write." Jones allowed many of the coal miners to use his home as an informal school reminiscent of those depicted by the educational historian James D. Anderson and as a center for social interaction and political discourse. Being the sole literate worker

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15 Carter G. Woodson, "And the Negro Loses His Soul," *Chicago Defender,* June 25, 1932, p. 14.

16 Scally, *Carter G. Woodson*, 4.

17 Woodson, "And the Negro Loses His Soul."

of the group, Woodson read newspapers to his co-workers as he had done and would later continue to do for his father. Jones also had a valuable library of books containing classic works by pioneering amateur, self-trained black historians such as George Washington Williams, J. T. Wilson, and W. J. Simmons. Woodson drew great inspiration from these scholars' works, especially that of Williams. Woodson credited Jones with igniting his interest in research. "I learned so much because of the more extensive reading required by him than I probably would have undertaken for my own benefit," Woodson recounted, "my interest in penetrating the past of my people was deepened and intensified." He added: "In this circle the history of the race was discussed frequently, and my intent in penetrating the past of my people was deepened and intensified."

The years in the coal mines also inevitably reinforced the value of hard work in Woodson's mind. His co-workers routinely commented on his herculean work ethic. In his late teens, Woodson was becoming a critical thinker and largely self-taught amateur historian and intellectual with an interest in history who was not opposed to working hard with his hands.[18]

Before becoming a professionally-trained historian, Woodson's views of black history were influenced by those self-trained black scholars who wrote during the last several decades of the nineteenth-century. He was probably most influenced by George Washington Williams. In a 1945 article in *The Negro History Bulletin* Woodson welcomed and applauded the scholarship of "modern" black historians because they were "better trained" and wrote with "scientific objectivity." At the same time, he praised Williams. According to a modest Woodson more than a decade after he first published his groundbreaking t*The Negro in Our History* (1922), "Williams' *History of the Negro Race* has not yet been superseded by a better work, and *History of Negro Troops I the War of the Rebellion* far surpasses any other work on this subject."[19]

Between emancipation in 1865 and the 1882 publication of George Washington Williams' *History of the Negro Race from 1619 to 1880*, black writers of history were similar to their antebellum era predecessors in terms of the quality of their writing, their motivations and their approaches to the historian's craft. They were, however, also inevitably and profoundly impacted by emancipation and Reconstruction, a pivotal period in American history during which Woodson was born. A significant part of Woodson's predecessors' scholarship sought to "justify emancipation by showing that some members of the race had committed distinctive acts in the past, and that the numbers of such individuals could be multiplied many times by giving the race better opportunities."[20] As contributionist historians, they sought to prove to their white readers that blacks were Americans and in turn deserved basic civil and human rights during era of Reconstruction (1865-1877) and the "nadir" (1877–1901 or 1877–1923). The major black history books published from 1865 until 1882 included William Still's *The Underground Railroad* (1872), William Wells Brown's *The Rising Son* (1874), and Joseph T. Wilson's *Emancipation: Its Course and Progress, from 1481 B.C. to A.D. 1875* (1882)—with Brown's long *The Rising Son* being the most important. Though it was "almost devoid of documentation" and even "below the standards of scholarship which many scholars of the period were producing," Brown's book sold more than

18 Woodson, "My Recollections of Veterans of the Civil War," *Negro History Bulletin* 7 (Feb. 1944), 116.

19 Woodson, "Negro Historians of Our Times," *ibid*., 8 (April 1945), 155.

20 W. D. Wright, *Black History and Black Identity: A Call for a New Historiography* (Westport , 2002), 29.

10,000 copies in its first year of publication.[21]

John Hope Franklin deemed George Washington Williams (1849–1891) the first African American historian by virtue of being the first person to publish a "coherent" history of black America. Woodson concurred with Franklin, and it is not surprising that Franklin's important article on Williams was published in 1946 in *The Journal of Negro History*. During "the nadir," Williams published two major historical studies, *History of the Negro Race in America from 1619 to 1880* (1882, 1883, 1885) and *A History of the Negro Troops in the War of the Rebellion, 1861–1865* (1887). Williams was a self-taught historian who conducted meticulous research from the mid-1870s through the mid-1880s. Unlike his predecessors, Williams joined the ranks of the American historical profession because he went to great lengths to acquire historical documents, employed methods of oral history, extensively used newspapers, sought feedback from established American historians, critiqued his sources, embraced objectivity, and in 1883 called for the creation of an African American historical society.[22]

Williams, a free-born Civil War veteran, first developed an interest in history while studying at Newton Theological Institution near Boston from 1869 until 1874. Then in 1874, while a pastor at Boston's Twelfth Baptist Church, he wrote a history of his church. His study was "well written, despite the haste." Later, as a journalist and pastor in Cincinnati, Williams often incorporated history into his articles and sermons. Franklin has suggested that at least one of his sermons "laid the groundwork for the history of his race he was to write some years later." After serving a term in the House of Representatives of the Ohio General Assembly (1880–1881), Williams decided "to devote his time to historical research and writing."[23] Several years later, he published *History of the Negro Race*, a comprehensive history of African Americans from their African origins until 1880. "I became convinced that a history of the colored people in America was required," Williams proclaimed, "because such a history would give the world more correct ideas of Colored people, and invite the latter to greater effort in the struggle of citizenship and manhood. The single reason that there was no history of the Negro race would have been a sufficient reason for writing one."[24] Williams' second historical monograph, *A History of the Negro Troops in the War of the Rebellion, 1861–1865*, stressed the role of black soldiers in the Civil War within a broader historical context. In highlighting the achievements of black soldiers, Williams—like William Cooper Nell and others—sought to demonstrate to the American public that the African American experience was marked by patriotism, a dedication to America that should have translated into equal rights in society. Williams' scholarship, mainly because of its "scientific objectivity," was positively reviewed by white scholars.[25] *History of the Negro Race* was instrumental

21 Wright, *Black History and Black Identity*, 41–42.

22 John Hope Franklin first explored George Washington Williams's contributions in a 1946 article in *The Journal of Negro History*. For an extensive treatment of Williams, see Franklin, *George Washington Williams*.

23 John Hope Franklin, *George Washington Williams: A Biography* (Chicago, 1985), 10, 17, 39, 100.

24 George Washington Williams, *History of the Negro Race in America from 1619 to 1880: Negroes as Slaves, as Soldiers, and as Citizens* (New York ', 1883), v. For extensive discussions of Williams's study, see Franklin, *George Washington Williams*, 100-133; Earl E.Thorpe, *Black Historians: A Critique* (New York, 1971), 46–55.

25 See George Washington Williams, *A History of Negro Troops in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865* (New York, 1887, 1888). Franklin overviews how white scholars reviewed Williams's scholarship. See Franklin, *George Washington Williams*, 116–133.

in influencing Woodson to write *The Negro in Our History* (1922) and Franklin to write *From Slavery to Freedom* (1947).

At the age of twenty in 1895, around the time W. E. B. Du Bois completed his Ph.D. dissertation, Woodson returned to Huntington, West Virginia, to live with his parents and decided to attend Frederick Douglass High School, where he would later serve as principal from 1900-1903. From 1895 until 1896, he attended Frederick Douglass High School. In the fall of 1897 he then ventured to the abolitionist-founded Berea College in Kentucky. It took him about five years to receive a bachelor of laws degree from Berea because he faced financial challenges and engaged in numerous black uplift activities. He eventually received that degree from Berea on June 3, 1903. For financial reasons, he left Berea after about a year and from 1898 until 1900 he worked as a teacher for a school in Winona, West Virginia, where he educated the children of black miners. In May 1901 he received a teacher's certificate. Based on an amendment to the West Virginia constitution, by 1899 the opportunities for ordinary blacks to attend basic schools increased and Woodson was there to make a difference in the lives of impoverished black youth. Philosophically working-class to his core, he probably felt vindicated in educating black youth with whom he shared experiences.

In 1922 Woodson remarked that black West Virginians became excited in education during his teaching days in Winona, that "often Negro children in groups of only four or five were thus trained in the backward districts where they received sufficient inspiration to come to larger schools for more systematic training."[26] Woodson was one of those teachers who helped inspire this thirst for learning. His work was an extension of the services he provided for his co-workers in the Fayette County coal mines at the home of Oliver Jones. From 1900 until 1903 he returned to his high school alma mater, teaching history and serving as the principal by the time he was in his mid-twenties. No doubt he drew on these administrative experiences later in launching and running the ASNLH. Woodson also remained close to his parents during these years, helping them around the house and eagerly receiving their oral traditions.

After receiving a bachelor's degree in literature from Berea in the summer of 1903, Wilson traveled abroad, from the middle of December 1903 until early February 1907. For roughly five years, under the auspices of the United States War Department, he went to the Philippines "to train the Filipinos to govern themselves," teaching English, health, and agricultural classes. With an impressive salary of $100 per month, he first arrived in Manila in late December 1903. He was first assigned to work in a country town in Nueva Ecija Province "among simple people tilling the soil and growing crops." In June, he was reassigned to another province, Pangasinan, where he trained Filipino teachers. He enjoyed this work very much and remained there until he resigned due to sickness early in 1907.[27]

Woodson wrote about his experiences in the Philippines in *The Mis-Education of the Negro*. Rejecting the predominant missionary ideology, he believed that the best way to educate the Filipinos was based upon their own history and culture. He went to the Philippines not as a typical missionary, but as a culturally sensitive reformer. It could be argued that Woodson applied his early philosophy of using history as a source of pride and motivation, and as a means to reform the conditions of natives of the Philippines. While

26 Carter G. Woodson, "Early Education in West Virginia," *Journal of Negro History* 7 (Jan. 1922), 27.

27 Sister Anthony Scally, "The Philippines Challenge," *Negro History Bulletin* 44 (Fall 1981), 16–18.

in the Philippines, Woodson also mastered French and Spanish, a skill set from which he would later draw when reading, collecting, and reviewing European scholarship on Africa. After leaving the Philippines in early 1907, Woodson briefly traveled around the world to Africa, Asia, and Europe, spending roughly half of a year in Europe. He briefly attended the Sorbonne. There he studied European history which helped widen his scope of knowledge and prepared him for the University of Chicago, Harvard, and later for the writing of many book reviews in *The Journal of Negro History*.

After returning from Europe, Woodson enrolled in the University of Chicago and a year later he received a master's degree in history, romance languages, and literature in the late summer of 1908. His thesis, "The German Policy of France in the War of Austrian Succession," covered a topic that could not have been much further removed from the African American experience. Woodson then enrolled in Harvard University as a doctoral student. Though unlike many of his contemporary graduate students—Woodson being in his thirties while at Harvard—he briefly lived in a graduate dormitory. In 1909, he left Cambridge and settled down in the Washington, D.C., area to teach first at Armstrong Manual Training School and at the prestigious M Street High School. Woodson conducted research, completed his comprehensive examinations, and wrote his dissertation while teaching full time. Professors in Harvard's history department did not share Woodson's passion for black history. Woodson was certainly not exposed to the African American historical experience by his Harvard professors. At this time very few HBCUs were regularly teaching courses in African American history, despite the fact that students at these institutions were required to know the histories of their schools and their founders.

Woodson's first advisor was Edward Channing. He was soon replaced by Albert Bushnell Hart, Du Bois's former advisor. Woodson finished his coursework in less than two years and submitted the first draft of his dissertation in the spring of 1910. His committee, consisting of Hart, Channing, and Charles Haskins, made many suggestions for revision. By January 1911, he finished the revised draft. After finally passing his American history comprehensive examination in April 1912, Woodson completed his Ph.D. dissertation, "The Disruption of Virginia." Woodson's study was worthy of publication, but he did not receive the necessary support to do so.[28]

In 1912, Woodson became the second African American to earn a Ph.D. in the United States, following in the footsteps of Du Bois, who earned his Ph.D. from Harvard in 1895. Though both certainly encountered racism at Harvard during "the nadir," their experiences were different as were their views of black history. Based on his background, Woodson was not as well equipped as a scholar as Du Bois had been at Harvard, and though he articulated and publicized his visions of the psychologically pragmatic and revisionist functions of black history throughout his career, Woodson did not devote a great deal of his scholarship to directly defining black history in abstract and philosophical terms. Du Bois, who provided philosophical inquiries into the deeper meanings of black history in his early scholarship (especially in *The Souls of Black Folk*), was especially critical of Woodson for not engaging an abstract philosophy of history. While he dubbed Woodson's *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861* "the most significant book concerning the Negro race" published in 1915, Du Bois was outspoken in his critique of Woodson's *History of the Negro Church* (1922) published in

28 Goggin, *Carter G. Woodson*, 18–31.

the *Freeman* in October 1922. "Mr. Woodson is a monographist of the strict Harvard dryas-dust school" who "has collected and carefully catalogued and pigeonholed an enormous number of facts concerning American history." Du Bois argued that Woodson's work lacked knowledge of the deeper complexities and meanings of the black church and religion. "Of all this," Du Bois pronounced, "Mr. Woodson not only says nothing but understands nothing." Du Bois concluded his review: "Mr. Woodson's services as a fact-finder are invaluable. But let us call his findings fact, source-stuff, raw material, and not history." Du Bois expected Woodson to probe more creatively into the complexity of the black church, probing into the unrecorded "inner spirit and motive of that marvelous faith and unreason which made a million black folk on the shores of exile dance and scream and shout the Sorrow Song."[29] Du Bois would continue to critique Woodson's worldview, culminating in his critical and mean-spirited assessment of "The Father of Negro History" in *Masses and Mainstream* in 1950.

A year after Woodson earned a Ph.D., in a 1913 essay entitled "The Negro in Literature and Art," Du Bois humbly announced that George Washington Williams was "the greatest historian of the race."[30] Even though he praised William Cooper Nell's scholarship from the antebellum era, it seems that Woodson agreed with Du Bois on this matter. Nonetheless, Du Bois's generous compliment to Williams was a great overstatement. From the mid-1890s until Woodson earned his Ph.D. in 1912 and co-founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History in 1915, Du Bois was black America's preeminent historian. Though truly multi-disciplinary in his intellectual approach, "it was along history's pathway that he made his literary route to the present and the future."[31] By earning his Ph.D. in history from Harvard, Du Bois not only added a sense of legitimacy to the African American historical profession but he also possessed the necessary credentials to help overturn racist historical scholarship.

A gifted intellectual since his high school years, Du Bois studied history at Fisk University, Harvard, and the University of Berlin. He earned his master's degree from Harvard in history in 1891. His study was published in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association (AHA) as "The Enforcement of the Slave Trade Laws." In the same year, Du Bois became the first African American to participate in an AHA convention.[32] A year after earning his Ph.D., he published his dissertation as *The Suppression of the Atlantic Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638–1870* (1896). From 1897 until 1914 Du Bois taught economics and history at Atlanta University and coordinated the annual Atlanta University Studies and Conferences and edited its publications—all of which incorporated historical analyses. "These studies with all their imperfections were widely distributed in the libraries of the world and used by scholars," an elder Du Bois recounted, "It may be

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29 Herbert Aptheker, ed., *Book Reviews by W.E.B. Du Bois* (Millwood, 1977), 67–68. Du Bois's review of *The Negro Church* was originally published in *Freeman*, Oct. 4, 1922, pp. 92-93.

30 W. E. B. Du Bois, "The Negro in Literature and Art," in *W. E. B. Du Bois: A Reader*, ed. Meyer Weinberg (New York , 1970), 234.

31 Charles H. Wesley, "W. E. B. Du Bois: The Historian," in *Black Titan: W. E. B. Du Bois; An Anthology by the Editors of Freedomways*, ed. John Henrik Clarke et al. '(Boston, 1970), 82. There are many biographies on Du Bois which address his career as a historian. For more specific assessments of this part of his intellectual persona, see Herbert Aptheker, "The Historian," in *W. E. B. Du Bois: A Profile*, ed. Rayford W. Logan (New York , 1971), 249–73; and David W. Blight, "W. E. B. Du Bois and the Struggle for American Historical Memory," in *History and Memory in African-American Culture*, ed. Genevieve Fabre and Robert O'Meally (New York , 1994), 45–71.

32 Meier and Rudwick, *Black History and the Historical Profession*, 5.

said without boasting that between 1896 and 1920 there was no study of the race problem in America which did not in some degree depend upon the investigations made at Atlanta University; often they were widely quoted and commended."[33] In 1899, Du Bois published *The Philadelphia Negro*, "one of the first major works to combine the use of urban ethnography, social history, and descriptive statistics." Du Bois devoted two brief chapters to exploring the history of black Philadelphians from 1638 until 1896, yet sections of many other chapters possessed historical analyses.[34] Du Bois's opus, *The Souls of Black Folk,* is by far his most famous and celebrated book. Taken together, the fourteen essays in this volume constitute a mélange of writing styles and academic vantage points: history, social science, political theory, cultural studies, psychology, and spirituality.[35] History enters almost every discussion, particularly in dealing with the Freedman's Bureau and the evolution of black education, black leadership, and southern race relations.

After *The Souls of Black Folk*, Du Bois wrote a historical biography of John Brown, one of his favorite books that sold less than 700 copies.[36] In 1909 Du Bois delivered his second presentation at the American Historical Association. In doing so, he was the only African American to present a paper at an AHA conference until the World War II era. In 1910, in the *American Historical Review*, Du Bois challenged U.S. historians to rewrite Reconstruction in "Reconstruction and Its Benefits." This article, which laid the foundations for his exhaustive *Black Reconstruction* (1935), was the only article by a black historian to appear in the *American Historical Review* until 1979.[37] From 1910 through 1934, as director of publishing and research for the NAACP, Du Bois served as editor of the *Crisis*. He routinely interrogated issues relating to Afro-diasporic histories in this widely circulated magazine.

Before Woodson began to be recognized as the key figure in the early black history movement and publicized the experiences of Africans throughout the vast African Diaspora, Du Bois published one major historical study devoted to Africans of ancient antiquity and throughout the vast African diaspora, *The Negro* (1915). David Levering Lewis has posited that "*The Negro* was a large building block in an Afrocentric historiography that has achieved credibility through the writings of scholars such as Basil Davidson, Martin Bernal, and Chiekh Anta Diop." Though Molefi Kete Asante and other leading Afrocentric scholars would challenge Lewis's interpretation of Afrocentricity, Lewis's point is clear.[38] Du Bois predated modern Afrocentric thinkers in stressing the blackness of ancient Egypt. Woodson would later join this school of thought, adopting an Afrocentric vision.

Du Bois was clearly the preeminent black historian during from the mid-1890s until 1915. But, there were a host of other significant black historians active during these years. In

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33 Herbert Aptheker, ed., *The Autobiography of W. E. B. Du Bois: A Soliloquy on Viewing My Life from the Last Century of its First Century* (New York , 1968), 218–19.

34 Elijah Anderson, "Introduction to the 1996 Edition of The Philadelphia Negro," in W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study* (Philadelphia , 1996), ix.

35 For an interesting discussion of *The Souls of Black Folk*, see Arnold Rampersad, *The Art and Imagination of W. E. B. Du Bois* (Cambridge , Mass., 1976).

36 David Roediger, ed., *W. E. B. Du Bois, John Brown* (New York, 2001).

37 Meier and Rudwick, Black *History and the Historical Profession*, 29.

38 David Levering Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois: Biography of a Race, 1868–1919* (New York , 1993), 462. Though Molefi Kete Asante considers himself a disciple of Chiekh Anta Diop, he does not consider Basil Davidson and Martin Bernal as key members of the Afrocentric intellectual school of thought. See Molefi Kete Asante, *The Afrocentric Idea* (Philadelphia , 1987); Molefi Kete Asante, *Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge* (New Jersey , 1990); and Ama Mazama, ed., *The Afrocentric Paradigm* (Ann Arbor , 2003).

Black Historians: A Critique, Earl E. Thorpe has called this group "historians without portfolio." This cadre of black historians "represent that group of non-professional persons . . . feeling that their life experiences peculiarly fit them for chronicling some historical events."[39] In the 1890s several history books were published on black America by black writers. In 1891 Edward A. Johnson published *School History of the Negro Race in America from 1619 to 1890* (the first major school textbook on African American history) and in 1897 William H. Crogman authored *Progress of a Race*. In the early 1900s before Woodson founded the ASNLH there were a handful of uplifting black history narratives, including Booker T. Washington's two-volume *The Story of the Negro* (1909), Monroe Work's *Negro Year Book* (first published in 1912), Benjamin Brawley's *A Short History of the American Negro* (1913), John W. Cromwell's *The Negro in American History* (1914), and John R. Lynch's *The Facts Reconstruction* (1915).

Scholars have offered a range of explanations as to what sparked Woodson's decision to devote his life to the study and promotion of black history. While his early years were important in his life's most pressing quest, according to Lorenzo Johnston Greene, Woodson's experiences at Harvard were pivotal. It was there, Woodson told his protégé, where he received, "in a negative way, the inspiration for life's work." While attending one of Channing's classes, "he listened in amazement at the eminent Professor who told the class that the Negro had no history." Woodson told Greene that he challenged Channing and declared that "no people lacked a history." According to Greene's account, Channing then told Woodson to prove him wrong. Woodson then "accepted the challenge" and "resolved to ascertain whether he or Channing was correct."[40]

Woodson began seriously studying history at a time when American historians were quite racist. African American historians during the Progressive Era or "the nadir," professionally trained and amateur, faced unique sets of obstacles. Challenged to develop delicately balanced, innovative, and defensive approaches, they were eager to defend "the race" from the prevalent, deeply rooted racist pseudo-scientific history of their times. In assessing the U.S. Progressive Era historical enterprise, August Meier and Elliott Rudwick have argued "there was always a degree of pluralism within the profession" and that "there were a few white historians—ambiguous though their own racial attitudes sometimes were—who perceived the significance of the blacks' role and of race as a moral issue in American history and who were supportive of study in this area."[41]

Still, between 1890 and 1920 many leading U.S. historians were racists, promoted the notion of African American inferiority, and/or marginalized African Americans' contributions altogether.[42] The historian Albert Bushnell Hart—Du Bois's and Woodson's advisor at Harvard—was ambiguous in his attitudes toward blacks. While he occasionally

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39 Thorpe, *Black Historians*, 144.

40 Greene, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson."

41 Meier and Rudwick, *Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915-1980*, 4. Among the outright racist historians of the Progressive Era in Meier and Rudwick's analysis are H. B. Adams, John W. Burgess, Frederick Jackson Turner, and U. B. Philips. On the other hand, they contend that Hart, J. Franklin Jameson, Clarence Alvord, and W. B. Munro supported African American history and historians.

42 For a discussion of academic racism that addresses the Progressive Era, see Michael R. Winston, "Through the Back Door: Academic Racism and the Negro Scholar in Historical Perspective," *Daedalus*, 100 (Summer 1971), 678–719; and I. A. Newby, ed., *The Development of Segregationist Thought* (Champaign, 1968).

praised certain exceptional African Americans and challenged overt white supremacist scholarship, he still held that African Americans were inferior. "Race measured by race," he asserted in *The Southern South* (1910), "the Negro is inferior, and his part in history in Africa and in America leads to the belief that he will remain inferior in race stamina and race achievement."[43] Earl Lewis has detailed the "pivotal role" of *The American Historical Review* in promoting African American history during its first century.[44] Nonetheless, it is clear that "outwardly racist" essays were published in this journal during the early twentieth century.[45] According to Peter Novick, historians such as John F. Rhodes, J. W. Burgess, William A. Dunning, and Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer were "systematically racist" and a "consensual" and "near unanimous" racism united white historians from the North and the South during the nadir.[46] Despite their claims to being nontraditional, innovative, and pluralistic in scope, James Harvey Robinson's "New History" disciples and proponents ignored the race problem, implying that it was not a "primary force" and assuming that "race problems would be solved automatically in the course of progressive developments."[47] African American historians during Woodson's formative years accepted the responsibility of correcting racist scholarship and creating modern scholarship on African American history. Embracing the "corrective" principle of Manning Marable's black intellectual tradition, Du Bois and Woodson challenged U. B. Phillips's famous *American Negro Slavery* (1918). The first two African American doctorates in history critiqued Phillips's portrayal of African Americans as "ignorant," "unenterprising," "barbaric," and "childlike and credulous" in the "ways of civilization."[48]

Unlike the vast majority of white historians during the Progressive Era, pioneering African American historians such as Woodson were more directly challenged to democratize and popularize the study of history. For them, providing their African American

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43 Albert Bushnell Hart, *The Southern South* (New York , 1910), 105. At other points in this work Hart also made claims such as "the theory that the Negro mind ceases to develop after adolescence perhaps has something to it" and that "the average of the Negro race is much below that of the white race." *The Southern South* is an interesting text because if it is not read closely, one may come across with the notion that Hart was totally sympathetic toward African Americans. Hart, like many liberal white scholars of his time, believed in African American exceptionalism. He praised the success of educated black leaders. Yet he argued that the masses of African Americans were inferior to whites. At the same time, Hart's analysis in *The Southern South* is very much clouded by class prejudice. He viewed poor whites as being culturally backward as well, though not as backward and inferior as African Americans.

44 Earl Lewis, "To Turn as on a Pivot: Writing African Americans into a History of Overlapping Diasporas," *American Historical Review* 100 (June 1995), 765–87.

45 Ellen Fitzpatrick, *History's Memory: Writing America's Past, 1880*-1980 (Cambridge, Mass. , 2002), 91.

46 Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical* Profession (Cambridge , Mass., 1988), 74–84.

47 Ernst A. Breisach, *American Progressive History: An Experiment in Modernization* (Chicago , 1993), 79–80.

48 For a discussion of the "corrective" principle of African American Studies, see Marable, "Black Studies and the Black Intellectual Tradition," 3. For U. B. Phillips's ideas, see Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, *American Negro Slavery: A Survey of the Supply, Employment and Control of Negro Labor as Determined by the Plantation Regime* (Baton Rouge , 1966); and John David Smith and John C. Inscoe, eds., *Ulrich Bonnell Phillips: A Southern Historian and His Critics* (New York , 1990), 2. For Du Bois's and Woodson's responses to Phillips, see W. E. B. Du Bois, "Book Review of *American Negro Slavery*," *American Political Science Review,* 12 (Nov. 1918), 722–26; Carter G. Woodson, "Book Review of *American Negro Slavery*," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* 5 (March 1919), 480–82. According to August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, the first systematic scholarly critique of Phillips came in 1944 with Richard Hofstadter's essay, "U.B. Phillips and the Plantation Legend," published in *Journal of Negro History.* See Meier and Rudwick, *Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915-1980,* 241.

readership with the basic rudiments of African American history was important. Positive portrayals of the African American experience could, they reasoned, provide blacks with self-esteem, positive role models, and recognition of their ancestors' central contributions to the modernization of the United States. African American historians during "the nadir" faced the dual challenge of producing two particular brands of scholarship: scientific scholarship and popular history for mass consumption. Certain white Progressive Era historians faced a similar dilemma, but the situation was markedly distinct. John Higham has chronicled how, following the professionalization of history in the mid to late 1890s, American historians found it difficult to market their scholarship to the general public. Amateur historians, who in the formative years of the AHA dominated the organization, were gradually being removed from the ranks of professional historians and American historians increasingly shifted from writing for laypersons to writing for their colleagues.[49] African American historians continued to serve various distinct audiences within the black community—lay, academic, professional, working-class, middle-class, male, and female.

When examining the writings and thought of professionally trained African American scholars of the early twentieth century such as Woodson, we must acknowledge that these black intellectuals, whose dissertations and doctoral degrees were approved by universities and departments that embraced racist policies and notions of black inferiority in varying degrees, faced the challenges of balancing their radicalism with scientific scholarship and objectivity (sometimes mistaken for conservatism) as well as with their self and historical context imposed social responsibility of representing and defending the masses of their people. Many black scholars of the nadir often wore conservative masks and disguises. Unlike the late twentieth century, self-styled black intellectual radicalism that Adolph Reed Jr. openly critiques in *Class Notes: Posing as Politics and Other Thoughts on the American Scene* (2000), most black academics with radical views during most of the twentieth century, especially before the modern civil rights movement, did not openly enjoy the intellectual and scholarly liberties of being able to openly engage in radical discourse in mainstream U.S. academic cultural spaces.[50] While black scholars with radical and nonconventional leanings during the era of Jim Crow segregation could and did opt to publish their corrective scholarship and ideas with radical and black-owned presses, as Woodson did with his Associated Publishers, Inc. in making these choices they encountered the possibility of being ostracized, marginalized, underfunded, scrutinized, and essentially written off as being merely propagandists and dissidents by the mainstream U.S. academic gatekeepers.

As members of a comparatively privileged group within the black community, Progressive Era African American historians faced the challenge of converting their profession into a viable, pragmatic vehicle of liberation. While they criticized the United States for dehumanizing African Americans and for not living up to the ideals of the Founding Fathers, they avoided being unpatriotic. Like their counterparts who served in the U.S. armed forces during an age of empire building, African American historians of the Progressive Era

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49 For a discussion of the AHA and amateur historians, see David D. Van Tassel, "From Learned Society to Professional Organization: The American Historical Association, 1884–1900," *American Historical Review*, 89 (Oct. 1984), 929–56. According to Novick, before 1907 all AHA presidents were amateurs. See Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 49.

50 Adolph Reed Jr. argues that decades after the decline of the black power era black radicalism was appropriated and commercialized by, among others, black public intellectuals. See Adolph Reed Jr., *Class Notes: Posing as Politics and Other Thoughts on the American Scene* (New York , 2000).

believed that their patriotism could help them gain access to certain rights and resources as well as respect for black people. They therefore often couched their critiques of white U.S. society in scientific methods, facts, and objectivity. In a nuanced manner, Woodson embraced these strategies.

The mid to late 1910s were vital years in Woodson's career as a historian. In the spring of 1915, at the age of forty, Woodson published his first monograph, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861,* a densely footnoted monograph that he had worked on during and following his doctoral studies. According to one historian, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861* was one of Woodson's "most scholarly from the standpoint of documentation and general objectivity." Du Bois praised this book as well. Woodson analyzed the educational opportunities for African Americans in the antebellum era in two major periods: the introduction of slavery to 1835 and 1836 through about 1861. For Woodson, the history of African Americans and education during a great portion of the nineteenth century is largely a story of the "reactionary" tendencies of whites to blacks' struggles for education. Woodson's first book was reviewed positively in more than a dozen journals.[51]

A Summary of Woodson's Life and Accomplishments from the Founding of the ASNLH

On September 9, 1915, Woodson co-founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH) in Chicago with George Cleveland Hall, James E. Stamps, and Alexander L. Jackson. At the first biennial meeting of the ASNLH, the executive council amended and ratified the association's constitution. The purpose of the organization was clearly spelled out: "Its object shall be the collection of sociological and historical documents and the promotion of studies bearing on the Negro."[52] The executive council was in charge of approving people to become members of the association; the annual membership fee was initially $1.00 and a life membership was initially $30.00. By the early 1920s, active members paid $3.00 a year and life members paid $50.00. By 1926, a life membership was $75.00. The officers of the ASNLH were similar to other such organizations and included a president, a secretary-treasurer, an editor and director of research (Woodson until 1950), and an executive committee "of the three foregoing officers and twelve others elected by the Association." Ten years after founding the association, Woodson reiterated the purpose of the organization: "It proclaimed as its purpose the collection of sociological and historical data on the Negro, the study of peoples of African blood, the publishing of books in this field, and the promotion of harmony between the races by acquainting the one with the other."[53] Two decades after founding the association, Woodson defined the organization as group of intellectual policemen. "The Association for the study of the Negro is standing like the watchman on the wall, ever mindful of what calamities we have suffered from misinterpretation in the past and looking out with a scrutinizing eye for every thing indicative of a similar attack. The staff, then, must be so enlarged and made so efficient as to furnish on

51 Carter G. Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861* (New York, n.d.), 152–53; Thorpe, *Black Historians*, 118.

52 "The First Biennial Meeting of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History at Washington," *Journal of Negro History,* 2 (Oct. 1917), 445.

53 Carter G. Woodson, "Ten Years of Collecting and Publishing the Records of the Negro," *Journal of Negro History,* 10 (Oct. 1925), 598.

short notice a scientific appraisal of any work on the Negro in America or abroad. A special service in this field is now being rendered by the quarterly publication of such bibliographical survey in the Journal of Negro History, and this will be extended to cover scientific productions in other areas."[54]

During Woodson's lifetime, the association had five presidents: G. C. Hall, Robert E. Park, John R. Hawkins, John Hope, and Mary McLeod Bethune. From the creation of the association until Woodson's death, Woodson was director of research and editor and was involved in all of the important decision-making processes of the association. Throughout the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, Woodson referred to the association as a "scientific" (that is, rigorously academic in nature) movement that sought to unite "the efforts of both a learned society and a bureau of research," employing "investigators to explore fields of Negro history hitherto neglected or unknown." The ASNLH was much different than other professional historical associations of the Progressive era. Unlike the American Historical Association or the Mississippi Valley Historical Association (MVHA), Woodson opened the doors of the ASNLH to lay historians, ministers, secondary and elementary school teachers, businessmen, and the African American community as a whole. Early on, the association developed connections to the heart of black communities. Every year during Woodson's lifetime, the association meetings were held in black churches, community centers, colleges and universities, and high school auditoriums throughout the country. Churches were most often used because they could accommodate many people and they constituted the centers of the black community. The first time that an association meeting was held in a major hotel was in 1964 in Detroit.[55]

Though actively supported by various white philanthropists from the 1920s through the early 1930s, Woodson regularly sought the support of the black masses, especially after he formally severed ties from white philanthropists in 1933. Woodson directly told *Journal of Negro History* readers and subscribers how they could help the early black history movement. The following statement routinely appeared in the front matter of the January volumes of the *Journal* beginning in 1918:

> Five Ways to Help This Cause:
> Subscribe to the JOURNAL
> Become a member of the Association
> Contribute to our Research Fund
> Collect and send us the historical materials bearing on Negroes of your community
> Urge every Negro to write us all he knows about his family history

Woodson also called on the black community to help fund the association in more direct manners. He outlined how the association's work could be more effective if the black community collectively contributed to its financial stability. In the following plea from 1932, Woodson candidly informed *Journal of Negro History* readers why the association needed substantial financial resources to fulfill its mission:

> $30,000 NEEDED

54 Carter G. Woodson, "Association on Guard," *Norfolk Journal and Guide,* Oct. 17, 1936, p. 8.

55 Romero, "Carter G. Woodson: A Biography," 121.

> Help us raise annually the sum of $30,000 to finance the work of collecting and publishing the materials bearing on Negro life and history. Our efforts have hitherto been restricted to what we have been able to induce interested individuals to undertake in their respective localities. Moving at this slow rate and in such an unsystematic way, the work will proceed so slowly that many valuable documents and the testimonies of slaves and masters will be lost to the world and the story of the Negro will perish with him.
>
> To raise this fund we are appealing to all persons professing an interest in the propagation of the truth. We need
>
> 4 persons to contribute annually $1,000 each
> 8 persons to contribute annually 500 each
> 16 persons to contribute annually 250 each
> 20 persons to contribute annually 100 each
> 40 persons to contribute annually 50 each
> 80 persons to contribute annually 25 each
> 200 persons to contribute annually 10 each[56]

In 1916, without the consent of the other co-founders, Woodson launched the first issue of *The Journal of Negro History (JNH)*, the first major historical journal of the black American experience. Closely resembling the *American Historical Review,* the *Journal of Negro History* addressed a wide range of issues pertaining to Afro-diasporic histories. Many of the articles, authored by professional and amateur scholars, helped sparked the historical scholarship in various subfields that would emerge in African American historiography after the dynamic 1960s. Woodson also used the pages of the *Journal of Negro History* to discuss the developments of the study of African peoples, especially black America, and to regularly challenge racist scholarship in book reviews. By 1919, the circulation of the *JNH* reached 4,000 people. In 1919 Woodson maintained that there were 1,648 subscribers, that 600 copies were sold at newsstands, and that 500 bound copies, including all four volumes in a single volume, were sold.[57] As tributes reprinted in the *Journal of Negro History* in 1966 under the heading "Fiftieth Anniversary of the *Journal of Negro History*" revealed, Woodson's scholarly journal was praised by a diverse group of black and white scholars. Today, issues of the *JNH* published during Woodson's lifetime still serve as important sources for African Americanists.

While principal at Armstrong Manual Training High School, Woodson published his second major monograph, *A Century of Negro Migration* (1918). Less objective in its tone, more politically charged, and written in a more simple language than his 1915 monograph, this study explored the main reasons why African Americans "struggled under adverse circumstances to flee from bondage and oppression in quest of a land offering asylum to the oppressed and opportunity to the unfortunate." Predating by decades revisionist black migration studies of the 1980s and 1990s, Woodson argued that from the Civil War through 1918, migration was a "form of resistance to racial and class oppression." During an era of widespread antiblack violence, like antilynching crusader Ida B. Wells, he called out white southerners for the "barbarism." At the same time, Woodson, like Booker T. Washington,

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56 "$30,000 NEEDED," *Journal of Negro History,* 32 (Jan. 1932), front matter.

57 Carter G. Woodson, "The Report of the Director," *ibid.,* 4 (Oct. 1919), 479.

lamented black migration from the South. For Woodson, one of the greatest dilemmas of migration was the exodus of educated African Americans from the South. "The Southern Negroes," he declared, "have been robbed of their due part of the talented tenth." He understood why black intellectuals left the South, but at the same time he wanted them to stay connected to the masses. A substantial part of Woodson's study was aimed at dispelling the myths surrounding black migration during World War I. Woodson's assessment was not monocausal. He posited that blacks of various classes left and were leaving the South because they were violently terrorized, oppressed in political, social, and economic arenas, and because of various environmentally linked problems. Woodson also accurately predicted that race riots would take place in America as the migration of black people from the South continued.[58]

In the association's early years, Woodson sought to popularize and democratize the study of black history by gaining a mass following. By 1919 he employed J. E. Ormes—formerly in the business department of Wilberforce University—as a field agent. Ormes's role was to increase membership of the association, appoint agents to sell books and subscriptions to the *JNH,* and organize black history clubs. In the early years, Woodson called on any interested individuals to join his cause. In 1919 Woodson announced that "any five persons desiring to prosecute studies" in black history could have organized a club. Each club was required to pay the Association $2.00, a small fee that entitled the club to a year's subscription to the *JNH* and access to Woodson, by mail, for advice and the necessary instruction. He often sent clubs bibliographies and outlines for study. Woodson required only that the clubs elect a president, a secretary, a treasurer, and an instructor—the group's "most intelligent and the best informed member."[59]

In 1919 Woodson completed his third monograph, *The Negro in Our History*. "While it is adapted for use in the senior high school and freshman college classes," Woodson noted, "it will serve as a guide for persons prosecuting the study more seriously." Woodson planned to send field agents to "Negro schools of secondary and college grade" in order to arouse interest in this first major textbook in African American history. However, because of what Woodson called a "printer's strike," *The Negro in Our History* was not published until 1922.[60] The foundations for Woodson's devotion to the black history movement were laid during the Progressive Era. By the early 1920s, Woodson fully dedicated himself to the ASNLH and the promotion of African American history.

While Woodson was laying the foundation for the early black history movement, he was also active as a history teacher. In 1918 Woodson became the principal of Armstrong Manual Training School in Washington, D.C., where he advocated vocational and classical education. Like Booker T. Washington, he also inaugurated an adult education program. From 1919 until 1920, he served as the dean of Howard University's School of Liberal Arts, introducing and teaching black history at Howard at both undergraduate and graduate levels. As Charles Hamilton Houston did with the law school at Howard, Woodson established graduate training in history at Howard. He was known among students for his seriousness and high expectations. Arnett Lindsay, Woodson's first successful graduate student at Howard, recalled how rigorous the training was that he received under Woodson's

58 Carter G. Woodson, *A Century of Negro Migration* (Washington, 1918), v, 165.

59 "Notes," *Journal of Negro History*, 4 (April 1919), 237.

60 "Notes," *Ibid*., 4 (Oct. 1919), 474; "Notes," *ibid*., 5 (Jan. 1920), 135.

guidance. Refusing to monitor chapel attendance, Woodson did not see eye to eye with the white dominated administration and left after one year of work. Many of his indictments of black colleges in *The Mis-Education of the Negro* (1933) originated from his experiences at Howard. From 1920 until 1922 he served as a dean at West Virginia Collegiate Institute, the place where Woodson's protégé, Luther Porter Jackson, would later work tirelessly to place the ASNLH on the national map and popularize black history. In 1920 Woodson joined the Friends of Negro Freedom, a radical organization that stressed alleviating the economic problems facing black America, founded by Chandler Owens and A. Philip Randolph. While he was a dean at Howard, he also published his third major monograph, *The History of the Negro Church* (1921). Woodson advertised this study as the first serious historical study on the black church. He explored what he deemed "the greatest asset of the race" from the times when missionaries first converted blacks until the black church of the early twentieth century, underscoring that the black church and religion were corner stones of black American culture. He argued that the largest factor in the uplift of his people could have come from the ministry. *The History of the Negro Church* represents a significant shift in Woodson's scholarship. It is the first of his published monographs that is devoid of documentation and even a bibliography. At the same time, Woodson's study on the black church is considered a classic in its field by many of the leading historians of the African American religious experience.[61]

In 1921 Woodson also wrote an unpublished manuscript, "The Case of the Negro," that was rediscovered in 2005. Though not as influential as *The Mis-Education of the Negro,* Woodson's "lost-now-found" manuscript is an important document of early twentieth century African American intellectual history. Why didn't Woodson publish this manuscript? Simply put, its radical tone would have jeopardized the ASNLH's reputation and the funding that the ASNLH received from white philanthropists during the 1920s. While providing a revealing window onto Woodson's expressions of early radical thought and rhetoric, it also helps us better understand the wide spectrum of black scholars' interpretations of blacks' post–World War I status and a changing American society during the dawning of the 1920s. This newly discovered collection of essays clearly places Woodson within a trajectory of black intellectual radicalism or black radical thought. In "The Case of the Negro," Woodson challenged the conventional racism and Eurocentrism of the U.S. academy, popular culture, and historical profession, called for drastic changes and reforms in the social order of American society, chastised white America for its collective mistreatment of blacks, and critiqued the normative and widespread world views of black middle-class and elite leadership. As his sentiments cited at the opening of this article reveal, the tone of Woodson's observations and rhetoric were often bold, iconoclastic, and unapologetic. While generations of black scholars and historians before him, professionally trained and amateur, shared and articulated Woodson's candid critiques of white America and his celebration of black Americans' and Africans' cultural contributions, his unique status as one of the two African Americans to have earned a Ph.D. in history by the early 1920s adds complexity to the radical nature of his sentiments.

When Woodson wrote "The Case of the Negro," the U.S. historical profession,

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61 See, for instance, Albert J. Raboteau et al., "Retelling Carter Woodson's Story: Archival Sources for Afro-American Church History," *Journal of American History,* 77 (June 1990), 183–99.

grappling with the enduring "objectivity question," was clearly dominated by racist overtures.[62] To earn their doctorates at white institutions, the few African American Ph.D.s during the early 1920s had to strategically embrace a seemingly conservative version of objectivity, especially when confronting historical and contemporary issues related to race relations and African American culture. As the educational historian Derrick P. Alridge has argued, black scholars have struggled with "the dilemmas and challenges of objectivity, presentism, and voice and agency" since the early twentieth century.[63]

That Woodson wrote "The Case of the Negro" and *The Negro Church* in the same year speaks to his commitment to working for the cause of black history continuously. During the early 1920s Woodson was busy with many other tasks. He was what we call today a "multitasker." He was directing the ASNLH, editing a journal, and managing Associated Publishers, Inc. that was incorporated in the District of Columbia on June 3, 1921. By 1923 the Associated Publishers, Inc. was used to identify the "office home" that he purchased in July 1922. A year later, Woodson had a sign, 11½ feet wide and 2 feet high, placed the front façade of his home and the ASNLH headquarters, to the right of the front door. The sign read in capital letters: "THE ASSOCIATED PUBLISHERS, INC." The pioneering Woodson biographer Patricia W. Romero has provided an intriguing discussion of why Woodson decided to found the Associated Publishers, Inc.:

> The Association had published some books prior to his establishing a publishing firm, but he had decided that the role of the Association should be distinguished from that of publisher. This was especially true in relation to outsiders wishing to publish through his organization. Rayford W. Logan . . . wrote that Woodson founded the Associated Publishers because Negro scholars encountered difficulty in publishing their works. There were, at that time, few places to which blacks could turn for publication, partly, said Logan, because few of them were trained scholars and partly because other publishers thought that they would not write objectively about themselves. According to Logan, Woodson believed that publishers of major firms did not think books written by Negroes, especially books of a scholarly nature, would sell to other blacks because they did not read volumes of this sort. Furthermore, it was thought whites and blacks were more interested in stories about Harlem dives than in scholarship. Woodson not only published the works of promising Negro historians, he also aided them financially at times so that they could spend time on research.[64]

By 1922 Woodson decided to devote his life to the association. He resigned from his position at West Virginia Collegiate Institute and moved to Washington, D.C., where he firmly established the ASNLH. On July 22, 1922, he purchased his "office home" at 1538 9th Street NW, Washington, D.C. For the next twenty-eight years, he devoted his life to maintaining the association; to the scientific study of black America; to training a cadre of black historians; to democratizing and popularizing the study of black history; and to an overall

62 For discussions of racism in the academy and the historical profession during the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth centuries see Novick, *That Noble Dream*; Meier and Rudwick, *Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915–1980*; Lewis, "To Turn as on a Pivot"; and Winston, Through the Back Door."

63 See Derrick P. Alridge, "The Dilemmas, Challenges, and Duality of an African-American Educational Historian," *American Educational Research Association,* 32 (Dec. 2003): 25–34.

64 Patricia W. Romero, "Carter G. Woodson: A Biography," (Ph.D. diss, Ohio State University, 1971), 129–30.

quest for equal rights and justice for his people. Woodson could have devoted his life to strictly the academy, as Lorenzo J. Greene noted. The once self-professed "living example of the miseducated black Yankee," Greene thought that in the 1920s Woodson "should be teaching at Harvard, Yale, Columbia, or some other ivy league school."[65] Woodson chose to commit his life to the study and promotion of black history.

In many respects the 1920s, as Darlene Clark Hine has posited, were "golden years" for the association. During this decade he received thousands of dollars from the Carnegie Foundation, the Julius Rosenwald Foundation, and from three Rockefeller trusts. These funds allowed him to hire young black scholars—including A. A. Taylor, Langston Hughes, Lorenzo J. Greene, Myra Colson Callis, Laura G. Glenn, and Charles Wesley—to conduct and publish cutting-edge historical and sociological research. From 1922 until 1929 Woodson was prolific, publishing four articles in *The Journal of Negro History* and many books, including *Free Negro Owners of Slaves in the United States* (1924), *Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1830* (1925), *Ten Years of Collecting and Publishing the Records of the Negro* (1925), *The Mind of the Negro As Reflected in Letters Written During the Crisis, 1800–1860* (1926), *Negro Orators and Their Orations* (1926*), Negro Makers of History* (1928), *African Myths Together With Proverbs* (1928), and *The Negro As Businessman* (1929). Even though the association was rooted in black community infrastructures after its founding, by the mid-1920s Woodson more actively strove to open the association's doors more widely to the black masses. By the early 1930s, after white philanthropists withdrew their support from the association, Woodson relied on black communities throughout the country, especially those in Washington D.C., to maintain the association's activities.

While the 1920s were, in retrospect, prosperous times for the ASNLH because of the funding it received, even during this decade Woodson made enormous sacrifices for the cause of black history. An interesting 1930 tribute to Woodson in the *Afro-American* (Baltimore) shared with readers how instrumental Woodson was in maintaining the ASNLH during the 1920s:

> The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History has been able to balance its annual budget of $20,000 because, as in former years, the Director, Carter G. Woodson, has served without compensation.
>
> Thousands of men and women have been able to take a neglected and despised cause like the chronicling of the history of a lowly people, and collection of ancient documents bearing upon such a chronicle, and through the magic of sincerity, persistence and clear vision lift it to such a place of dignity and respect . . .
>
> Our white folks lament that Negroes have never built a civilization, and men like Dr. Woodson rise up and point to the thick lips and kinky hair of the Sphinx . . . Dr. Woodson has worked without ceasing. His important book, "The Negro in Our History," which has gone through four editions, is probably more widely known among school children than any other single book. . . . [T]eachers have been enlightened and inspired by Dr. Woodson, who in his lectures all over the country and by means of the annual meeting of the association, has educated the teachers as well as the public concerning the wide field of Negro history and the satisfying results which may be achieved by a thorough study.

65 Greene, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson."

> The fact that the history association has not been able to pay Dr. Woodson a salary may be regarded as evidence of the public's failure to appreciate the services of the historian and the history association.
>
> On the other hand, there are signs of increasing public regard for Dr. Woodson, and his contributions to history, and well might there be.
>
> He has blazed a new trail. He has put old truths to a new light. He has brought a new light to those who sat in darkness. He has made it possible for every Negro lad to hold his head a little higher and set his chin a little firmer.
>
> He has made it possible for a race to face the future with greater hope because he has taken the cover off the past.
>
> Two or three more men like Dr. Woodson and even inaccurate news magazines like "Time" will cease claiming the Egyptians and the Abyssinians for the white race.[66]

As it is detailed in Chapter 3 of this study, one of Woodson's most important contributions to the early black history movement was his mission and ability to transform black history into a practical and popular medium for uplifting blacks and challenging racial prejudice. He revolutionized the American historical profession and democratized the study of black history by extending the discipline to various nonprofessional groups of trained scholars. In adopting this approach, he did not de-emphasize the role of rigorous scholarship in the "life-and-death struggle" for black liberation. On the other hand, he maintained that in addition to being founded on rigorous research, the study and dissemination of black history should extend to the working-class and youthful sectors of the black community. Woodson reasoned that the knowledge of African American history was, after all, one practical, though nonmaterial, way black people could become liberated and empowered. Between 1915 and 1950 (increasingly more by the 1920s), he strove to enlighten the black masses, popularizing black history in a variety of ways. He extended himself as a resource to black communities throughout the country. Woodson opened the doors of the association meetings and activities to lay historians, ministers, secondary and elementary school teachers, businessmen, and the black community as a whole. He initiated Negro History Week and other extension services. And he published *The Negro History Bulletin*, an essential yet often overlooked outlet for not only Woodson himself but also for countless black thinkers representing a wide spectrum of the black community.

It should be underscored that Woodson's practical approach to using black history as a tool of psychological empowerment and liberation was heightened by his pessimistic view of American politics. "Throughout the 1930s and 1940s Woodson continued his advocacy of black political independence and retained no ties to any party."[67] Woodson began voicing his what would become consistent dismissal of politics as a source of black uplift in September 1932 on the eve of the 1932 U.S. presidential election. "So far as the two major parties are concerned," Woodson declared, "we cannot expect any benefit from either. These parties are not trying to help humanity. They are merely using humanity as a means to selfish ends."[68] In another essay, Woodson revealed his distrust in politicians: "The New Negro in politics is not a politician. He is a man. He is not trying to give the world something rather

66 "Dr. Carter G. Woodson," *Afro-American* (Baltimore), Nov. 8, 1930, p. 6. ""

67 Goggin, *Carter G. Woodson*, 174.

68 Carter G. Woodson, "Dr. Woodson Urges Voters In Next Election To Use Ballots Discriminately," *Atlanta Daily World*, Sept. 16, 1932, p. 6.

than extract something from it . . . If he goes into office it will be as a sacrifice, because his valuable time is required elsewhere."[69]

After earning his doctorate, Woodson began publishing a genre of historical scholarship that was accessible to a wide range of readers. In fact, Woodson wrote in such a simple language that some of his modern critics have considered him unsophisticated. The historians August Meier and Elliott Rudwick have claimed that "Woodson, unlike Du Bois, did not produce monographs that are read and admired to this day," that he "did not function as an influential historian through his own monographs."[70]

Woodson, however, published several brands of scholarship: in the vindicationist tradition, rigorous, scientific scholarship to combat racist scholarship; polemical commentaries to address black America's contemporary status in American society; and books aimed at attracting a wide readership from elementary school students to university students. This last collection of books included *The Negro in Our History* (1922), *Negro Makers of History* (first published in 1928, with a sales number of 100, 000 by 1950), *African Myths Together with Proverbs* (1928), *The African Background Outlined* (1936), and *African Heroes and Heroine*s (1939). The unfinished *Encyclopedia Africana* was also written in a very simple language. Woodson was very clear about the purpose behind this last brand of scholarship. Several years before it was actually published, Woodson advertised *The Negro in Our History* as a study for use in black history clubs, elementary and high schools, and colleges and universities. A high priority for him was reaching out to those reading and thinking at basic levels. "Just as soon as this book has come from the press," Woodson told *JNH* readership, "the Association will send to all Negro schools of secondary and college grade a field agent to interest them in the effort to inculcate in the mind of the youth of African blood an appreciation of what their race has thought and felt and done."[71]

It is difficult to discern how these various publications impacted their readers. The voluminous *Papers of Carter G. Woodson and the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1915–1950* contain elaborate records of books sold by the association from the 1920s on. While there are countless receipts and orders, Associated Publishers struggled throughout its existence. According to Lorenzo Johnston Greene, in the middle of 1930 boxes of the association's books were literally collecting mildew in the association headquarters basement. During Woodson's lifetime, there was not a high demand for black history books among the general black populace. The poet Sterling Brown declared in the early 1940s that the hardest task facing black authors was "developing a critical but interested reading public."[72] Working-class blacks, especially during the lean years of the Great Depression, did not place a high priority on purchasing hard-cover scholarly literature. As Lorenzo Greene testified during his book-selling campaigns, members of the black professional class usually purchased the association's literature. *The Negro in Our History* was Woodson's most popular book. By March 1941, Woodson noted that 40,000 copies of his text had been sold.[73] Unlike

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69 Carter G. Woodson, "Principle Is The Thing In Politics, Says Woodson," *ibid*., Sept. 22, 1932, p. A2.

70 Meier and Rudwick, Black *History and the Historical Profession, 1915–1980*, 71.

71 "Notes," *Journal of Negro History* 7 (Oct. 1922), 454.

72 Sterling A. Brown, "The Negro Author and His Publisher," *Quarterly Review of Higher Education Among Negroes,* 9 (Spring 1941), 145–46.

73 Arvarh Strickland, ed., *Selling Black History for Carter G. Woodson: A Diary, 1930–1933, By Lorenzo J. Greene* (Columbia, 1996).

any other academic organization of its generation, the ASNLH welcomed non-Ph.D.s into its ranks and even into its leadership positions. A perusal of the *JNH* from 1916 through Woodson's death indicates that at every annual meeting, teachers of various levels and community activists, including many club women, presented papers and in many cases even had their essays published in the pages of the *JNH* alongside the research of leading black and white scholars. In doing so, Woodson sought to democratize the black scholarly community.

Woodson's most famous and perhaps most effective effort at attracting a mass following and popularizing the study of black history was through Negro History Week celebrations. Before 1926 when he inaugurated this celebration, however, Woodson took black history to the people in other ways. Between the founding of the ASNLH and his death, Woodson and his entourage were among the most demanded lecturers in the black community nationwide. Woodson himself spoke at various venues throughout his lifetime. Many times when honoraria were not available, he accepted collections taken or he agreed to speak for lodging, food, and travel expenses. Woodson made such sacrifices because he was determined to spread his message to those willing to listen. The record indicates that he left a great impression on his audiences. L. D. Reddick, for instance, recounted that during his childhood in Jacksonville, Florida, Woodson was easily "the most impressive speaker" that he had heard. The way he handled himself before his audience, his electricity, and his dedication to "the cause," influenced the young Reddick to join the "Negro History Movement."[74] Woodson also corresponded with countless men and women from all around the world interested in black history. He answered their questions, commented on papers, and mailed them information pertaining to black history. Since its inception, Woodson commented in *Ten Years of Collecting and Publishing the Records of the Negro*, the association had functioned as a "free reference bureau" regarding the study of black life and history. Before Negro History Week, Woodson also attempted to stir interest in black history among the youth with financial incentives. In 1924, for instance, in collaboration with the American Folklore Society, the Association offered a $200.00 prize "for the best collection of tales, riddles, proverbs, sayings, and songs, which have been heard at home by Negro students of accredited schools."[75]

In 1927, a year after the founding of Negro History Week, Woodson established the association's extension division to expose more people to black history through public lectures and correspondence study. The Home Study Department was necessary in Woodson's view because not enough teachers were qualified to teach the black youth about their history and because "various classes of citizens" needed to know their history. Besides Negro History Week, another form of major extension work undertaken by the association director was the founding of *The Negro History Bulletin*. By the mid 1930s Woodson realized that the contents of the *JNH* attracted only a certain class of black American readers and he wanted to increase his regular readership among black youth, the black working class, black elementary and secondary school teachers, and among nonacademics in general. The *Negro History Bulletin (NHB)* had many functions. Written in a simple language to help black teachers who had little or no knowledge about black history, it supplemented the standard American history textbook at the time. The *Negro Bulletin* was the vehicle by which

74 L.D. Reddick, "As I Remember Woodson," *Negro History Bulletin,* 17 (Nov. 1953), 36.

75 "Notes," *Journal of Negro History,* 9 (April 1924), 239.

schoolteachers and other concerned citizens could help Woodson take black history into the homes of the black masses. The magazine served as an advertising mechanism for the association's activities, especially for Negro History Week. It also served as another vehicle in which blacks, from elementary school children to community activists to schoolteachers to professional scholars, could openly discuss and even publish their thoughts pertaining to black history and the study of it. Woodson stressed to potential contributors that only serious articles dealing with black history would be considered. The *NHB* was not an entertainment magazine. Woodson also used the *NHB* as another one of his ideological platforms.

While the 1920s were arguably the association's "golden years" in financial terms, the 1930s and the 1940s were challenging to the association under Woodson's reign. "After 1933 no white foundation made substantial contribution to the association, and Woodson was forced to depend almost totally on the black community for the financial support necessary to continue his campaign to promote Negro history."[76] In a letter to Arthur Spingarn dated June 13, 1936, Woodson observed: "Few whites now help because we are too independent."[77] During the economically stifling 1930s and 1940s, Woodson opted for independence. "Rather than give up his autonomy, Woodson preferred to struggle financially. Indeed, the 1930s would prove to be a struggle," Jacqueline Goggin surmised, "Yet, these financial challenges were met by economizing, increasing administrative efficiency, and planning creatively. At the same time, Woodson further extended his reach to the masses of black Americans, and in doing so, broadened the base of his movement and heightened the black community's racial pride and cultural consciousness. To ease his physical and mental stress during the troublesome depression decade, he spent several summers in Europe, taking extended vacations for the first time in his life."[78]

During the 1930s and 1940s, the association struggled to break even in terms of receipts and disbursements at the end of each fiscal year (July 1 through June 30). By 1949, Woodson borrowed several thousand dollars to maintain the Association and in his final 1949 Annual Review, he lamented: "Problems have arisen, but the management with the cooperation of warm friends of the effort have contrived to solve most of them. The chief difficulty is the disparity between the increase and expenditures of the organization. While its income remains about the same the coast of operating is about 70 percent more than it was a few years ago. It was necessary, therefore, for the association to borrow two thousand dollars to meet pressing obligations. In the meantime the management will make a special effort to increase the income to the level of expenditure."[79]

From 1915 until his death, Woodson's "bride was truly the Association and to her he left his worldly goods and his files. It was found after his death that the Association owed him a considerable amount in salary which he had never seen fit to collect. The Association needed it more."[80] In the words of the preeminent historian John Hope Franklin a month following Woodson's death, after founding the Association "for the next thirty-five years he [Woodson] was to labor unceasingly in the task of reconstructing the history of a people and

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76 Goggin, *Carter G. Woodson,* 94.

77 Darlene Clark Hine, *Hine Sight: Black Women and the Re-Construction of American History* (New York, 1994), 221.

78 Goggin, *Carter G. Woodson,* 94.

79 "Annual Review," *Journal of Negro History,* 34 (Oct. 1949), 383.

80 Cobb, "Carter Godwin Woodson," 155.

of rehabilitating their place in society on the basis of that history. Few men in any generation have worked so tirelessly and effectively toward their chosen goal."[81] "At the peak of his career as an educator," the ASNLH activist Albert N. D. Brooks told students who filled an auditorium at Carter G. Woodson Junior High School in Washington, D.C., in 1956, "Woodson turned his back on high-salaried positions to devote his life to a cause."[82] Form 1915 until 1950, Woodson's name was synonymous with "Negro history" and the ASNLH.

The Meaning of Woodson's Death to the ASNLH and His "Boys"

Woodson died suddenly from a heart attack on April 3, 1950. According to the *Pittsburgh Courier* (Washington Edition) Woodson "was found dead by friends who forced entry into his residence at 1538 Ninth Street, NW, shortly after noon Monday. He was pronounced dead by his physician, Howard University professor Dr. Henry A. Callis, who conjectured that the eminent scholar died peacefully, while in bed. Mrs. Jessie Robinson, office manager of the Associated Publishers, Inc., the venture founded by Dr. Woodson in 1922, told *The Courier* that she heard him stirring in his quarters, located on the third floor of the office building, earlier in the day and that he had evidently retired again. He had been suffering from a heart ailment for the past several years, she disclosed, but she did not become uneasy until he failed to 'come down to the office' at 12:30 as usual. Mrs. Robinson called a personal friend of the nationally known man, Arnett G. Lindsay, and asked him to investigate. Mr. Lindsay forced the door, after repeated knocking brought no response and found Dr. Woodson lying in bed. Noting the coldness of his hands, and detecting no heartbeat, he summoned the office staff and ask that Dr. Callis be summoned."[83] *The Call: Southwest's Leading Weekly* added that Woodson "was found dead in his bed in his apartment about 2 o'clock in the afternoon by Arnett G. Lindsay" and that Woodson "had been up the night before until 11 o'clock talking to friends."[84] In a letter to the editor of the *Washington Post* on April 8, 1950, Woodson's physician Henry Arthur Callis requested that Woodson's death be recognized like that of Charles Drew and explained the cause of the ASNLH founder's death: "The immediate cause of Dr. Woodson's death was the shock of the loss of Charles R. Drew."[85] According to the will that Woodson created on November 30, 1934, the possession of the property for his "office home" was transferred to the ASNLH and, in hindsight, it seems that Woodson's immediate predecessors may have underappreciated the importance of this historical landmark. At the same time, they certainly had other priorities to deal with. The history of the Carter G. Woodson Home following Woodson's death is difficult to chart. But it is clear that the Woodson's home gradually ceased to physically and symbolically embody the heart of the early black history movement. The association founder's sudden death on April 3, 1950, shocked his co-workers and with his death the significance and role of his home and the ASNLH's office began to decline. Four major figures in the black struggle for social justice and equality died at the midpoint of the twentieth century: Charles Drew (1904–1950), Charles Hamilton Houston (1895–1950), Luther Porter Jackson (1892–1950), and Carter G. Woodson (1875–1950). It was surmised

81 Franklin, "The Place of Carter G. Woodson in American Historiography," 175.

82 Albert N. D. Brooks, "Dr. Woodson the Inspiration," *Negro History Bulletin,* 20 (Dec. 1956), 66.

83 "Noted Historian Gave Meaning to Past of Negroes," *Washington Edition of the Pittsburgh Courier,* April 8, 1950.

84 "Death to Carter G. Woodson, Historian," *The Call,* April 14, 1950, p. 20.

85 Henry Arthur Callis, "Carter G. Woodson," *Washington Post,* April 8, 1950, p. 6.

by Henry A. Callis and later by Sister A. M. Scally that Woodson never fully recovered from the shock that the news of Drew's death brought upon him.

Immediately following Woodson's funeral services at Shiloh Baptist Church in Washington, D.C., the association's executive council, Lorenzo J. Greene, Charles H. Wesley, and other Woodson "boys"—"Franklin, Reddick, Jackson, et al,"—met at the association headquarters at 1538 Ninth Street "to decide whether the Association would continue." The meeting was called by Woodson's logical successor, Wesley. Woodson's associates and especially the executive council realized that their deceased leader truly *was* the association; it was "his own private preserve" and "his creation."[86] Acting Secretary Arnett G. Lindsay was honored by Wesley's proposal that he serve as the managing editor of the *Journal of Negro History* and the *Negro History Bulletin*, "but was of the opinion, since Woodson's work was at lest four-fold that the continuation of the Association's program would have to be divided among four or five interested members."[87] In his first "Report of the Director" in October 1950, Rayford W. Logan reiterated Lindsay: "It would be impossible for any one to carry out the multitudinous tasks that Dr. Woodson had learned, through the years, to perform with efficiency and dispatch."[88] Part of the reason why this was the case was because Woodson, in one sense, did not adequately prepare the organization for the future. For instance, when he was asked at the association's annual meeting in Columbus, Ohio, in 1945 about sharing the leadership responsibilities of the Association by his "boys," he reminded them that "the Association was his creation. He had built it, sacrificed for it, and he would continue to direct it until his death."[89] According to a 1950 article in the *Chicago Defender*, "Set 1st History Meet Since Woodson's Death," Association officials believed that "it will be necessary to refashion the body's entire structure in order to keep it going and meet the increasing demands for its services. There is much talk of 'clearing out old timber' and 'injecting new blood' into the governing board."[90]

As Reddick surmised, though Woodson "noticeably mellowed" in "the last year of his life" and "appeared to be trying to learn to delegate important tasks, to let others lift some of the load from his individual shoulders," during the early 1950s the association failed to "make the transition smoothly . . . *principally because no one has been found as yet who can afford or will afford to run the risk of making the work of the Association his full-time job. Many capable and willing hands will help with this or that part-time duty but the Association requires a full-time director.* What a wonderful opportunity for some young scholar! What a great chance to continue the work of a truly great man! What a strategic moment in history to help American culture become more democratic!"[91] At the closing session of the ASNLH annual meeting in Nashville, Tennessee, on October 25, 1953, Charles H. Wesley echoed Reddick, calling on the association to return to its status of being a "servant" to "a number of publics" and to continue to popularize black history as Woodson strove to do.[92]

86 Greene, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson."

87 "Proceedings of ASNLH Executive Council Meeting," April 8, 1950, *The Papers of Carter G. Woodson and the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1915–1950* (microfilm, 34 reels, University Publications of America, 1999).

88 Rayford W. Logan, "Report of the Director," *Journal of Negro History,* 35 (Oct. 1950), 359.

89 Greene, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson."

90 "Set 1st History Meet Since Woodson's Death," *Chicago Defender,* Sept. 30, 1950, p. 2.

91 Reddick, "As I Remember Woodson," 38. (Emphasis added.)

92 Charles H. Wesley, "The Association and the Public," *Negro Historical Bulletin,* 17 (Jan. 1954), 75-78, 90.

The Relationship Between Woodson, Mary McLeod Bethune, and the ASNLH

Because the Mary McLeod Bethune Council House, NHS (1318 Vermont Avenue NW) is close to the Woodson Home and managed by the same site manager and because Bethune was very active in the ASNLH, it is worth briefly summarizing the relationship between Bethune and Woodson.[93] According to Lorenzo J. Greene, Mary McLeod Bethune was the only one of Woodson's co-workers to call him by his first name. Woodson and Bethune had a close relationship and both of their homes are national historic sites in the same Washington, D.C., neighborhood. In 1935 Lucy Harth Smith and Mary McLeod Bethune became the first black women elected to the executive council. Then, at the annual meeting in Petersburg, Virginia, in 1936, Bethune was elected president of the ASNLH "to fill the vacancy" opened by John Hope's death in February of 1936. Bethune, founder of Daytona Educational and Industrial Institute, served as the president of the ASNLH from 1936 though 1952. Though her presidency has been called "largely ceremonial," Bethune definitely left her mark as association president. The author of Associated Publishers' *Women Builders* went as far as asserting that "no connection of Mrs. Bethune's was more important than her election to the presidency, succeeding John Hope, of the Association of the Study of Negro Life and History." One of her biographers added that she brought "prestige and money" to the association.[94]

When Bethune was elected president of the ASNLH, she was one of the most well-known and respected black public figures. From 1936 until 1945 she was, in one scholar's estimation, "the pre-eminent race leader at large."[95] In 1924, she was elected President of the National Association of Colored Women. In 1935, she was elected president of the National Council of Negro Women, an overarching organization that encompassed all black women's organizations. From 1935 until 1943, Bethune, who was close to Franklin D. Roosevelt and his wife Eleanor, was director of the National Youth Administration's Division of Negro Affairs. Bethune was linked to many organizations in the black community, such as the NAACP and the National Urban League. She had a particularly close relationship with Eleanor Roosevelt. It has been said that Bethune had "carte blanche" to the office of the First Lady who influenced her husband's potential decisions. While Bethune's various responsibilities may have determined the amount of time she could devote to the association, she did contribute significantly to the intellectual climate of the annual meetings; served as a well-known representative, fundraiser, and publicist for the association; and supported Woodson in his quest to democratize and popularize African American history.

As ASNLH President, Bethune regularly attended the annual meetings, presiding over annual and executive council meetings. From 1935 to 1951, she delivered many addresses, five of which were published in the *Journal*. Historian Bettye Collier-Thomas is correct in

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93 In the "Scope of Work" for the Carter G. Woodson Home Historic Resource Study (July 2, 2008), I was asked to provide a summary of the relationship between Woodson and Bethune. It will be useful especially for those who seek to draw connections between these two national historic sites in the Shaw neighborhood.

94 Audrey Thomas McCluskey, "In Pursuit of Unalienable Rights: Mary McLeod Bethune in Historical Perspective, 1875–1955," in *Mary McLeod Bethune: Building a Better World*, ed. Audrey Thomas McCluskey and Elaine M. Smith (Bloomington , 1999), 6; Sadie Iola Daniel, *Women Builders* (Washington, 1970), 109; Rackham Holt, *Mary McLeod Bethune: A Biography* (New York , 1964), 266.

95 Elaine M. Smith, "Bethune, Mary McLeod," in *Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*, vol. I: *A-L*, ed. Darlene Clark Hine, Elsa Barkley-Brown, and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn (Bloomington , 1993), 121.

crediting Bethune with "disseminating the study of black history through her speeches and writings." In her speeches as association president, Bethune articulated her vision of the function of history and the role of the black intellectual, reiterating Woodson's goal for the association to search for "truth" and stressing that black scholars should concentrate their efforts on popularizing black history. Bethune's philosophy of black history was essentially pragmatic. The "social usefulness of scholarship and its findings depends on its translation into the common tongue," Bethune asserted. Like Woodson, she believed that black historians needed to arm black children with the knowledge of their "glorious" past of "marvelous achievement." Young schoolchildren's perceptions of African American history were very important to her. She believed that black children could be encouraged to overcome great obstacles, to "make new history," if they were exposed to what their foreparents accomplished. It was for this reason that under Bethune's reign as president the *Negro History Bulletin* prospered, she being one of its most important fundraisers. Like the association founder, she also optimistically maintained that "world peace and brotherhood" would result from greater appreciation of African and African American contributions to American and world history.[96]

As association president, Bethune also celebrated the historical and contemporary contributions of black women. At the 32nd annual meeting of the association in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, in 1947, she delivered an address entitled "Recent Achievements of Negro Women." Bethune stressed with exuding pride that black women contributed greatly to African American advancement on many levels in manners equal to their male counterparts. Bethune proclaimed: "I am glad that I am a woman! . . . The women of my race have stood shoulder to shoulder with our men—thinking together, counseling and working, in every field of endeavor, acknowledging no barriers or race or sex. Our achievements have only begun. They will continue as long as we press forward, with knowledge and understanding—and without fear![97]

Bethune's faith in the significance of black history went beyond her presidency of the association. During her retirement at seventy-eight years of age, she published "My Last Will and Testament" in *Ebony*. In the tradition of association workers, she sought to pass on to future generations of African Americans her legacy "in hope that an old woman's philosophy may give them inspiration." She reminded her younger readership that "our ancestors endured the degradation of slavery" with dignity so that the future generations could benefit. She believed that this past should never be forgotten or taken for granted. In the tradition of Woodson and the association, she proclaimed that "our greatest Negro figures have been imbued with faith. Our forefathers struggled for liberty in conditions far more onerous than those we now face but never lost the faith. Their perseverance paid rich dividends. We must never forget their sufferings and their sacrifices, for they were the foundations of

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96 McCluskey, "In Pursuit of Unalienable Rights: Mary McLeod Bethune in Historical Perspective," 13; Mary McLeod Bethune, "The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History: Its Contributions to Our Modern Life," *Journal of Negro History,* 20 (Oct. 1935), 409; Bethune, "Clarifying Our Vision with Facts," ibid., 23 (Jan. 1938), 10–15; Emma Gelders Sterne, *Mary McLeod Bethune* (New York, 1957), 234; Bethune, "The Adaptation of the History of the Negro to the Capacity of the Child," *Journal of Negro History,* 24 (Jan. 1939), 9–13.

97 *Mary McLeod Bethune Papers: The Bethune Foundation Collection,* Part I: *Writings, Diaries, Scrapbooks, Biographical Materials, and Files on the National Youth Administration and Women's Organizations, 1918–1955* (microfilm, 19 reels, University Publications of America, 1997), reel 2.

the progress of our people." She also called on the younger generation of black leaders to emulate the selfless works of famous historical figures. "We must produce more qualified people like them who will work not for themselves, but for others."[98] Bethune's pragmatic vision of history, like that of Woodson, was meant to inspire younger generations of African Americans to persevere and promote racial pride.

Woodson valued Bethune's dedication to black civil rights and her contributions as president of the association. In May of 1950, Bethune recalled: "This year I felt that my own shoulders were over-tired and I told Carter Woodson that I wanted to lay down the duties of the Association's presidency, but he would not let me. He pleaded with me to stay through this year."[99] Woodson and Bethune appeared to have had a solid relationship and a sense of mutual respect. In the draft for his *Encyclopedia Africana,* Woodson wrote an extensive eight-page account of her life and work. He deemed her "one of the most distinguished personages of her time." These compliments should not be taken lightly, since Woodson was very conservative with any kind of praise. Bethune equally admired Woodson. After he died, she praised him. "I loved Carter Woodson," Bethune testified, "He helped me to maintain faith in myself. He gave me renewed confidence in the capacity of my race."[100]

Conclusion

The son of former enslaved African Americans, Woodson was a remarkably prolific scholar who authored polemics such as *The Mis-Education*, juvenile literature, as well as scientific history. During his lifetime, he wrote, co-authored, and/or edited more than twenty books, more than a dozen major scholarly articles, and countless widely-read newspaper columns and book reviews. The bulk of this scholarship was produced in his "office home." Though considered by some to be static and cantankerous in his approach and demeanor, many joined and supported his cause and between 1915 and 1950 Woodson adjusted his strategies to suit the broader transformations in American society and the black community, responding creatively to the Progressive Era, the Harlem Renaissance, the Great Depression, the New Deal, and World War II and its aftermath. Woodson was the principal mentor and promoter for the early black history movement. He did for this movement what Alain Locke, Charles Johnson, and James Weldon Johnson had done for the Harlem Renaissance.[101] But Woodson, unlike most male scholars of his times, welcomed black women as equal co-workers and leaders in the ranks of his movement. Mary McLeod Bethune, who had very fond memories of Woodson, served as president of the ASNLH from 1936 until 1952. Woodson also facilitated productive cross-generational dialogues and relationships. "The majority of serious students of the Negro in American history have become indebted to Dr. Woodson for inspiration, encouragement, and, in some cases, more tangible assistance," historian Alrutheus A. Taylor testified in 1950, "Indeed, several competent students of other phases of

98 Mary McLeod Bethune, "My Last Will and Testament," in *Mary McLeod Bethune,* ed. McCluskey and Smith, 58–59.

99 Mary McLeod Bethune, "True Leadership is Timeless," *Negro History Bulletin,* 13 (May 1950), 173.

100 *The Papers of Carter G. Woodson and the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1915–1950,* reel 10.

101 For a discussion of these scholars' roles as Harlem Renaissance promoters, see Cary D. Wintz, *Black Culture and the Harlem Renaissance* (Houston, 1988), 102–29.

Negro life have become similarly, to a degree at least, obligated to him."[102]

Throughout his career, Woodson mobilized a tight circle of seven younger professionally trained black historians who, despite his hardness, apprenticed themselves to him for varying periods of time. As L. D. Reddick testified, "Though he guarded his time like a soldier, he was always genuine with it when it came to 'young scholars.'"[103] Included in this group whom "he sometimes called his 'sons,'" were Alrutheus A. Taylor, Charles H. Wesley, Luther Porter Jackson, Lorenzo Johnston Greene, Rayford W. Logan, William Sherman Savage, James Hugo Johnston, and, to a lesser degree, John Hope Franklin.[104] These scholars, who were born mainly during what Logan deemed "the nadir" and took pride in calling themselves Woodson's "boys," often ideologically departed from their mentor, but they usually put these differences to the side to work with Woodson in establishing the foundations for black history as a legitimate field of study, a vital and practical source of pride for African Americans, and as a cross-cultural educational reform movement. The dialogues, interactions, and relationships between Woodson and his disciples significantly contributed to the evolution of the black historical enterprise during a fundamental period in its maturation. These historians in turn trained succeeding generations of black historians who helped legitimize black history during the dynamic black power era. It is no exaggeration to say that today's leading black historians, from those who came of age during the civil rights era to those socialized during the "golden age" of hip hop, were indirectly influenced by Woodson. W. Montague Cobb's musings from 1970 are still valid: "Every proponent of 'black awareness' and every contributor to a 'black studies program' stands squarely on the shoulders of his work."[105]

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102 Rayford W. Logan, "Phylon Profile VI: Carter G. Woodson," *Phylon,* 6 (4th quarter 1945), 321; Taylor, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson: Inspirer and Benefactor of Young Scholars," 186.

103 Reddick, "As I Remember Woodson," 36.

104 Woodson's "boys"—as they referred to themselves as late as the 1980s—were born in the 1890s; they were educated at some of the most prestigious graduate history departments in the country; their Ph.D. dissertations concerned race relations, African American history, and in the case of Logan, Africans in the Diaspora; they all became involved in some form of social and/or political activism; and they all published important monographs. See Meier and Rudwick, *Black History and the Historical Profession,* , 75–95.

105 Cobb, "Carter Godwin Woodson," 151.

Chapter Two

Woodson's Life in the Nation's Capital and the Woodson Home

According to the authors of the 2008 *Historic Structure Report* for the Woodson home, the life of the home can be subdivided into five major periods during which there were "significant changes of use and construction occurred:" 1872–1879, 1880–1921, 1922–1950, 1951–1971, and 1972 to the present.[1] I agree with the general framework of this periodization, but would further break down the last phase from 1972 until the present. The home was no longer occupied by the association by 1971, but its history from the middle of the black power era until the present can be subdivided into several phases, the late 1970s and early-mid 1980s being especially dynamic years in the Woodson home's post-ASNLH occupancy. Nevertheless, the "period of significance for the Carter G. Woodson Home covers the period 1922 through 1950. These dates correspond to the years in which Dr. Carter G. Woodson owned and occupied the home, using it as a residence and as an office for the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History and its publishing agency. . . . His home . . . is a tangible reminder of his legacy—one that continues to serve as a lasting connection to his life,"[2] the early black history movement, the present efforts to popularize black history, and the enduring struggle for black advancement and liberation.

Woodson's "Office Home," the Associated Publishers, Inc., the "Shaw" Neighborhood, and Woodson's Religious and Social Life in Washington, D.C.

Built sometime between 1872 and 1874 (the specific architect (s) and builders (s) is/are unknown at this time), Woodson purchased the three-story, brick, Victorian-style house on Lot 819 in Square 365 at 1538 Ninth Street, NW from the agents George F. Cook and A.W. Mitchell on July 18, 1922, for $8,000.00. On the eve of purchasing the home Woodson rented office space for the ASNLH on U Street. Eight months before purchasing his new home, Woodson and the Association listed "1216 You Street, NW, Washington, D.C." as its headquarters and mailing address.[3] From the founding of the association until 1919, Woodson used his apartment at 2223 12th Street, NW as his organization's base of operations. Surprisingly, Woodson did not celebrate or even announce the acquisition of his new Ninth Street home in the "Notes" or "Director's Report" sections or anywhere else in the *Journal of Negro History*. It appears that the first publically published listing of this new address for the ASNLH headquarters was in the *Journal of Negro History* in July 1923. Nonetheless, certainly pleased with his new acquisition, in 1923 Woodson had a sign (11½ feet wide and 2 feet high) placed the front façade of his home, to the right of the front door. The sign read in capital letters: "THE ASSOCIATED PUBLISHERS, INC.," signaling to the vibrant Shaw neighborhood black community the arrival of a new black cultural and intellectual movement center. According to Patricia W. Romero, there was also a practical relationship

1 The bulk of the basic information pertaining to the history of the Carter G. Woodson Home comes from Judith H. Robinson and Associates, Inc., "Developmental History" in *Carter G. Woodson Home: Historic Structure Report*, Jan. 15, 2008, pp. 10–63.

2 Robinson and Associates, Inc., "Developmental History," 10.

3 For the listing of this address, see *Journal of Negro History,* 7 (Jan. 1922).

between Woodson's home and the Associated Publishers: "In 1922, when a building was purchased by Woodson for both the Association and the Associated Publishers as well as a home for himself, it was bought in the name of the Associated Publishers. The building at 1538, N.W., gave the publishing company borrowing power and increased its assets. The Association was then made the recipient of all profits derived from the Associated Publishers. In some years it loaned money to the Associated Publishers for its work."[4]

Woodson himself did not talk a great deal about why he founded the Associated Publishers. He did, however, briefly explain this new venture in the "Notes" section of the *Journal of Negro History* in 1921. He explained:

> Answering a call to duty a number of persons, chief among whom are Carter G. Woodson, Washington, D.C., John W. Davis, Institute, West Virginia, Louis R. Mehlinger, Washington, D.C., D.S.S. Goodloe, Bowie, Maryland, Mordecai W. Johnson, Charleston, West Virginia, Byrd Prillerman and C.E. Mitchell, Institute, West Virginia, incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia on the third of June, a firm to be known as THE ASSOCIATED PUBLISHERS, INCORPORATED, with a capital stock of $25,000. This firm will publish books of all kinds, but will direct its attention primarily to works bearing on Negroes so as to supply all kinds of information concerning the Negro race and those who have been interested in its uplift. Carter G. Woodson is President; John W. Davis, Treasurer; and Louis R. Mehlinger, Secretary.
>
> The idea in the minds of the incorporators is to meet a long-felt need of supplanting exploiting publishers sending out book agents, who since the emancipation of the Negroes have gone from door to door filling their homes with literature which is neither informing nor elevating. Inasmuch as these publishing houses find it profitable to sell literature which in this advanced age of civilization of the race must be less attractive than it was years ago, it is to be expected that success will come to an enterprise like THE ASSOCIATED PUBLISHERS, INCORPORATED, bringing out more valuable works for which there is an increasing demand.
>
> During the recent years the Negro race has been seeking to learn more about itself and especially since the social upheaval of the World War. The Negro reading public has been largely increased and the number of persons interested in the Negro have so multiplied that any creditable publication giving important facts about the race now finds a ready market throughout the United States and even abroad. To supply this demand these gentlemen have launched the enterprise, THE ASSOCIATED PUBLISHERS, INCORPORATED.[5]

A decade after founding the Associated Publishers Woodson explained the significance of the ASNLH's publishing firm. "We have no desire to make money," Woodson asserted, "We seek merely to serve humanity."[6] After chastising mainstream white university "publishing houses," including those at Yale University, Columbia University, and Johns Hopkins University, Woodson stressed the importance of the Associated Publishers. "In

4 Romero, "Carter G. Woodson," 132.

5 "Notes," *Journal of Negro History,* 6 (July, 1921), 380.

6 "Woodson and His-Coworkers Take The Vow of Poverty To Help Race."

the case of the Associated Publishers in Washington, D.C, they have such an establishment which has thus functioned for ten years, " Woodson noted in 1932, "Such a publishing house, moreover, renders a much higher service than a purely commercial one. It evaluates the productions presented to it not on the basis of what others may think about them but on the basis of their value in the promotion of the truth. It supplies schools and libraries with valuable information not only as to what this firm has produced but makes the effort to supply the particular needs of institutions. This house undertakes to point out and to assist in securing the most valuable books bearing upon the Negro whether published in this country or abroad." Woodson again stressed the importance of having an independent generator of intellectual thought that sought to serve African American people. "The Associated Publishers, however, have not taken this purely commercial position. Yet, many of their productions which might make a favorable impression and move the public to think and do in behalf of justice have been turned down. In its present state the house can take only a limited number of such treatises. . . . We shall never be able to influence the thought of the world as long as we have to consult some body else about what we shall say."[7]

To truly understand the significance of the Associated Publishers, it must be placed in the broader context of black book publishers and African American-owned publishing companies. During the civil rights movement and the black power era, many black book publishers were founding that built upon Woodson's and others' efforts. The most successful of these publishers included Johnson Publishing Company founded in 1961 (whose most successful book was Lerone Bennett Jr.'s *Before the Mayflower,* 1962), Detroit's Broadside Press founded in 1965, Chicago's Third World Press founded in 1967, and Maryland's Black Classic Press founded in 1978. As indicated by www.blackbookplus.com, today there are more than seventy African American book publishers. Moreover, in 2006 Third World Press made history by becoming the first black-owned publishing company to produce a book, *The Covenant*, that appeared in the *New York Times* nonfiction best-seller list. The press's founder, Haki Madhubuti, reflected on the significance of this event in a manner that Woodson could have certainly related to: "Third World Press is an independent black publishing company. . . . We didn't get any money from outside our company. I want to make that very clear."[8]

Woodson's Associated Press belongs to a larger tradition of black book publishing companies. In 1991, Donald Franklin Joyce accurately noted: "The fascinating story of the book publishing efforts of black America has been largely ignored by historians."[9] The earliest African American book publishers were "religious denominational" in nature, the first of which was the AME Book Concern, founded in 1817 by the African Methodist Episcopal Church. During the nineteenth century, a handful of black book publishing companies were founded that sought to help vindicate "the race." In 1861, for instance, Thomas Hamilton founded T. Hamilton Publishers that released works by Robert Campbell and William Wells Brown. During "the nadir," there existed more than a few black book publishers including Atlanta University Press, Fisk University Press, the American Negro Academy

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7 Carter G. Woodson, "Negro Writers Loafing," *Atlanta Daily World,* Nov. 17, 1932, p. 6A.

8 Makkada B. Selah, "Leading the Way: Independent Black Publisher Cracks National Best-Seller List for First Time," *Baltimore City Paper,* April 5, 2006, available at http://www.citypaper.com/arts/story.asp?id=11661.

9 Donald Franklin Joyce, *Black Book Publishers in the United States: A Historical Dictionary of the Presses, 1817-1990* (Westport, 1991), xi.

imprint, the Colored Co-operative Publishing Company, the National Baptist Publishing Board, Negro Year Book Publishing Company, Crisis Book Publishing, Orion Publishing Company, the Sunday School Publishing Board, and Dabney Publishing Company. On the eve of the founding of the Associated Publishers, several black book publishers emerged such as Du Bois and Dill Publishers, Howard University Press, and J. A. Rogers Publications. Nevertheless, during the first half of the twentieth century, "only a few commercial book publishers were active. Noteworthy among these were the Orion Publishing Company in Nashville, Tennessee (1900–1911); J. A. Rogers Publications in Chicago, Illinois, and New York City (1917–1965); and Associated Publishers, Inc. in Washington, D.C. (1921–)."[10]

During Woodson's lifetime the Associated Publishers released many nonfiction books for young and adult readers. Woodson may have ultimately made the decisions concerning what the Associated Publishers would publish, but by the 1930s he established a "publications committee" that included himself and other Ph.D.-holding members of the association. Associated Publishers was largely Woodson's for he "owned 95 percent of the stock in the Associated Publishers and paid his salary from its profits."[11] Woodson's "office home" served as the Associated Publishers base, however the actual printing of the books was done elsewhere as it was the case with the *Journal of Negro History* and the *Negro History Bulletin*, both at one point printed by Monumental Printers.[12]

"Appendix B: Books Published by the Associated Publishers, Inc. and Carter G. Woodson's Book Publications" includes many of the books published by the Associated Publishers that I was able to locate. Beginning with Woodson's *The History of the Negro Church* (1921), between 1921 and 1949 the Associated Publishers released approximately 50 books, many of which were published by black female schoolteachers. Before founding the Associated Publishers Woodson published books and other materials under the ASNLH. By January 1919, for instance, the association released Woodson's *A Century of Negro Migration*, Ivan E. McDouglas's *Slavery in Kentucky*, D. O. W. Holmes's *Fifty Years of Howard University*, Henry E. Baker's *Benjamin Banneker*, and the *Journal of Negro History* in bound form. Woodson published his books with Associated Publishers, including those that he published before his press was founded. Before bearing the imprint of the Associated Publishers, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861* (1915), for instance, was published by G. P. Putnam's Sons.

A. A. Taylor, Charles H. Wesley, Woodson, and Benjamin Quarles were among the professionally trained black historians who published monographs with the Associated Publishers. More than a few white scholars also published books on dimensions of African American and African history. While books published by the Associated Publishers, such as *Plays and Pageants from the Life of the Negro* (1930), *Negro Musicians and Their Music* (1936), *Negro Folktales* (1938), and *The Child's Story of the Negro* (1938) were popular, the most successful book published by this press was probably *The Negro in Our History* first published in 1922. Woodson advertised this study as a textbook written for students of black history at various levels, from secondary school students to college students. Woodson hoped that the book would find its way into the classrooms in black and white schools throughout the country.

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10 Joyce, *Black Book Publishers in the United States*, xiii.

11 Jacqueline Anne Goggin, "Carter G. Woodson and the Movement to Promote Black History" (Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 1984), 286–87.

12 In 1916 and the early years of the association, the *Journal of Negro History* was printed by Lancaster Press, Inc. in Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

This text, which underwent nine major editions during Woodson's lifetime, can be interpreted as one of Woodson's first major efforts to broaden his readership to nonscholars, since the *Journal of Negro History* was not widely circulated among laypersons or the black youth. It was routinely advertised in leading African American newspapers and magazines and was adopted by teachers at many HBCUs. In the early 1920s, for instance, Margaret Murray Washington praised *The Negro in Our History* in the *Chicago Defender* and used it at Tuskegee Institute. By the late 1940s, Woodson's famous narrative sold about 50,000 copies and, Woodson noted, "the U.S. Government purchased 49 copies of it to supply a copy to each of its informants in centers abroad."[13]

In the *JNH* and the *NB*, Woodson stressed the importance of his books and others published by the Associated Publishers, Inc. In the *Journal* in 1926, Woodson celebrated the contribution of his first monograph that he re-issued with the Associated Publishers, Inc.: "It is constantly referred to as an authority constituting a new page in the history of the black man. This is one of the few books treating Negro history scientifically."[14] He also advertised the press's books with pride and consistency. Not only did the press's books appear in various black newspapers but they were also featured in a "Book of the Month" section of the *Negro History Bulletin*. Several of the press's books were also reviewed in mainstream scholarly journals and newspapers, especially those of a scientific nature. Lorenzo Johnston Greene's study on black employment and labor, for instance, was thoroughly reviewed in the *New York Times* in 1931. A bit insensitive to the "dilemma of the Negro scholar," the reviewer wanted the authors to be more critical instead of presenting statistics and adhering to an objective disposition.[15]

During this career, especially after founding Negro History Week, Woodson believed that black schoolchildren needed to be educated about their culture and past from accurate, truthful books. In a 1947 essay in the *NB*, "Miseducating the Children," Woodson indicted "the public schools of the Capital of the Nation" as well as the Washington, D.C., district superintendent Corning for adopting Helen Bannerman's popular *Little Black Sambo*. According to Woodson, books such as Bannerman's made "mobsters and lynchers of [white] youth." He added: "Instead of encouraging hatemongers like Helen Bannerman in the writing of such books, these works should be collected and burned and the authors of them should be seized, convicted of their high crime against society and so isolated as to relieve the public of such dangerous criminals." Beyond openly challenging racist children's literature, Woodson and the association assumed a leading role in publishing and disseminating corrective juvenile literature.

According to English Professor Katharine Capshaw Smith, the children's literature published by black scholars through the Associated Publishers was especially important. "Books for young people," in fact, "became the ideal venue for Woodson" to popularize black history. "Associated Publishers writers share the elemental goals of claiming a black American identity, effecting political change through literary representation, re-creating African and southern legacies, rebutting racist textbooks, and building racial pride," Smith

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13 "Historical News," *Negro History Bulletin,* 10 (June 1947), 213.

14 *Journal of Negro History,* 11 (Jan. 1926), front matter.

15 See Rose C. Field, "The Struggle of Existence of the American Negro: A Study of His Status as a Wage Earner Which Presents Him Manifold Difficulties," *New York Times,* Jan. 25, 1931, p. 3.

surmises.[16] While Smith characterized the Associated Publishers as "a peacemaking approach to survival in a segregated America and to progress through integration" and unearthed its children's books' conservative political leanings, she also underscores the importance of Woodson's press's children's books: "Associated Publishers children's books responded to a powerful need within the young black community for books that would repair the psychological damage done by traditional textbooks. In much of the children's literature extending from the New Negro Renaissance, school becomes a crucial site for the development of a progressive black identity, and nowhere is this phenomenon more pronounced than in the Associated Publishers material."[17] In addition to producing books, the Associated Publishers also produced photographs of famous African Americans. For instance, in the immediate aftermath of the founding of Negro History Week, the Associated Publishers released "Excellent Photographs of Eleven Distinguished Negroes" (11 by 14 inches) for $1.00 each.

In financial terms, the Associated Publishers did not reap very large profits. For instance, book sales revenues were as follows for selected years: 1922–1923, $3.25; 1930–1931, $1,164.79; 1940–1941, $3,114.89; and 1948–1949, $1,384.88.[18] In the summer of 1930, Lorenzo J. Greene observed that hundreds of books were literally "mildewing" in the basement of 1538 Ninth Street. Reluctantly, Woodson agreed to allow Greene and a few others engage in a book-selling campaign in black communities primarily in southern states from 1930 until 1933. Woodson was upset that he had to resort to selling Associated Publishers books for bargain prices. In 1938 Woodson lamented that African Americans in the late 1930s owned fewer books than they did two generations ago.[19] "By the late 1930s, the Associated Publishers was so financially hard pressed that authors were asked to finance the publication of their work."[20] By the 1930s, Woodson and his co-workers also actively solicited donations and funding from within the black community, and Woodson donated his salary, that by 1940 was unanimously increased to $3,000 by the association's executive council, back into the association.[21] Despite the challenges faced by Associated Publishers it was certainly important. As Rayford W. Logan attested in 1950: "At the time of his death, the Associated Publishers had a list of fourteen books written and edited by Dr. Woodson and more than fifty others by American, European and Latin American authors. The net impact of the *Journal* and these books upon historical scholarship in the United States and abroad is well-nigh incalculable."[22]

Born in Virginia to former southern slaves in slavery's immediate aftermath, Woodson spent the first twenty-seven years of his life in the South. By no stretch of the imagination a black Confederate, he took great pride in his southern heritage that in part helps explain his interest in slavery and its impact on black people as well as his admiration of Booker

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16 Katharine Capshaw Smith, *Children's Literature of the Harlem Renaissance* (Bloomington, 2004), 164.

17 Smith, *Children's Literature of the Harlem Renaissance*, 164.

18 Goggin, "Carter G. Woodson and the Movement to Promote Black History," 295.

19 Woodson Sees Drop in Colored Book Owners," *Afro-American* (Baltimore), Jan. 8, 1938, p. 2.

20 Goggin, "Carter G. Woodson and the Movement to Promote Black History," 283.

21 Herbert Nelson, "Reelect History Officers," *Atlanta Daily World*, Sept. 19, 1940, p. 1. In this essay, the reporter notes that the ASNLH's executive council decided to increase Woodson's salary to $3,000. This did not seem to impact Woodson at a personal level, because since the ASNLH's inception he routinely invested what he made back into his movement. The ASNLH and Woodson could not be viewed as being separate; they were truly one. Woodson *was* the association; it was his everything.

22 Rayford W. Logan, "Carter G. Woodson," *Journal of Negro History*, 35 (July 1950), 346.

T. Washington at a time when the vast majority of black leaders frowned on the founder of Tuskegee Institute. He first heard Washington speak in Lexington, Kentucky, in 1903. Woodson believed that so many of his contemporaries disliked Washington because they could not relate to him. After all, Washington, like Anna Julia Cooper, was one of the few major black leaders of the early twentieth century who was once enslaved. Between 1917 and 1950, the ASNLH's annual meetings were held in the South nearly a dozen times. In 1923, 1932, and 1950 Atlanta hosted the association's annual conventions and a decade after settling down permanently in Washington, D.C., Woodson told *Norfolk Guide and Journal* readers: "if I had to change my residence or my place of business, I would go to Atlanta and there give my life as a sacrifice in the uplift of these people."[23] Although he applauded the independent spirit of Atlanta's black community, he lamented that they were still victimized and exploited by Jim Crow segregation. If Woodson had decided to relocate to Atlanta, the ASNLH probably would not have been as successful. Washington, D.C., had much to offer Woodson and the association.

Thus notwithstanding his love of the South, Woodson's decision to relocate the association's headquarters to 1538 Ninth Street, NW is not surprising. Before moving there, Woodson rented space for the association's base of operations at 1216 U Street. U Street was the center of Washington's black community, dubbed "Black Broadway." His new "office home" was located in an important place. Eleanor Holmes Norton has posited that "African Americans have influenced the District of Columbia perhaps more than they have any other large American city. . . . The city became a black intellectual and civil rights capital."[24] According to the 1920 U.S. census, there were more than 110,000 African Americans residing in Washington, D.C., (representing approximately 25 percent of the total city's population). Only New York City and Chicago had larger black populations. The area where Woodson decided to settle down was in 1966 called Shaw, derived from the name of a popular D.C. high school, and referred to the area "bounded by North Capital an 15th streets, NW, on the east and west and Florida Avenue and M Street, NW, on the north and south."[25] According to Michael Andrew Fitzpatrick, from "the boisterous 1920s to the riots of the 1960s, the area north of downtown Washington known today as 'Shaw' was the pre-eminent African American neighborhood in the city. . . . The neighborhood was distinguished by influential residents, important churches, literary and professional societies, and excellent public and private schools. Black businesses and entertainment establishments drew African Americans from all over Washington."[26]

Although there were poor blacks living in the vicinity of Woodson's "office home," this area was much different from where the city's struggling and poor blacks lived.[27] Woodson

23 "There is Only One Atlanta As Carter Woodson Sees It," *Norfolk Journal and Guide,* Dec. 13, 1932, p. 7.

24 Eleanor Holmes Norton, "Foreword," in *The Black Washingtonians: The Anacostia Museum Illustrated Chronology* (Hoboken, 2005), vii.

25 Kathryn S. Smith, "Remembering U Street," *Washington History,* 9 (Fall/Winter 1997–1998), 32.

26 Michael Andrew Fitzpatrick, "'A Great Migration for Business': Black Economic Development in Shaw," *ibid*., 2 (Fall/Winter 1990–1991), 49.

27 For a sharp contrast to black life in the Shaw neighborhood, see for instance James Borchert, *Alley Life in Washington: Family, Community, Religion, and Folklife in the City, 1850-1970* (Urbana, 1982). In the *Negro History Bulletin*'s "Children's Page" in the 1930s and 1940s, there were several commentaries that lamented the fact that there were many poor black children who lived in the broader Shaw community. Upon several occasions, writers for the *Bulletin* praised the children-centered uplift work that Shiloh Baptist Church was engaged in.

himself noted the vast differences in the progress made by the "few highly educated persons of the District of Columbia" when compared with the city's "masses" between 1880 and 1931. Though sympathetic to the "masses" of his people, he did occasionally echo the civilizationist sentiments of the black bourgeoisie elite of Washington. In describing African American life in the city, Woodson observed in 1931:

> For some time I have been making a special study in Washington, and I try to compare our condition of today with that of the past. Now although the few highly educated persons of the District of Columbia have multiplied and are in better circumstances than ever, the masses show almost as much backwardness as they did in 1880.
>
> I find here sometimes as many as two or three store-front churches in a single block where people indulge in heathen-like practices which could hardly be equaled in the jungle. The Negroes in Africa have not descended to such depths. Although born and brought up in the Black Belt of the South, I never saw there such idolatrous tendencies as I have seen under the dome of the Capitol.[28]

At the same time, Woodson in part blamed the city's "talented tenth," himself included, for not committing their lives to uplifting "the race":

> Such conditions show that the undeveloped man has been abandoned by those who should help him. This is the outstanding shortcoming of the highly educated. In this respect, our talented has proved faltering to a sacred trust. The community taxes itself to educate the youth not that they may live selfishly but that they may lift as they climb.
>
> But never mind, my highly educated friend. The social order in this country is so constructed that the washerwoman, the hodcarrier and the teamster will get their rights at the same time you will. You are your brother's keeper, and you will have to give your account of your stewardship at the bar of public opinion.
>
> I am not pointing a finger of scorn at you. I am speaking also of my own shortcomings. I have been guilty of some of these very things about which I am complaining, but I have seen the error of my ways, and I am now trying to do better.[29]

When Woodson opened the doors of the association and the Associated Publishers in the early 1920s, black businesses in Washington, D.C., were on the rise. Though the evolution of independent black businesses in Washington was significantly impacted by the efforts of a range of Progressive Era leaders such as William Calvin Chase, John Wesley Cromwell, Alexander Crummell, Edward E. Cooper, William H. Davis, Andrew Hilyer, and the "Four Hundred of Washington," in the mid-1880s there were only fifteen black businesses operating in the Shaw area, yet "by 1920 there were well over 300."[30] Equally important, there was also a concrete tradition of black historical organizations in Washington, D.C. before the Association secured a permanent home there, including the Bethel Literary and Historical Association (founded in 1881), the Garnett Literary Association (founded in 1890), the

28 Carter G. Woodson, "The 'Highly Educated' Quickly Graduated from the Methodist and Baptist Churches," *Afro-American* (Baltimore), March 28, 1931, p. 3.

29 *Ibid*.

30 See Smith, "Remembering U Street"; Fitzpatrick, "'A Great Migration for Business.'"

American Negro Academy (founded in 1897), the Frederick Douglass Memorial and Historical Association (founded in 1900), the Washington Conservatory of Music (founded in 1905), and the Mu-So-Lit Club (founded in 1915, it preceded the ASNLH in holding an annual black history celebration during in February in honor of Frederick Douglass's and Abraham Lincoln's birthdays). Not only was the ASNLH larger than these historical societies that preceded it but it was much more grassroots than its predecessors who catered to the District of Columbia's educated black elite.

According the Kathryn S. Smith, Shaw's black community, of which Woodson was a significant member, created a viable black community that existed side-by-side with America's segregated society:

> Here was a community that, despite acknowledged divisions based on color and class, functioned well for its members. Shaw was a dense weave of personal acquaintances and lifelong friendships based in strong families, churches, schools, fraternal and social clubs, black-owned businesses, and other local institutions. These provided support, training, and opportunities for important individual and group achievements. In this setting, described by many as a village or small town, people felt valued, comfortable, and safe . . . What the residents of Shaw created under segregation—faced with a larger society that refused them dignity and opportunity—was a place to act and decide. It was a place where they could shape their own lives. Racial segregation was the outside agent forcing these residents to build a separate community. It can be argued that there are similarities with the powerlessness felt today by those Americans who believe that big businesses and government can deny any local arena in which to act and control their own daily lives, aspirations, and opportunities.[31]

Those blacks that came of age in "Washington's Harlem" remembered Shaw for its class diversity, communal family ethos, strong educational systems, committed teachers, active churches, businesses, racial uplift organizations and programs, and its "sense of known community."[32] Woodson's home and the base of operations for the ASNLH and the Associated Publishers contributed to this African American community's progressive culture. As suggested by James A. Miller, Washington, D.C., was "a central site in the New Negro renaissance of the 1920s" and the city's "New Negroes," one of whom was Woodson, "participated in the national mood."[33]

After living in a Harvard graduate dormitory for one year, in 1909 Woodson moved to Washington, D.C., to teach at Armstrong Manual Training High School (1909–1911, 1918–1919), M Street School (1911–1917), and Howard University (1919–1920). From 1920 until 1922, he relocated to West Virginia to serve as a dean at West Virginia Collegiate Institute. Though he traveled throughout the United States and to parts of the world, especially Europe, from 1922 until his death Woodson lived in Washington, D.C. It is not unreasonable to deduce that he must have liked the District of Columbia. While working on his Ph.D. dissertation, he frequented the nonsegregated Library of Congress. Woodson held the first

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31 Smith, "Remembering U Street," 31.

32 *Ibid*., 38.

33 James A. Miller, "Black Washington and the New Negro Renaissance," in *Composing Urban History and the Constitution of Civic Identities,* ed. John J. Czaplicka and Blair A. Ruble, 220, 222 (Washington, 2003).

three meetings of the ASNLH, in 1917, 1918, and 1920, in Washington, D.C. In summarizing the events of the ASNLH's first biennial meeting, Woodson highlighted the importance of Washington, D.C., as a base of operations for the ASNLH and how his organization contributed to its progressive black culture. "There is no fixed rule to determine exactly where the meetings of the Association shall be held," Woodson noted, "Washington, however, naturally proved attractive for the reasons that it is located mid-way between the North and the South, the Association is incorporated under laws of the District of Columbia, and several of its officers reside there. The extensive advertising given the meeting and the occurrence of the conference in Washington on the education of the Negro the following day brought to the meeting probably the largest number of useful and scholarly Negroes ever assembled at the national capital."[34]

While living in Washington Woodson was also active in secondary education—a known and controversial figure on Howard's campus and an active member of a range of organizations including the Committee of 200, the National Urban League, the Washington branch of the NAACP, and the Committee of Fifty. In June 1922, Woodson "participated in the Washington [NAACP] branch's silent march against lynching."[35] Washington may not have practiced the Jim Crow segregation of the South, but there was still rampant racial discrimination. "Except for the haunts of bootleggers and other elements of the underworld, by 1923 the only places in Washington where racial segregation did not obtain were on the trolleys and buses, at Griffith Stadium, and in the readings rooms of the public library and the Library of Congress."[36] This racism was epitomized on August 8, 1925, three years after Woodson purchased his "office home," when more than 30,000 members of the Ku Klux Klan marked in full regalia down Pennsylvania Avenue. During the 1930s and 1940s, Woodson critiqued the racial inequalities that blacks endured in the nation's capital in his columns in the *New York Age* and the *Chicago Defender*. He was concerned with the plight of the unemployed black masses in Washington as exemplified in the Associated Publishers' *Employment of Negroes in the District of Columbia* (1931) that he employed Lorenzo J. Greene and Myra Colson Callis to write.

Woodson also directly challenged racism in Washington that impacted him at more personal levels. In December 1932 he boldly indicted the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad office in Washington after being denied Pullman accommodations on November 26. Woodson's letter of protest that he had reprinted in at least one black newspaper read as follows: "This is merely to say that the Ku Klux Klan policy still dominates your City Ticket Office at 1714 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. The management there still refuses to sell Negroes reservations except when they have Lower 1 available; and some of the clerks do not want to sell that. I have written to you to this effect several times, and no change in this policy has been noted," Woodson added, "The management here in Washington, however, had rather see the road go into the hands of a receiver than sell a Negro a Pullman berth. This may be a fine way to promote the Ku Klux Klan movement, but it will never do for running a

34 "The First Biennial Meeting of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History at Washington," *Journal of Negro History,* 2 (Oct. 1917), 442.

35 Goggin, Carter G. Woodson, 153.

36 Constance Green, *The Secret City: A History of Race Relations in the Nation's Capital* (Princeton, 1967), 201. See Green's study for an overview of the racial climate endured by blacks living in Washington during Woodson's times.

business. Inasmuch as this is your policy, I am going to West Virginia by another route which does not champion the cause of the Ku Klux Klan. . . . The only thing we can do, then, is to advise self-respecting Negroes to travel one some other road whenever they can."[37]

A scholar-activist, Woodson had the opportunity to present the association's scholarship on blacks in Washington before the Federation of Civic Associations in the District Building. Woodson's findings were covered by the *Washington Post* in 1932:

> Results of a survey of unemployment among Negroes in the District of Columbia, made by the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, were presented last night by Dr. Carter G. Woodson, before the Federation of Civic Associations at its regular meeting in the board room of the District Building.
>
> He discussed the color line as it exists in Washington industry, showing changes in employment of Negro workers during recent years, steps taken toward opening new avenues of employment, and the effects of organization of Negro labor. Special consideration was given the trend of employment by the National Government unfavorable to the Negro in the departmental service.[38]

Woodson was a recognized community man of the Shaw neighborhood. As revealed by the testimonies of those who knew him best (see the recollections featured in Chapter 4), walking was one of Woodson's favorite pastimes. Lorenzo J. Greene recalled:

> Regularly Woodson wrapped and packed books, prepared them for shipment and carried them or letters to the main Post Office. It was a common sight, winter or summer, in fair or foul weather, for him to leave the office between ten-thirty and midnight with a mail bag crammed with books or letters on his way to the Post Office. Never once did he ask me to do so, or even to help him.
>
> Dr. Woodson, also was a staunch advocate of physical fitness. He never bought a car for himself in order to exercise by walking. Although he did not play golf or tennis, probably because he believed he could not spare the time to do so, he walked where and whenever possible, whether to church, the Post Office, Library of Congress, or to the home where he ate dinner, not matter how inclement the weather. He also advised me to do the same, excellent advice which I honored in the breach.[39]

Woodson routinely walked to the Library of Congress, Union Station, the post office, and to various locations and business establishments in the city. Based on his educational achievements, Woodson was part of the city's "highly-educated" class of blacks that he so often berated. However, Woodson did not act like the majority of Washington's black elite. He could have owned a car or taken public transportation. Instead, he more often than not opted to move around by foot, certainly providing himself an intimate view of city life. Woodson once said that he preferred to walk—perhaps as a sign of solidarity with the city's black poor—and viewed blacks with expensive cars as victims of what Thornstein Veblen described as conspicuous consumption. Though most of the members of the association were members of the middle class, Woodson did not like associating himself directly or

37 Carter G. Woodson, "Accuses C. & O. of Humiliating Negro Patrons," *Norfolk Journal and Guide,* Dec. 10, 1932, p. 2.

38 "Negro Work Status in District Bared," *Washington Post,* March 26, 1932, p. 18.

39 Greene, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson."

indirectly with the black elite: "The other day I was accosted by a young woman driving an expensive car. She wanted to give me a lift, but I was not going exactly in her direction. I feel uncomfortable anyway when associating with people of this type, for I cannot return these favors while earning about twelve and a half dollars a week and serving as caretaker in our building in return for free use of the attic in order to save rent."[40]

One evening, he discovered the dangers of walking on Washington streets at night. On June 13, 1933, he was robbed at gunpoint by "two colored thugs." Woodson recounted his experience with *Chicago Defender*, *Pittsburgh Courier*, *Afro-American* (Baltimore), and *New York Amsterdam News* readers in detail and with some humor:

> In the evening of the unlucky Friday, the thirteenth of this month, I had my superstition confirmed beyond the shadow of a doubt. Going from the Library of Congress toward Pennsylvania, I had an unusual experience just before I reached Peace Monument which temporarily became a scene of war. Two colored thugs rushed upon me from the rear, caught me by both of my hands, stuck a gun in my side, struck me on one cheek because I came near disengaging myself from them; and, before I could religiously turn the other cheek, gave me a stunning blow on the other side of my head. Seeing what I was facing, I begged them not to kill me and offered them what money I had. After dispossessing me of five dollars they ran away.
>
> This was the first time in my life that I have had any one to pay me the compliment of having money. While I regret the loss of my money and cannot enjoy the sore head and black eye, I had the chance to learn some of the things which we read about in books or see in the movies. The experience, too, was very illuminating; and if you have never had it you have something to look forward to.[41]

Woodson explained that he understood why his brethren robbed him. Unlike many of his middle-class counterparts who chastised black criminal culture, Woodson defended impoverished African American men who chose a life of crime. "So many poor people of our group have little to do now except gambling, racketeering, and stealing. They are hungry, and they are going to kill and rob before they settle down to starvation." Woodson added that he sought to "remedy" this situation in the District of Columbia by "petitioning employers of labor to provide in some way for the large number of our unemployed" and by encouraging the growth of black businesses. Woodson ended his essay with a jab at black middle-class leadership, observing: "Our greatest troubles, then, are not without but within. We are spending too much time abusing others and not enough time in getting rid of the large element of us who are stumbling blocks in every path we tread. For such persons I have the greatest contempt. I have more respect for those thugs that bruised my head, blackened my eye, and deprived me of my money that I have for these 'plugs' whom we often play up as

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40 Carter G. Woodson, "Time and Foolhardiness Have Proved B. T. Washington's Joke a Prophecy—Woodson," *Norfolk Journal and Guide,* Nov. 30, 1933, p. 7.

41 Carter G. Woodson, "Friday, 13th Unlucky to Carter Woodson, Who is Held Up and Robbed," *Afro-American* (Baltimore), Jan. 28, 1933, p. 7. Woodson's story was also featured in the *Pittsburgh Courier,* the *New York Amsterdam News,* and the *Chicago Defender* as "Prefers Thugs to 'Plugs' Who Curb Progress of Race," "Unlucky Friday Teaches Lesson on Thugs, Plugs," and "Dr. Woodson Gets Closeup of Depression and Thereby Is Launched on Another Career as Business Organizer," respectively.

intelligent men and women."[42]

A bachelor who was truly wedded to his work, Woodson routinely dined at the Phillis Wheatley Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA). that was one-half block north of his "office home" and would "often linger afterwards in the lobby, sitting and chatting with the young ladies who resided there."[43] He also often dined at the Gateway Dining Room in the Union Station. The young women who lived in the Phillis Wheatley YWCA were very fond of Woodson. In a poem that they created, "Let me live in the house by the side of the road," the young women with whom he spent a great deal of time said that Woodson was "The House itself." According to "The Death of the Founder" essay in the back matter of the *Negro History Bulletin,* "Dr. Woodson liked being mentioned as a great member of the Association and enjoyed the friendship of all the young women who lived there and other folk who attended and were a part of the activities at 901 Rhode Island Avenue." It is worth citing the reflections of the Residence of the Phyllis Wheatley Y.W.C.A.

> Many evenings when he dropped in for dinner in the Y.W.C.A. dining room, Dr. Woodson would casually linger in the comfortable Lobby late into the evening. Seated there like the great philosopher and teacher that he was, he would engage in stimulating conversations with the young women as they passed, tarried and listened to learn from experiences of his full rich life. He was a fountainhead of knowledge of our history and racial heritage, together with an interesting store of anecdotes of wit and humor. There were also periods of healthy philosophy, wise counsel, and current information. His wide travel experience as teacher, lecturer, instructor, leader, and humanitarian made him always welcome as an interesting and entertaining visitor. As a conversationalist he would, when pressed, modestly relate marvelous incidents of his own early life. His optimistic views and worthwhile topics were impelling and contagious.
>
> As a guest of the young women guests of the Y.W.C.A., he was also generous, and benevolent. Many evidences of his liberal and timely gifts for our comfort and hospitality were modestly and unsolicitedly donated from his personal funds as well as many contributions to even out a deficient budget . . .
>
> The sustaining pride and self assurance that he has given us and that he has inoculated in our group as a result of his authentic research is a priceless legacy for all. He often jocundly declared that his work was his hobby. His imposing physique and commanding personality attracted the flowing crowds of both races at the Union Station where he often sat after his meals there. They would draw him into discussions of world problems, economics, and the social dilemma, all of which he handled tactfully and well, not knowing to whom he spoke.
>
> And now that the inevitable has come, we can appreciate just how fortunate we have been to have shared such a close friendship with such a lofty soul, a profound scholar, a perfect gentleman, and a distinguished American, for so many days in such a fine atmosphere. We deeply appreciated having known Dr. Woodson, who was truly 'The House by the Side of the Road.' "[44]

42 Woodson, "Friday, 13th Unlucky to Carter Woodson," 7.

43 Cobb, "Carter Godwin Woodson," 153–55.

44 The Residence of the Phyllis Wheatley Y.W.C.A., in "The Death of the Founder," *Negro History Bulletin,* 13 (May 1950), 176.

Despite Woodson's strict work ethic and often-cantankerous personality, many who knew him said that there was a soft spot for children in his heart. Below several rare photos of Woodson under the heading "'Schoolmaster to His Race' Mourned" in the *Afro-American* (Washington), was a caption stating: "Above are typical pictures of the late Dr. Woodson who died suddenly, Monday. Creator of Negro History Week, celebrated throughout the nation, Dr. Woodson was never happier than when surrounded by children who idolized him."[45] Lorenzo J. Greene similarly observed: "Dr. Woodson loved children, I have seen him talk to elementary pupils and regale them with some of the beautiful and interesting African myths which he had collected and published. . . . Their little faces would light up with joy, and their evident happiness affected Dr. Woodson. As he talked to them, it seemed that the years fell away from him. His countenance lighted up; the scowl disappeared, his face broke into smiles and often he laughed heartily. . . . As I watched, my heart went out for him, for I believed that Woodson saw in these children the offspring which, he so longed for but had denied himself because of his selfless dedication to the work of the Association."[46] The children who lived near Woodson's "office home" certainly welcomed Woodson. He shared historical stories and African folktales with them and he "enjoyed taking little treats of candy to the neighborhood children around 9th Street, or buying them ice cream."[47] During Negro History Week in 1932, the *Washington Post* editorial "1,000 Colored Children In Capitol Pilgrimage" publicized Woodson's hands-on interaction with Washington's African American youth: "Approximately 1,000 colored school children gathered yesterday in the caucus room in the House Office Building in connection with the annual celebration of Negro history week, sponsored by the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Dr. Carter G. Woodson, director, to meet Representative Oscar DePriest, of Illinois. Other members of Congress who witnessed the exercises were Rep. Henry T. Rainey and Rep. W.E. Hull of Illinois; Rep. U.S. Guyer of Kansas, and Rep. Frank Murphy of Ohio."[48]

Washington's black public schoolteachers, mainly women, and middle-class black reformers validated Woodson's decision to make the nation's capital his base of operations. While cities such as Chicago were known for having successful annual Negro History Week celebrations, those in Washington, D.C. were very successful, not only because the association's "national office" was in D.C. but also because of the city's progressive black professional class and intellectual-activist population. During the ASNLH's first thirty-five years, Howard University was home to arguably the nation's leading group of African American scholar-activists and Howard University hosted more than a few sessions of the annual ASNLH meetings as well as Negro History Week celebrations. Throughout issues of the *Negro History Bulletin* Woodson praised black Washingtonians for leading the way in popularizing black history. In 1942 Woodson summarized the creative efforts—including "show-and-tell" exercises and a hands-on assembly—of "the pupils of the 4B Grade of the Morse School in Washington, D.C."[49]

In April 1947, Woodson extolled blacks in the city—especially those in the Shaw neighborhood connected to Shaw Junior High School—for leading the way in promoting black history:

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45 "Dr. Woodson to Be Buried Saturday," *Afro-American* (Washington), April 8, 1950.

46 Greene, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson."

47 Sister M. Anthony Scally, R.S.M., "Pioneer Black Historian," *Community,* (Winter 1970), 12.

48 "1,000 Colored Children In Capitol Pilgrimage," *Washington Post*, Feb. 11, 1932, p. 5.

49 "Negro History Week Assembly—A Suggestion for Middle Grades," *Negro History Bulletin,* 5 (Feb. 1942), 120.

> Most honorable mention, however, belongs to Washington, D.C., where without any urgent solicitation from $1,500 to $2,000 is annually raised to support the work of the Association. The Shaw Junior School, about two blocks from the national office in Washington, raises more money for the cause than any other school in the world. The total receipts from this one school in memberships and subscriptions never runs less than $100 and at times exceeds $200. The principal, Mr. Joseph G. Logan, has been a warm supporter of the work from its very beginning in 1915. Mr. Albert N.D. Brooks, of the Shaw faculty, is a life member of the Association and an associate editor of THE NEGRO HSITORY BULLETIN. Mrs. Louise H. Pack, the instructor of music at this school, is also a life member. Practically all the other members of the faculty, like Miss Nellie M. Quander, always remember the Association among their philanthropies of the year.
>
> Just as the Shaw Junior High School takes priority among the schools so does the Helping Hand Cub of the Nineteenth Street Baptist Church take priority of the country . . . In this connection should be mentioned the large number of teachers of the District of Columbia who, although prohibited by local regulations form receiving solicitors in the school, voluntarily connect themselves as members of the Association and subscribers to its magazines.[50]

In 1949, Woodson shared with *Bulletin* readers how Washington, D.C. schoolteachers helped him with the annual Negro History celebration.

> The Director sought advice and suggestions from as many as three groups of teachers who proved to be very helpful in keeping these suggestions and programs on the level of elementary teachers and their pupils. All of the suggestions received could not be included in a booklet of only 32 pages, but they will be made use of in working out other guides for the celebration in the years to come.
>
> Credit for much of what is published in the booklet for this year belongs to teachers in Washington, D.C. Mrs. Josephine S. Wade, head teacher of English at the Shaw Junior High School, had her coworkers assemble and submit valuable suggestions . . . Another group of teachers, called together by Mrs. Jesse H. Roy, one of the authors of Word Pictures of the Great, submitted some of the same sort of suggestions . . .
>
> Still another group assembled by Miss Annie E. Duncan—including Miss Inez M. Burke, Mrs. Edna Burke Jackson, Miss Naomi E. Newman, Miss Wilma W. George, Miss Eva M. Crocker, and Miss Bernice Finney—held various conferences among themselves and met twice with the Director in actually drawing up the booklet. They made the selection of poems incorporated into the booklet and drew up programs for each of the five days of Negro History Week. Without the good judgment of these experienced teachers the booklet might not have appealed to the large number of persons now using it as the guide in the celebration of Negro History Week.[51]

The day before his funeral, from 3 p.m. until 11 p.m., friends "were invited to call at the McGuire Funeral Home, 1820 9th st. n.w.," a black-owned funeral home founded in 1912.

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50 "Negro History Week Aftermath," *ibid*., 10 (April 1947),154, 165.

51 "The Preparation of the Negro History Week Pamphlet for the Celebration, February 6–13," *ibid*., 12 (Jan. 1949), 88.

Woodson's funeral services were held at 1 p.m. on April 8, 1950, at the Shiloh Baptist Church (1500 Ninth Street, NW), very close to Woodson's "office home," and the Reverend Earl L. Harrison, Shiloh's fourth pastor (1930–1971) "conducted the impressive rites" and delivered a scripture reading for Woodson. Brief tributes and prayers were delivered in his honor by several ministers, including his close friend Dr. Jerry Moore, pastor of the 19th Street Baptist Church, Reverend W. H. Jernagin, pastor of Mt. Carmel Baptist Church, and Revernd R. R. Brooks, pastor of the Lincoln Congregational Church. "Madame Lillian Evanti, famed soprano, sang a spiritual and 'The 23rd Psalm.' The congregation joined in the singing of two hymns, 'Majestic Sweetness Sits Enthroned' and 'His Eyes is On the Sparrow.'"[52] The interment was in Lincoln Cemetery, Washington, D.C. Woodson's funeral seems to have been a traditional black Christian one.

Woodson did not write extensively about the meaning of religion to himself, but it clear that the church in his estimation was an important element of African American culture. He acknowledged the important place of the black church in black history and communities in *The History of the Negro Church* (1921) and held large annual ASNLH functions in black churches throughout the nation. Church pastors played important roles in annual meetings and religion was certainly discussed at more than a few sessions. At the ASNLH's tenth anniversary meeting in Washington, D.C., in 1925, for instance, there was a session devoted to the black church that was mentioned in the *Washington Post*.[53] At the same time, in several brief essays in the *Afro-American* (Baltimore), the *Norfolk Journal and Guide,* the *Chicago Defender,* and *The Mis-Education of the Negro* (1933) he critiqued the black church and those whom he considered to be corrupt ministers. In 1931 the *Chicago Defender* reported Woodson as declaring: "The Race church is the outstanding achievement of our fathers in America. It should be reformed and reorganized in the basis of community co-operation. It has been the great asset of the Race and if properly conducted can render the Race the unselfish service our people need. It would be a most shameful dereliction of duty if we permit the exploiters, grafters and libertines to discredit the institution. If something is not done to dislodge them the Race in America must hang its head in shame."[54] In another editorial a year later in the *Afro-American* (Baltimore), Woodson indicted black ministers for approving "segregation in the church."[55] By the mid- to late 1940s, Woodson still critiqued the black church. "'I love the church as it was—once upon a time, as it ought to be,'" he said, "'but certainly not as it is today. It is dead. It has lost almost all of its spirituality. It is missing the mark of saving souls and guiding lives by many, many miles.'"[56]

Several of his co-workers have mentioned that Woodson did attend church, but they did not know how regularly. During the early 1930s, Woodson shared with black newspaper readers bits and pieces of his religious philosophy. Reflecting on his father's religious outlook, Woodson wrote: "He joined the church, but never made much noise about it. He never seemed worried about his soul's going to hell. He was more concerned about keeping

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52 "Impressive Rites for Dr. Woodson," *Chicago Defender,* April 15, 1950, p. 4.

53 "Racial Problems Will Be Discussed at Meetings Here," *Washington Post,* Sept. 6, 1925, p. AU6.

54 "Carter Woodson Flays Church for Winking at Corruption," *Chicago Defender,* Dec. 5, 1931, p. 4.

55 Carter G. Woodson, "White Church and the Y.M.C.A. Are Anti-Christian from Jesus's Point of View," *Afro-American* (Baltimore), July 16, 1932, p. 18.

56 A. N. Fields, "Today's Talk," *Chicago Defender,* June 5, 1948, p. 15.

out of hell on earth."[57] In his brief yet illuminating 1932 autobiographical essay, "And the Negro Loses His Soul," Woodson recounted the valuable lessons of dignity, self-determination, and self-help that his father passed on to him, concluding: "This was my religious education, and in this way my soul was saved."[58] As a young man, he was active within the church. While teaching in Winona, West Virginia, in 1895 and 1896 he served on the deacon's board for the First Baptist Church of Winona.

In 1931 Woodson frowned upon the scholarly field of theology that he certainly oversimplified and labeled "pagan." Instead, he embraced a religious orientation that used Jesus' life as described in the Bible as an object lesson. Woodson noted: "The world would be wonderfully blessed if the theologians were silenced and schools of theology were closed. What the world needs is Schools of Christian Ethics conducted by teachers of the Golden Rule. Jesus of Nazareth did not spend any time using His wits to spin out to us laborious webs of learning. The mission of Christ was service in the uplift of the fallen." Woodson added that antislavery activists such as Nat Turner, Elijah Lovejoy, and John Brown embraced the "spirit of Christian martyrdom" and "lived up to the great ideal of set forth by Jesus when He said, 'Greater love hath no man than this, that a man may lay down his life for his friend.'"[59] It is not an exaggeration to argue that Woodson viewed himself as a Christian martyr who in 1926 said: "I am working myself to death for the Negro."

In 1932 Woodson, who was dubbed "the high priest of Negro history" by a Virginia Union University dean, explained that if he was a preacher he would strive to be a practical, grassroots, disciple of Jesus. "I am not a preacher," Woodson observed, "but if I were . . . and had access to its pupils, I would preach in one of the churches every Sunday. My people attend these churches, and I want to be where they are to sing when they sing and to pray when they pray."[60] Woodson underscored that his message would be directly linked to that of Jesus and the gospel of liberation—a rendition of the black liberation theology described by James Cone and others. Woodson proclaimed:

I would not forget the lamentations of the past, and I would not sing the song of the hereafter. I would glory in the opportunity of the present. I would not pray to God to do things for me, but in the answer to the call of duty I would begin to do things new needed for social uplift and spiritual awakening and then call on the Great Spirit to help me on the way.

I would not select a text from the thumb-worn commentaries pulled down from the shelves of ancient libraries. I would base my message on the truth revealed by the Humble Nazarene who dealt with life as He found it.[61]

A Washington, D.C., newspaper announcement in the *Papers of Carter G. Woodson and the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1915–1950* sheds some light on Woodson's particular church affiliations:

> WOODSON, DR. CARTER G. Members of the Helping Hand Club of the [Nineteenth] Street Baptist Church are requested to attend the funeral of our late member, DR. CARTER G. WOODSON, Saturday, April 8, 1950 at 1.p.m., from the

57 Woodson, "An the Negro Loses His Soul."

58 *Ibid*., 14.

59 Carter G. Woodson, "Academic 'Theology' Seen As Factor in Church Disunion," *Norfolk Journal and Guide,* Oct. 3, 1931.

60 Carter G. Woodson, "Historian Tells What He'd Do for Georgia City," *ibid*., Nov. 3, 1932, p. 7.

61 Woodson, "Historian Tells What He'd Do," 7.

Shiloh Baptist Church. 9th and P. sts. n.w.
MRS. ELLA BANNISTER. President.
MRS. ELLEASE T. ROBINSON. Sec.[62]

A member of the Helping Hand Club of the Nineteenth Street Baptist Church, Woodson probably also attended services at Shiloh Baptist Church since his funeral rites were held there.[63] Dubbed by John W. Cromwell the first Baptist church "among the Negroes of the District of Columbia," Nineteenth Baptist Church was founded on August 29, 1839, by Sampson White and remained on the corner of 19th and I Streets, NW, Washington, D.C., until it moved to its current location at 4606 16th Street, NW in January 1975. Since 1839 the church has had thirteen pastors.[64] During Woodson's lifetime, two pastors served: Dr. Walter Henderson Brooks (1882–1945) and Dr. Jerry A. Moore Jr. (1946–1997). Many influential blacks were members of Nineteenth Baptist Church, including Charles Drew's family and Nannie Helen Burroughs whose funeral in 1961 at the church was attended by more than 5,000 people. Under the leadership of Walter Henderson Brooks, "a prominent member of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History" in Woodson's words, the Nineteenth Baptist Church flourished and was progressive in terms of gender. Not only did Brooks mentor and support women such as Jennie Deane, founder of the Manassas Industrial School in Virginia, and Burroughs, but on July 21, 1896, the National Association of Colored Women was organized in Brooks's church with the Washingtonian Mary Church Terrell being elected as the organization's first president.

Woodson did not talk a great deal about being a member of Nineteenth Street Baptist Church, but he praise Brooks's leadership and character. Woodson told the reviewer of Brooks's *The Pastor's Voice* (1945): "'Probably no man living has exemplified actual Christian living better than the author of this volume who now at the age of ninety-four is still active in the service of the Master.'"[65] As it was Woodson's ritual, when someone of influence in the black community died, he wrote a brief biographical statement in the "Personal" section of the *JNH* after Brooks's death on July 6, 1945. It is clear that Woodson admired Brooks with whom he shared many fundamental values, especially generosity and unselfishness. Woodson remarked:

> During his pastorate the Nineteenth Baptist Church grew steadily toward the ideal of a model congregation with the pastor and his followers working

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62 "WOODSON, CARTER G.," newspaper announcement, n.d., *Papers of Carter G. Woodson and the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1915–1950*, reel 3..The announcement reads "Ninth Street Baptist Church," but I believe that it should have read "Nineteenth Street Baptist Church" based on what Woodson says about this church in a brief statement in the *Negro History Bulletin* in 1947.

63 Since Woodson was a member of the Ninth Street Baptist Church, one wonders why his funeral was not held there. Perhaps the facilities were not large enough and Shiloh Baptist Church provided a more accommodating atmosphere. He must have been on good terms with the leadership of Shiloh Baptist Church since the services were held there. He must have attended some services there, given its close proximity to his home. The association under Woodson's leadership also praised the efforts of Shiloh Baptist Church in helping the poor children who lived near Woodson's "office home." See, for instance, "'The Happy Hour' at the Shiloh Baptist Church in Washington," *Negro History Bulletin,* 2 (Oct. 1939), 10; "Thinking about and Planning for the Children," *ibid*., 8 (Dec. 1945), 61.

64 John W. Cromwell, "The First Negro Churches in the District of Columbia," *Journal of Negro History,* 7 (Jan. 1922), 76. For a brief history of Nineteenth Street Baptist Church, see http://www.nsbcdc.org/page/aboutus.html.

65 Mabel Madden McCoy, review of *The Pastor's Voice* by Walter Henderson Brooks, *Journal of Negro History,* 31 (Jan. 1946), 118.

> toward a common goal of saving humanity. It is the mother church among the Negro Baptists, and out of it developed most of the large Baptist Churches of the city. The Nineteenth Street Baptist Church was so organized and conducted as to reach the community through its numerous clubs and societies. The young people were trained in a thoroughly graded Bible School which was supplied with teachers employing the latest methods of religious education. The cause of missions was well maintained at this center. Schools engaged in the enlightenment of the Negro found support there. The pastor himself gave one thousand dollars to Lincoln University, his alma mater, when it was raising an endowment fund of $400,000. No worthy cause serving humanity was ever turned away empty-handed. In fact, this congregation was a striking example of how the Negro church has had to function as a substitute for meeting needs which people otherwise circumstanced would be supplied by various agencies.[66]

Woodson acclaimed other members and activities of Nineteenth Street Baptist Church, especially the Helping Hand Club, during the leadership of Jerry A. Moore Jr. in the *Negro History Bulletin*. Woodson's Associated Publishers also released *History of the Helping Hand Club of the Nineteenth Baptist Street Church* (1949). Woodson's description of his church sheds some light on his own religious philosophy:

> This city-wide interchurch organization [the Helping Hand Club of the Nineteenth Baptist Church] is in a class by itself. Although organized in a Baptist Church, its members consist of persons of all faith. They cooperate in helping the poor and the afflicted and give aid to causes projected for the good of humanity. Mrs. Ella C. Bannister, a woman of high ideals and Christian influence in the city, is the president of this club. It stages annually drives to aid the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and for the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. At a mass meeting in the city on the 14th of February the club raised more than $400 for the Association, and workers are weekly reporting other amounts which will increase the sum to $500.[67]

While it does not appear that Shiloh was used for the association's functions during the first three meetings held in Washington between 1917 and 1920, the last major session for the annual ASNLH meeting in 1942 in the nation's capital was held at Shiloh Baptist Church and most of the sessions for the 1948 ASNLH annual meeting were held in Shiloh. In 1948 Rev. Earl L. Harrison also delivered the welcoming address for the conference.[68]

Churches were instrumental in many of the Negro History Week celebrations in Washington. Under the headings "Week of Observation Opens With Exercises at

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66 "Personal: Walter Henderson Brooks," *ibid*., 30 (Oct. 1945)., 460.

67 "Negro History Week Aftermath," *Negro History Bulletin*, 10 (April 1947), 165. In "Historians' Annual Membership Drive Launched," *ibid*., (March 1947), Woodson also praised the work of Ella C. Bannister, a member of the ASNLH's National Advisory Committee who was very active in the association's annual membership drives during the late 1940s and in the Helping Hand Club.

68 It is interesting to note that Shiloh Baptist Church was not used for any of the ASNLH meetings from 1917 until 1920 that were held in Washington, D.C. In 1919 several of the sessions were held at the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church and in 1920, the evening session was held at the John Wesley A.M.E.Z. Church. In the synopsis of the first ASNLH conference, there is no mention of where the sessions or meetings were held. In all of the subsequent proceedings, the locations of the sessions and major presentations are discussed. It is quite possible that the "First Biennial Meeting" was held in Woodson's "office home."

City Churches," a writer for the *Washington Post* in 1931 noted: "Services in celebration of National Negro History week were held yesterday, under auspices of community centers of divisions 10–13 of public schools, in all colored churches here and in adjacent communities."[69] More than a decade later, a writer for the *Negro History Bulletin* reiterated the significance of churches during the ASNLH's Negro History Week celebration of 1945: "In Washington, D.C., the churches especially became active. The climax in the National Capital was the meeting of the Helping Hand Club, under the inspiration of Mrs. C.C. Bannister, at the Nineteenth Baptist Church where addresses were delivered by Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown and Congresswoman Helen Gehagan Douglas."[70] The Shiloh Baptist Church was especially active in Negro History Week celebrations during the 1940s. The Negro History Week celebration in 1946 in Washington, D.C., was "more widely observed . . . than ever," a writer for the *Negro History Bulletin* asserted, and one of the most successful events was "the well attended and highly successful Negro History Week Dinner annually given by the Shiloh Baptist Church, Dr. E.L. Harrison, pastor."[71] Several years later, in 1949, the *NB* printed a photo of the described as "THE SPEAKERS' TABLE AT THE ANNUAL NEGRO HSITORY WEEK DINNER OF THE SHILOH BAPTIST CHURCH, WASHINGTON, D.C., FEBRUARY 9, 1949."[72]

In a 1931 essay in the *Afro-American* (Baltimore) in which he chastised the "highly educated" class for not playing a leading role in the church, he discussed his experiences in one of Washington's most popular Baptist churches:

> I attended in Washington last Sunday, one of the popular churches with a membership of several thousands. While sitting there I thought of what power this group could become under the honest leadership of intelligent men and women. Social uplift, business, public welfare—all have their possibilities there if a score or more of our highly educated persons would work with these people at that center.
>
> Looking carefully throughout the audience for such persons, however, I recognized only two college graduates, Kelly Miller and myself; but he had come to receive from the church a donation to the Community Chest which he represents, and I had come according to appointment to make an appeal in behalf of Miss Nannie H. Burroughs's school. Neither one of us had manifested any interest in that particular church, and this is the way most of them receive attention from our talented tenth.[73]

Woodson was supportive of the native Washingtonian, educator, reformer, and "major figure in the black church and secular feminist movements," Nannie Helen Burroughs.[74] Burroughs, who spoke out on behalf of black women at the 1900 National Baptist Convention and founded the National Training School for Women and Girls in 1909, not only shared similar pragmatic religious beliefs with Woodson but also shared with him

69 "History of Negroes Cited At Services," *Washington Post*, Feb. 9, 1931, p. 4.

70 "Negro History Week," *Negro History Bulletin,* 8 (March 1945), 142.

71 "Negro History Week," *ibid*., 9 (March 1946), 134–35.

72 "Negro History Week Nation-Wide," *ibid*., 12 (March 1949), 134.

73 Woodson, "The 'Highly Educated' Quickly Graduated from the Methodist and Baptist Churches," 3.

74 Sharon Harley, "Nannie Helen Burroughs: 'The Black Goddess of Liberty,'" *Journal of Negro History,* 81 (Autumn 1996), 62.

similar views toward history. Sharon Harley has pinpointed the connections between these two Washington, D.C., institution builders:

> To help focus African-American attention on their present plight, Burroughs insisted that they become knowledgeable about past achievements and struggles of the race. Consequently, the National Training School featured a Department of Negro History which offered a mandatory course on the subject. It was reported that the annual oratorical contests at the school, focusing on Negro achievements, had the effect of "creating wide interest and a healthy familiarity with Negro history and with current events among Negroes. Nannie Burroughs was a life member of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, and at the 1927 meeting in Pittsburgh, on a panel with Carter G. Woodson and philosopher Alain Locke, Burroughs spoke about "The Social Value of Negro History." Burroughs proclaimed the need to vindicate the race by glorifying the historical achievements and contributions of people of African descent to world history and culture.[75]

There is also evidence that Woodson spoke at black churches in Washington, D.C. For instance, in 1931, Woodson delivered an address at the Israel AME Church for "memorial services for Crispus Attucks."[76] Later, in 1935, in response to charges that he told 3,000 black Detroiters "jammed [in] the large gymnasium" in the YMCA to "scrap all religion," Woodson discussed his participation in his church: "I am a member of a church myself and recently when attending contributed ten dollars to its support. I am wondering how one thus associated and functioning can be in favor of destroying the church. In all my writings, moreover, I have tried to make it clear that the Negro church is about the only thing that the Race has developed in America."[77] Though he was a Baptist and, as evidenced in *The Negro Church* (1921), highlighted the importance of this denomination in African American history, he did not preach the superiority of his religious thoughts. "I would not dare make an argument in favor of any particular religion," Woodson stated, "Religion is but religion if the people live up to the faith they profess."[78] In the 1930s Woodson also called for black churches to unite "and organize one church to promote the principles of Jesus of Nazareth." Evidence from newspapers also indicates that Woodson did regularly speak at churches throughout the nation and often to large congregations. For instance, one day in Pittsburgh in January 1933 he delivered a speech at Macedonia Baptist Church in the afternoon and was the keynote speaker for the Ebenezer Baptist Church in the evening "to a very large and appreciative audience."[79]

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75 Harley, "Nannie Helen Burroughs," 68.

76 "D.C. CHURCHES," *Afro-American* (Baltimore), March 14, 1931, p. 4.

77 Carter G. Woodson, "Historian Claims He Was Misquoted," *Chicago Defender,* Feb. 23, 1935. For context, see "Scrap All Religion Woodson Tells 3,000 Detroiters," *Afro-American* (Baltimore), Feb. 9, 1935, p. 10; "R. R. Wright, Sr. Answers Dr. Carter G. Woodson," *Chicago Defender,* March 9, 1935, p. 14.

78 Woodson, "The 'Highly Educated' Quickly Graduated from the Methodist and Baptist Churches," 3.

79 "Dr. Carter G. Woodson Guest Speaker for Baptist Ministers," *Pittsburgh Courier,* Jan.21, 1933, p. 9. In February 1936, Woodson spoke to 3,000 people in Detroit's Bethel Church and in December 1939, he delivered a lecture at the Shiloh Baptist Church in Columbus, Ohio.

The Role of the Association's 1538 Ninth Street, NW Headquarters, 1922–1950

Until 1950, the Carter G. Woodson Home served as Woodson's residence, the headquarters for the ASNLH as well as the base of operations for Associated Publishers. *The Journal of Negro History*, the *Negro History Bulletin*, and other activities and projects under Woodson's and the association's guidance. 1538 Ninth Street, NW was an important mentoring center as well. "Dr. Woodson's office," Lorenzo J. Greene emphasized, "was a training school for future historians" who learned "much from this master craftsman."[80] In 1910, a former student of Woodson at D.C.'s prestigious M Street High School, Jessie H. Roy, recalled how Woodson transcended the standard gender conventions of his times by inviting young female scholars to the office to discuss black history. "What we enjoyed most of all were the stories of great Negroes Dr. Woodson told to us orally. . . . Often when the discussion of an historic figure was too interesting to leave, and lunch or dinner time can meanwhile, Mrs. Turner and I would go with Dr. Woodson to lunch or dinner at the YWCA (Dutch treat) and continue our study as we ate. If necessary, we would return to the office and continue our study of a character even if it meant staying until late in the night. . . . At his passing, Mrs. Turner and I felt as if we had lost a favorite relative—certainly we had lost a cherished friend."[81]

An authentic autonomous "parallel institution," Woodson also used his residence to host ASNLH executive council meetings and as a place to store thousands of books, documents, and archives pertaining to the history and culture of African descendants. The association headquarters served as a vital repository for a variety of primary documents from the black community. By the mid-1920s Woodson noted that many people, especially blacks, were giving important historical documents and papers to the association to "preserve in its archives." Between 1926 and 1950, it was Woodson's custom to hold large meetings in the association's headquarters to plan for Negro History Week celebrations and programs in Washington, D.C. As Lorenzo J. Greene recorded in his diary in January and early February 1930, he, Woodson, and others were busy working and making plans in the office well past 1:00 a.m. upon many occasions. In 1925, days before the ASNLH had its tenth anniversary annual meeting in Washington, D.C., (dubbed "one of the most important ever held in the history of the race") the association featured an exhibition at the house. According to a *Washington Post* article from September 6, 1925, in Woodson's "office home" the ASNLH "presented an exhibition of 'engravings of the antique work of Benin, together with rare books and manuscripts.'"[82] While not a museum in the traditional sense, Woodson's home did function in one sense as an informal community-based museum, "a keeper of the culture" that grew "directly from the culture and history of African Americans" and a vital repository of historical documents, materials, and artifacts that were used mainly by Woodson,

80 Greene, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson."

81 Jessie H. Roy, "Some Personal Recollections of Dr. Woodson," *Negro History Bulletin,* 28 (Summer 1965), 186, 192.

82 Judith H. Robinson and Associates, "Developmental History," 33.

his co-workers, and probably those affiliated with the association.[83] As more than a few of his co-workers observed and as several existing photos of Woodson in his home at his desk and positioned in front of bookshelves reveal, all available space in the home was used to house and store important manuscripts and materials relevant to the historical experiences of peoples of African descent. Equally important, from 1922 through the 1940s, Woodson engaged in rigorous intellectual thought, produced scholarship, wrote letters, and reviewed a range of materials in the "office home."

Woodson's "office home" clearly served many purposes and all available space was used. By the early 1930s, Woodson wanted more space for the launching pad of the early black history movement. He proposed establishing an Institute of Negro Culture in Washington, D.C., to "foster the development of black music, drama, and art." He envisioned having "an auditorium for cultural programs, an exhibition area for artworks, and a library for rare books and manuscripts."[84] Between 1929 and 1933, Woodson established a collection at the Library of Congress (The Carter G. Woodson Collection of Negro Papers and Related Documents), but he probably wanted to have more control over this documentary trove and wanted the black community, especially in Washington, D.C., to have more access to these materials. According to Goggin, Woodson's 1934 request for $2 million funding from the Rockefeller General Education Board was very ambitious and he did not seem angry when his proposal was denied. At the same time, Woodson's proposal indicates how he envisioned using space in Washington, D.C., to promote the cause of black history in a manner that was not possible with his modest "office home." He described his Institute of Negro Culture as follows: "A three-story stone and marble structure which embody the spirit of the undertaking and will lend tone to it, with an auditorium of a seating capacity of not less than three thousand, with adequate rooms for exhibits of all arts, with a library for rare books and manuscripts, and with lecturing halls for special instruction. . . . The details to be worked out by the architect, who should be guided as much as possible by the outlines and purposes of the Belgium Congo Museum. . . . [The] cost to be two million dollars."[85]

Such a building would have helped Woodson in his quest to popularize and institutionalize black history, but he was able to use the limited space that he had in many creative ways. According to Mary Pearl Daugherty, who like more than a few black women professionals in the Washington area worked as a typist and secretary for Woodson from the fall of 1938 until the summer of 1941, Woodson wrote books in the comfort of his home. "He would walk around his office, his eyes closed and his hands clasped behind his back, crisply dictating. Sometimes he would dictate whole chapters of one of his books, without reference notes," an eighty-four-year-old Daugherty recalled in 2000. "Then, when I would show him the manuscript, he would say, 'Mrs. D., you split an infinitive!"[86] Other typists, secre-

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83 Woodson's home was not a museum in the traditional sense, but it did function in some degree as a "keeper of the culture" of African Americans. The various artifacts, records, materials, and manuscripts that were housed in Woodson's home were certainly viewed and interpreted by those who worked in and visited the Association's headquarters, as demonstrated by the article in the *Washington Post* on September 6, 1925. For a discussion of the significance of museums in African American culture and the notion of black museums as "keepers of the culture," see John E. Fleming, "African-American Museums, History, and the American Ideal," *The Journal of American History,* 81 (Dec. 1994), 1020–26.

84 Goggin, "Carter G. Woodson and the Movement to Promote Black History," 280.

85 Goggin, "Carter G. Woodson and the Movement to Promote Black History," 280.

86 Hank Chase, "Carter G. Woodson's Home," *American Visions,* Feb. 2000.

taries, and stenographers, as Lorenzo J. Greene, Willie Leanna Miles, and others recalled, performed similar services in Woodson's home. Woodson ran the office with authority. "We used to say at the office when Woodson spoke, no dog barked." He had a "despotic temperament." Most of the young women who worked in his office were not well paid since the association was usually under financial strain, especially during the Great Depression. As Greene noted in 1928 and Willie Leanna Miles avowed in 1991, Woodson's employees were paid at the end of each month. "It was very rare for Dr. Woodson to pay employees by check," Miles indicated, "We were paid in cash."[87] Dorothy Revallion, who worked as a secretary and typist for Woodson for about five years during the 1920s, threatened to quit because "she could not live upon her salary."[88] The workdays in Woodson's office were often long. As Revallion experienced, "Woodson had also an irritating habit of dictating letters to his secretaries a little before closing time and insisting that they be gotten out before she left the office." One visitor to Woodson's office, taken aback by his abrasiveness, remarked: "Dr. Woodson should not meet visitors."[89]

There are very few existing descriptions of the actual physical conditions and layout of the association's headquarters while Woodson was still living. It does not seem that Woodson wrote about how he viewed his "office home." In passing in the *Norfolk Journal and Guide* in 1933, Woodson described his role as being that of "caretaker" of 1538 Ninth Street "*in return for free use of the attic in order to save rent*."[90] Contrary to the descriptions provided by his co-workers that depicted the third floor of the ASNLH's headquarters as being Woodson's personal apartment, he viewed it as being nothing more than an "attic" that he made do with.

In 1953 in the *Negro History Bulletin*, L. D. Reddick recalled: "I found myself Woodson at 1538 Ninth Street, Northwest. This was the headquarters of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History and the home of the *Journal of Negro History* and the other publications. The first floor was given over to the mail-order work of the Association. Woodson's office was on the second floor—and what an office! Books and magazines were piled everywhere (almost as bad as mine these days). Papers and letters and galley proofs covered the desk. But there seemed to be actually no disorder. The editor probably did more high grade work at that desk than any editor I know. Woodson lived, that is, slept, on the third floor of the small building."[91] Two decades later in the *NB* W. Montague Cobb, one of the six pallbearers at Woodson's funeral, described Woodson's "office home:" "He purchased the row house at 1538 Ninth St., N.W., where the ASNLH and Associated Publishers will have their headquarters, lived on the third floor and turned the two lower floors to the work of the Association. It was generally believed that he could not succeed and friends were not particularly encouraging or kind. He told me of many individuals, who ridiculed his efforts at the start," Cobb continued, "The quarters of the ASNLH at 1538 Ninth St., clearly showed the difference between form and substance. There was no money to spend

87 Willie Leanna Miles, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson as I Recall Him, 1943–1950," *Journal of Negro History,* 76 (Autumn 1991), 96.

88 Arvarh E. Strickland, ed., *Working with Carter G. Woodson, the Father of Black History: A Diary, 1928-1930, Lorenzo J. Greene* (Baton Rouge, 1989), 189.

89 Greene, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson."

90 Woodson, "Time and Foolhardiness Have Proved B. T. Washington's Joke a Prophecy," 7. (Emphasis added.)

91 Reddick, "As I Remember Woodson," 36.

on renovations so none were made. No one would scoff at the unpainted front or bare wooden floors, because the volumes and quality of work done in the house made any external trappings insignificant."[92] The basement of Woodson's "office home" was used for storing books published by the Associated Publishers. The basement was not in the best shape, as evidenced by Lorenzo J. Greene's observations in the summer of 1930 that books were rotting there. Fortunately, Greene was able to convince Woodson to let him go on a cross-country book-selling campaign for the association from 1930 until 1933.[93]

Though he had many secretaries, assistants, and co-workers, Woodson personally took care of his home. He took great pride in his home. W. E. B. Du Bois was certainly wrong in claiming after Woodson's death that "the father of black history" "had no home, he lived in lodgings as a boarder." When Woodson was out of town, his close research assistants would be in charge of the office. As both Langston Hughes and Lorenzo J. Greene noted, on these occasions they were given specific orders and instructions. While in Washington, D.C., Woodson tended to the upkeep of the office. Several decades after Woodson died, Greene recalled:

> The devotion which Woodson stimulated in his subordinates stemmed from his whole-hearted dedication to Negro history and the tremendous personal sacrifices which he made to carry on the work. He drove himself mercilessly, regularly working sixteen to eighteen hours a day. When I asked him how he did it, he chuckled and replied that laboring in the coal mines of West Virginia had given him the physical energy to carry on.
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> Woodson was no snob, no work was too menial for him. He cooked his own breakfast, generally of cereal, bacon, eggs, toast, and coffee in a kitchen to the rear of his office. Many a morning the delicious tell-tale aroma of frying bacon would greet my nostrils as I entered the building. Since Woodson could not afford to hire a janitor, not infrequently of a morning I encountered him attired in pajamas and a shabby bathrobe, broom and dustpan, or mop and pail in hand, cleaning the office. The climax came one morning when I found him down on his hands and knees oiling the floors, and of all things the floor of my office which adjoined his. Ashamed and embarrassed at seeing him do such lowly work, I volunteered to help. But he cut me short with: "Mr. Greene, I did not hire you to be a janitor."
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> You cannot imagine how very humble I felt before this man who, despite his stature as a historian, would cook, wash dishes, sweep and scrub floors, fire the furnace, take out ashes; in fact, do everything from janitor and charwoman to author, lecturer, and editor. And all for the cause. Much as I desired to be an integral part of the Association and share in all its responsibilities, whatever their nature, I could not persuade Woodson to let me perform duties other than those for which he employed me. The only opportunity I had to do so was when he was out of town.
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> But such occasions were rare. Regularly Woodson wrapped and packed books, prepared them for shipment and carried them or letters to the main Post Office. It was a common sight, winter or summer, in fair or foul weather, for him to leave the office between ten-thirty and midnight with a mail bag crammed with

92 Cobb "Carter Godwin Woodson," 154–55.

93 Arvarh Strickland, ed., *Selling Black History for Carter G. Woodson: A Diary, 1930-1933* (Columbia, 1996), 21–22.

> books or letters on his way to the Post Office. Never once did he ask me to do so, or even to help him. If I wrapped books, it was because I volunteered, or he was out of town.[94]

Greene added that Woodson often spoke with his employees in "his sanctum, the Kitchen" and that he enjoyed talking care of his "office home" by himself, especially painting. Woodson outworked his protégé, who was twenty-five years his junior. In his diary on September 11, 1928, Greene wrote: "We talked as Woodson painted. I admire him. No sort of work is too menial for him to perform. He likes to paint; it's a hobby of his. Says it is like a vacation. It is now after seven and he has not eaten since noon, only two pounds of grapes, a can of sardines, and a few crackers. I left, doing so only because my body cried out for sustenance."[95]

Four decades after Woodson's death, in 1991 in the *Journal of Negro History* Willie Leanna Miles, who worked with Woodson from 1943 until 1950, provided basic, yet very revealing, descriptions of Woodson's "office home" as she called it. In offering her "birdseye view" of her "memories of the man and his life," Miles described the Carter G. Woodson home in some detail. Miles recalled:

> Dr. Woodson lived in the building where he worked. His bedroom and living room were on the third floor. The kitchen and bath were located on the second floor back. His office and library were on the second floor front. The first floor front and back was where order and shipping, processing of *The Negro History Bulletin* and *The Journal of Negro History* and other miscellaneous clerical work was accomplished. The basement and every other available space in the building were used for storage of books, *Bulletins*, *Journals*, etc.... My work space assignment was in Dr. Woodson's Library, 2nd floor front, opposite the staircase leading to the third floor. This allowed me an opportunity to hear conversations from his office. He seldom missed telling a visitor about the fact that he was once a coal miner and once earned a living as a garbage collector.... The Associated Publishers and the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History occupied the same building.[96]

Miles provided *Journal of Negro History* readers with a floor plan of the four levels of Woodson's home (see "Figure #1" in this study's "Photographs Related to Carter G. Woodson"). She also revealed that Woodson, the somewhat private, "aloof," and "lonely man," shared in the comforts of his home stories of his past with his visitors, co-workers, and employees. Imagine if the walls of the Carter G. Woodson Home could talk!

The Carter G. Woodson Home, 1950–1976

Woodson died in his room on the third floor of his "office home." Following Woodson's sudden death, his successors discovered that Woodson truly was the backbone of the association and that the association's financial status was in great shambles largely caused by Woodson's decision to sever ties with white philanthropy in the early 1930s. In 1953, for

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94 Greene, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson."

95 Strickland, ed., *Working with Carter G. Woodson, the Father of Black History*, 297.

96 Miles, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson as I Recall Him, 1943–1950," 92, 93, 95.

instance, the association had a debt for printing of at least $20,000.00. The first dilemma facing the organization was selecting a new director-editor, a competent successor to the man of "Spartan-like existence," as Charles H. Wesley described the association founder. Woodson only left behind one will that did not address the issue of his successor. It empowered the heads of the history departments at Atlanta, Fisk, and Howard "some authority in selecting the editor."

Due to the sudden nature of Woodson's death, the association's executive council was unprepared. In this state of emergency, about a month after Woodson's death, Association President Mary McLeod Bethune appointed Rayford W. Logan to succeed Woodson as director-editor.[97] At this point, the association's leaders did not seem to discuss in detail the fate of Woodson's home. They certainly recognized the value of Woodson's extensive collection of black history scholarship, documents, and memorabilia (including more than one hundred first edition works pertaining to African American history and thousands of documents and artifacts) that were stored in his home, appraised at $600,000.00 to $1,000,000.00 in 2000. They continued to use Woodson's "office home" as the ASNLH's headquarters and to store Woodson's vast library collection until the midpoint of the black power era. It is also probable that the Woodson home was used by the local Washington ASNLH branch for meetings and programs.

In the mid-1950s, the association received a permit to build a fence around the home and a decade following Woodson's death, evidence discovered by Judith H. Robinson and Associates suggests that the Woodson home was also used "as a store" of some sort.[98] The turbulent 1960s proved to be a challenging decade in the history of the Woodson home. By 1967, as recorded in the *Washington Post*, the ASNLH was looking for a new base of operations because "'the present national headquarters building is an urban renewal area and will be raised before long.'"[99] In assessing the existing, endangered landmarks in the Shaw neighborhood that would not be torn down during the urban renewal program, the National Capital Planning Commission did not identify the Woodson home as being a landmark. Fortunately, the Woodson home did not become a casualty of urban renewal. By the late 1960s, the ASNLH was looking for a new building for their headquarters.

In 1971 the association no longer used the Woodson home as its headquarters. While in November 1971 they listed the 1538 Ninth Street, NW as their headquarters, by December it changed its mailing address to 1407 Fourteenth Street, NW, Washington, D.C. One of the last references to its headquarters before it moved from the Woodson home appeared in an interview with Charles H. Wesley in March 1971. "An historian and former president of Central State College in Ohio, Wesley was interviewed in his book-cluttered office at 1538 9th St. NW." Hollie I. West of the *Washington Post* continued, "The association is preparing to move in the coming months to roomier offices at 14th Street and Rhode Island Avenue, NW., where there will be a library, rare book room and manuscript room spread out over three floors."[100] The National ASNLH was aided in acquiring the house from various

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97 Lorenzo J. Greene to Patricia W. Romero, March 15, 1984, folder 8, box 70, Papers of Lorenzo J. Greene; William Brewer to Greene, June 30, 1950, folder 8, box 72, *ibid*.

98 Judith H. Robinson and Associates, "Developmental History," 42.

99 *Ibid*., 34.

100 The interview between Wesley and Hollie I. West appeared in "Current History," *Negro History Bulletin*, 34 (March 1971), 59

sources, including $1,000.00 that was given to them by association branches in Brooklyn, Brownsville, and Carnasie, New York, in 1971.[101] In 1973, among the association's twelve major "campaigns, efforts and programs" was providing "housing and support for the proposed Carter G. Woodson Collection," a facility that will be "available to all Washington, D.C. visitors" by 1976.[102] They succeeded in this effort. In January 1976, the year of America's bicentennial celebration, the *Negro History Bulletin* displayed a photo of their new office at 1401 14th, NW, named the Carter G. Woodson Center, under the heading "America: The Third Century."[103] At the same time, during the 1970s the Woodson home "stood vacant for many years and fell into a state of disrepair with broken windows and crumbling steps." The ASNLH probably did not have the resources to maintain the one-hundred-year-old house properly. Yet by the mid-1970s they did invest in acquiring a new building for their headquarters at 1401 14th, NW.

The Evolution of the Woodson Home Since Becoming a National Historic Landmark

The Woodson Home was designated a national historic landmark on May 11, 1976. Modest regarding his accomplishments, Woodson was in part correct when in the mid-1920s he told Lorenzo J. Greene during one their "talkfests:" "'Mr. Greene, it will be fifty years before the world appreciates what I am trying to do."[104] Decades earlier, however, black communities acknowledged Woodson's efforts, honoring him especially by naming many association branches and clubs, black history events and programs, and countless elementary, junior high, and high school buildings after him beginning in the 1950s. As a result of the efforts of association branches in Brownsville and Brooklyn, New York, in 1969 a senior-citizen home in Brownsville was named the Carter G. Woodson Houses. The U.S. government acted slower in recognizing Woodson. In *The Historic Sites Survey and National Historic Landmarks Program: A History* (1985), Barry Mackintosh assessed the efforts of the National Park Service to designate black historical landmarks in 1971, a decade after the first historic landmarks were named by the National Park Service. Simply put, "virtually no landmarks honoring black Americans then existed, an embarrassing circumstance at the time of increasing black awareness and empowerment." After considering working with the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, the National Park Service hired the Afro-American Bicentennial Corporation (ABC), headed by the brothers Robert and Vincent DeForrest. The advisory board of the ABC included several black political figures and many leading historians, such as Shirley Chisholm, Mary Frances Berry, John Blassingame, Dorothy Porter Wesley, Benjamin Quarles, Edgar A. Toppin, and Charles H. Wesley, all of whom, with the exception of Chisholm, were active members of the ASNLH. From 1973 until the middle of 1976, the ABC received a total of $540,000.00 in "special funding" to indentify, study, and nominate black historic landmarks throughout the country. By July 1974, thirteen black landmarks were named and three years later there were sixty-one

101 "Contributions by ASNLH Clubs in Honor of Mother Gaston, Brooklyn, New York," *ibid*., 34 (March 1971), 59.

102 J. Rupert Picott, "Editorial Comment: Great and Good Tradition," *ibid*., (May 1973), 100.

103 See *ibid*., 39 (January 1976). The black-and-white photo of the Carter G. Woodson Center appears at the beginning of the magazine under the heading "America: The Third Century."

104 Greene, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson."

black historic landmarks approved by the National Park Service. According to Mackintosh, there was a great deal of controversy because, in his and others' estimation, the ABC "sought to nominate properties for as many individuals and events as possible, with little regard for the concept of site integrity and the significance of relationships between the sites and their subjects."[105] This was certainly not the case for Woodson's home and others. These ABC activists were probably more accurately seeking to memorialize their heroes and heroines who had for so long been ignored by white America. As a result of the efforts of the ABC and its constituents, other famous blacks' homes in Washington, D.C., were named national historic landmarks, including the Blanche K. Bruce Home (1975), the Mary Church Terrell House (1975), the Mary Ann Shadd Cary House (1976), and the Charlotte Forten Grimke Home (designated a landmark on the same day that the Woodson Home was). During the late 1970s and early 1980s, members of the ASNLH voiced their concerns about restoring Woodson's home.

In the ASALH's 1978 "National Afro-American History Kit," for instance, the *Negro History Bulletin* advertised "The Carter G. Woodson National Historic Site Landmark: A Handbook for Teaching History in the Community." In 1979, the same year that Woodson's home was listed in the District of Columbia's Inventory of Historic Sites, at the Sixty-Fourth ASALH Annual Convention in New York Executive Director J. Rupert Picott called for, among other initiatives, "the renovation and restoration of the Carter G. Woodson Home at 1538 9th, NW, Washington, D.C., as a perpetual memorial to our founder." He also wanted "to have a monument erected to Woodson on a grassy plot located not far away from the Carter G. Woodson House which he occupied for so many years and which is not a National Historic Landmark."[106] Picott's recommendation concerning the Woodson Home was unanimously adopted at the 1979 ASALH Convention and a "special meeting" of the Executive Council was held concerning the recommendations in December 1979. By the middle of 1980, ASALH received funding for the project. In the summer of 1980, Picott explained the situation with the Carter G. Woodson Home:

> You will recall that several years ago you voted "in no uncertain terms" that 1538 9th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., long-time home of ASALH Founder, Carter G. Woodson be renovated and restored. Acting at your direction, the Executive Director "went after" a grant for this purpose. Success followed when the U.S. Department of Interior, in cooperation with the District of Columbia Department of Housing and Human Resources, provided a grant of $38,000, later increased to $63,000. The funds were made available, provided ASALH matched the original grant of $38,000. To date, after three years we have received donations from, or through you, totaling $8,000, of which $5,000 was donated by the Masonic Order, $1,000 by former President Charles Walker Thomas, $500 from Mr. Arnett G. Lindsay and gift from the Executive Director and others. We still need to raise $30,000 in matching funds.
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> One of Washington's premier architectural firms, Bryant & Bryant, has drawn the plans and is supervising the renovation. A contract has been signed

105 Barry Mackintosh, *The Historic Sites Survey and National Historic Landmarks Programs: A History* (Washington, 1985), 73–75.

106 "New Focus Projected for ASALH for 1980," *Negro History Bulletin,* 42 (Oct.–Dec. 1979), 110.

> with the construction firm to do the work. We have our fingers crossed, "tightly," with the fervent hope that "all will go well" on this restoration and renovation task which you have assigned to us.[107]

By the summer of 1980, the Woodson Home was in good enough shape to host the executive council for a tour and luncheon. On June 14, 1980, after their meeting at the Carter G. Woodson Center, the executive council went to the Woodson house that was "well on its way to being completely renovated and restored" and was "approximately 91% completed" by Bryant and Bryant, a local black-owned construction company. The description of the executive council's experiences in the Woodson Home are quite revealing. According to the minutes of the June 14, 1980 executive council meeting: "The members of the Executive Council were given a tour of the facility from the third floor top to the basement. Many of the members became nostalgic as they walked through the building, recalling great moments with founder Carter G. Woodson who made his home and the Association office at 1538. After a period of much talk about the past and Dr. Woodson, luncheon was served. The food consisted of chicken and fish boxes, adorned with a salad and sodas. The scene was so rustic and so full of pathos that Dr. Bettye Gardner, of D.C., was moved to comment on the 'picture presented by the Executive Council members sitting on sawhorses and amid piles of lumber.'"[108] A Renovation and Restoration Committee concluded that when renovated the Woodson Home should be divided into three major rooms for *The Journal of Negro History,* the Association offices, and "the Community Project and Lectures." They supported restoring "as many rooms as possible," especially Woodson's library, and it was suggested that the first floor be named in honor of Willie Leanna Miles who at the time had committed thirty-six years of service to the association. The Carter G. Woodson House Use Committee was also formed at this meeting and they were charged with providing more recommendations as to how to best use the Woodson Home by the next executive council meeting in October 1980. It appears that there was some debate concerning the Woodson Home at this meeting. For instance, while Gossie Hudson urged the association to act quickly, Earl E. Thorpe requested that the general association membership be solicited for their opinions regarding the function of the Woodson Home.

At the sixty-fifth annual ASLNH meeting in New Orleans, Louisiana, in 1980, the executive council had on its agenda, among other issues, "Restoration of the Carter G. Woodson Home."[109] The year 1981 was important in the history of the Woodson Home. In the January–March 1981 volume of the *Negro History Bulletin* it was reported that the "1538 property" had been restored and "shines brightly in all of its pristine glory." The commentary continued: "The Association must in the near future determine the role that this 1538 property will again play in the Association's programs and activities. Fortunately, many of Carter G. Woodson's artifacts and personal property have been kept in immaculate condition. Some hope that the . . . property will be used as a teaching base for increased knowledge of Black history for the community which is closest to downtown Washington, D.C. From this northwest section property, exemplary programs may be put into practice and as much as Carter Woodson taught Afro-American history to youngsters in the neighborhood YMCA in his day, we again

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107 J. Rupert Picott, "In This Bulletin," *ibid.*, 43 (April–June 1980), 27.

108 "Minutes of June 14 Meeting, Executive Council," *ibid.*, 43 (July–Sept. 1980), 74.

109 Robert L. Harris Jr., "The Sixty-Fifth Annual Meeting," *Journal of Negro History,* 66 (Winter 1981–1982), 318.

can preach the word of the individual, the value of his efficacy of knowledge of the individual's past as a basis for the creation of harmony among ethnic groups in the land."[110] In an article in the April–June 1981 volume of the *NHB,* the association proclaimed in bold capital letters: "NATIONAL SHRINE CATER G. WOODSON HOUSE RESTORED TO ORIGINAL BEAUTY AND UTILITY."[111] The following was announced in the *NHB:*

> The house at 1538 9th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., a Registered National Historic Landmark, is a sacred place to lovers of Afro-American history. For a large part of his life, Dr. Woodson maintained his apartment on the third floor, with offices of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History on the first and second floors. The basement of this building was used as storage for books. It was from this house in the prominent Northwest section of the nation's capitol that Carter G. Woodson wrote the books that made him famous, directed the organization that provided new understanding about black Americans, and laid the basis for the Association that continues to promote the cause of Afro-American history.
>
> Through a grant secured from the U.S. Department of Interior and administered by the D.C. Division of Preservation of Historic Sites, the house at 1538 has been completely renovated. Our scenes from "New Woodson House" follow on several pages of this issue of the magazine. We think you will find joy in this restoration of what is to become one of Washington, D.C.'s popular visitors' sites.[112]

The article featured an aesthetically creative top-down photo of "the stair-case where Carter G. Woodson walked from his offices on the first and second floors to his bedroom on the third floor" and six pictures of different rooms in the Woodson Home that had been repaired and identified Woodson's bedroom and private study, both located on the third floor. There was a photo of a carpenter installing a sink on the second floor.

It is safe to say that during the early 1980s significant structural changes were made to the Woodson Home, including minor repairs such as painting, floor repairs, and alterations with the plumbing. By 1983 the renovation of the Carter G. Woodson Home was "completed" and housed the national offices of the Afro-American Museum Association. "ASALH provided these offices to the Museum body largely as encouragement and promotion of the Museum activities in the United States" and an "amount exceeding $12,000 has also been raised by the Omega Psi Phi Fraternity for the equipment of the building as a tribute to Dr. Woodson, who was an honorary member."[113] Several years later, in inviting ASALH members to enjoy their stay in Washington, D.C., for the sixty-ninth annual convention from October 17–21, 1984, Bethel M. Dukes, the president and founder of the far northeast and southwest ASALH branch ensured ASALH conference attendees that they would enjoy visiting the Carter G. Woodson Home. According to their November 1983 "Report," among the branch's important activities was continuing the "yearly contributions for the renovations and

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110 J. Rupert Picott, "Legend and Legacy: A Report by the Executive Director," *Negro History Bulletin* (Jan.–March 1981), 8.

111 "National Shrine Carter G. Woodson House Restored to Original Beauty and Utility," *ibid.,* 44 (April–June 1981), 36.

112 J. Rupert Picott, "In This Bulletin," *ibid.*, 44 (May–June 1981), 27.

113 J. Rupert Picott, "In This Bulletin," *ibid.*, 46 (April–June 1983), 36–37.

restoration of the Carter G. Woodson home."[114]

In 1984, the same year that the U.S. Postal Service issued the Carter G. Woodson Stamp, Association President Samuel L. Banks listed as one of the objectives of his administration to "liquidate the remaining mortgage on Dr. Woodson's home," indicating that the association had an "excess of $49,000 remaining on the house."[115] During the remainder of the 1980s, a perusal of the *Journal of Negro History* and the *Negro History Bulletin* suggests that the cause of restoring and maintaining the development of the Woodson Home lost its thunder from the late 1970s and early 1980s. This was probably due to the fact that the association was in a state of financial despair. In a letter to John Hope Franklin on June 3, 1985, Lorenzo J. Greene lamented: "the Association is facing the worst crisis in its history. The organization's indebtedness is in excess of $100,000. Efforts to borrow money have proved fruitless, despite the fact that the 14th Street building has been appraised at $1,000,000. . . . I am confident John, that we, whom Woodson called "his boys," will not fail him in this time of crisis."[116] There does not appear to be any detailed discussions of the Carter G. Woodson Home in the association's publications during the second half of the 1980s or the 1990s. Perhaps in an effort to pay off the remaining mortgage on 1538 Ninth Street during the latter half of the 1980s, the association "rented to the house to the publishers of *American Visions* magazine."[117] "Physical investigations indicate that interior improvements," following those made at the dawning of the decade, "were made to the house in the 1980s most likely in preparation for its re-occupancy." In 1988 the National Park Service completed a field assessment that provided some detail about the conditions of the Woodson Home. Furthermore, a year later in 1989, "the Association received a permit to do electrical work at the house which included the installation of fire alarm pull stations, control panel, and bells, the addition of new surface mounted outlets, and adding light fixtures."[118]

Very little has been recorded about the usage and status of the Carter G. Woodson Home during the 1990s, but it is clear that a diverse group of people began to more openly voice their concerns about the fate of this national historic landmark. At the beginning of the decade in 1991, the Afro-American Institute for Historic Preservation and Community Development and the Institute for Urban Development Research at George Washington University produced the "Carter G. Woodson National Historic Site and Management Study." The Washington, D.C., native and former civil rights activist Congresswoman Eleanor Holmes Norton was an important political figure in the movement to preserve the Carter G. Woodson Home during the 1990s. Five years after Huntington, West Virginia, mayor Robert Nelson erected a life-size statue of Woodson on Hal Greer Boulevard in Huntington[119] on November 2, 1999, Norton introduced "The Carter G. Woodson Home National Historic Site Study Act of 1999" in the House of Representatives. Norton highlighted the importance of this national historic landmark as a research and teaching center

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114 "Far Northeast–Southeast Branch—ASALH November 1983 Report," *ibid*., 46 (Oct.–Dec. 1983),106.

115 Samuel L. Banks, "The President's Perspective," *ibid*., 47 (Jan.–March 1984), 117; Marion Pryde, "On the Occasion of the First Day of Issue of the Carter G. Woodson Stamp," *ibid*., 47 (Jan.–March 1984),118.

116 Lorenzo Johnston Greene to John Hope Franklin, June 3, 1985, folder 8, box 70, Greene Papers.

117 Judith H. Robinson and Associates, "Developmental History."

118 *Ibid*., 34.

119 For a discussion of Woodson's life in West Virginia and the Woodson statue there, see Ancella R. Bickley, "Carter G. Woodson: The West Virginia Connection," *Appalachian Heritage,* 36 (Summer 2008), 59-69.

for black history during the era of Jim Crow segregation. The bill that she introduced called for the Department of Interior to "study the feasibility and suitability of designating" the Woodson Home as "a national historic site within the National Park Service . . . so that the resources of the National Park Service will be available to preserve and maintain this national treasure."[120]

Fittingly during Black History Month on February 15, 2000, H.R. 3201 was approved and passed, resulting in the "Carter G. Woodson Home National Historic Site Study Act of 2000." The Committee on Energy and National Resources authorized the Secretary of the Interior "to prepare a resource study of the home of Dr. Carter G. Woodson to determine the suitability and feasibility of designating it as a unit of the National Park Service." Mr. Murkowski of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources submitted a report that indicated that on June 7, 2000, the committee, "by a unanimous vote of a quorum present," recommended that the Senate pass H.R. 3201. The committee requested that the Secretary of the Interior produce a study of the Woodson Home that assessed its "national, historical, and cultural resources. . . . no later than 18 months after funds are made available." The committee estimated that the federal government would need to spend "up to $75,000" on this effort.[121] Norton was certainly pleased by this victory. In an article in the *Washington Times* on June 21, 2000, she proclaimed: "'We'd like the Woodson House to be a living memorial. . . . The association would relocate to part of the house and the public would be admitted to the house. . . . He [Woodson] did not just live here. It's where he gathered people together to get them interested in black history."[122] At the dawning of the new millennium, "the National Park Service conducted a study of the house and its suitability for federal management"[123] and a diverse group of Washington D.C., community activists, including Woodson's ideological disciples in the ASALH, began to publicize the need to rescue Woodson's home. According to Gary Scott, "Denise Johnson of the National Trust along with Rob Newig, head of the National Trust Southern Regional Office, worked to get the grant money to fix the large hole in the roof of the house. Alexander Padro, ANC for the Woodson Home neighborhood arranged TV specials during Black History Month on the decrepit plight of the Woodson Home. Street people were living it. The National Trust and ANC Padro solicited the support of Mrs. Norton's office."[124]

Early in 2001, the journalist Courtland Milloy wrote a scathing and pessimistic yet insightful essay in the *Washington Post* chastising African Americans for the dilapidated state of the Carter G. Woodson Home. "But there is something about the condition of the home of the man who started it all—with its leaky roof and broken stained-glass panes—that suggests that, for all our prideful reflections, we have not learned much," Milloy proclaimed. "To see a klatch of young black men huddled in back of the Woodson house, smoking dope, is to be reminded of his classic work, 'The Mis-Education of the Negro.'. . . It would take about $5 million to turn this house into a state-of-the-art museum and research center. For African Americans, who have a combined annual income of more than $500 billion,

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120 Eleanor Holmes Norton, "Introduction of the Carter G. Woodson Home National Historic Site Study At of 1999," November 2, 1999, available at *http://bulk.resource.org/gpo.gov/record/1999/1999_E02249.pdf.*

121 "Carter G. Woodson Home National Historic Site Study Act of 2000"

122 Patrick Butters, "Push to Open the Woodson House," *Washington Times,* June 21, 2000, p. C4.

123 Judith H. Robinson and Associates, "Developmental History," 34.

124 On July 17, 2009, Gary Scott offered these comments for the 50% draft of this Historic Resource Study.

that would be less than we spend on malt liquor in a week. . . . This inability to get behind a deserving cause, fueled by the belief that nothing black is worth saving—our children least of all—has become a hallmark of today's 'miseducated Negro.' In February 1926, Woodson started Negro History Week. In 1976, the observance was extended and became Black History Month. But if the purpose was to increase self-respect among black people, it looks as if we're going to need a lot more time." [125]

Responding to a national letter-writing campaign and the efforts of the National Park Service, in June 2001 the National Trust for Historic Preservation identified the Carter G. Woodson Home as being one of the eleven most endangered historic places in the United States. They assessed the Woodson home as follows: "Eighty-five years after Carter G. Woodson created the black history movement, the Washington home where he lived and worked sits abandoned and forgotten, an ironic legacy of the man who spent his life preserving African-American history and culture. The home, which is owned by the Association for the Study of African-American Life and History, a nonprofit publisher, has been abandoned for nearly a decade. It has suffered extensive interior damage, including structural deterioration caused by water leaks in a number of locations."[126] In a 2002 *OAH Newsletter*, the ASALH Executive Council member Felix L. Armfield acknowledged the commitment of the executive board of the Organization of American Historians to "the effort to help save this national treasure" and called on others to join the ASALH in this cause. "Over the next three years," Armfield announced, "ASALH wants to restore the house to its original splendor, relocate ASALH's offices to the site and acquire adjacent property for the purposes of creating an education and resource center that includes a Visitor Center and interpretive exhibits."[127] This represented a shift in the activities of the association, for during the 1990s, it had neglected Woodson's home in many respects. Though idealistic and unrealized approximately seven years later, this articulated and concerted effort represented a step in the right direction in preserving "this national treasure." Supporting this cause, in 2002 ASALH received some grant money from the National Trust for Historic Preservation to make some basic repairs to the home. In 2001 and 2002 the National Park Service conducted a special resource study on the Woodson Home and determined that it was "nationally significant" and indeed suitable for designation as a unit of the National Park System. D. Thomas Ross, Assistant Director of Recreation and Conservation for the National Park Sevoce—who asked that H.R. 1012 not be acted on immediately because of NPS problems with backlogging and funding new acquisitions—justified adding Woodson's Home to the national park system because of Woodson's overall importance and the fact that no such historic site existed in the park system that told Woodson's story or interpreted "African-American history as a general subject."[128]

On February 27, 2003, Norton called for the establishment of the Carter G. Woodson Home National Historic Site in the District of Columbia as H.R. 1012. In highlighting the

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125 Courtland Milloy, "Black History's Doorway Is In Need of Care," *Washington Post,* Feb. 4, 2001, p. C01.

126 National Trust for Historic Preservation, "11 Most Endangered: Carter G. Woodson Houses," available at http://www.preservationnation.org/travel-and-sites/sites/southern-region/carter-g-woodson-houses.html.

127 Felix L. Armfield, "Saving a National Treasure: The Home of Carter G. Woodson," *OAH Newsletter,* 30 (Aug. 2002), available at http://www.oah.org/pubs/nl/202aug/index.html.

128 United States, Congress, Senate, and Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, *Carter G. Woodson Home National Historic Site Establishment Act of 2003: Report [To accompany H.R. 1012]* (Washington, 2003), 1–7.

importance of the Woodson Home, Norton noted that "the establishment of the Carter G. Woodson Home National Historic Site would foster opportunities for developing and promoting interpretation of African-American cultural heritage throughout the Shaw area of Washington, D.C." and would help "preserve, protect, and interpret for the benefit, education, and inspiration of present and future generations, the home of the preeminent historian and educator Dr. Carter G. Woodson."[129] H.R. 1012 passed in the House of Representatives by a voice vote on May 14, 2003. On June 10, 2003, there was a hearing before the Subcommittee on National Parks of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, United States Senate (108th Congress, First Session) where Norton underscored the importance of H.R. 1012 passed in the House on May 14 that allowed the national park system to acquire Woodson's Home as a national historic site. Norton highlighted and celebrated Woodson's contributions to American history, outlining how the National Park Service would run the Woodson Home. She suggested that the Woodson Home would be administered in a manner similar to the way that the Frederick Douglass Home was organized. Norton proclaimed that "the house will be a lived-in home of black history," assuring the committee that it would be "a place where many of the 20 million people who come to the District of Columbia will want to visit." As revealed in her prepared statement, Norton spoke with passion and, in a Woodsonian fashion, armed with "facts." Norton observed: "I believe that the passage of the Carter G. Woodson Home National Historic Site Establishment Act of 2003—the long name it has been given—would not only honor a great American scholar, it would continue to do what Dr. Woodson himself did, which was to help Americans discover and appreciate their own history." Like the journalist Courtland Milloy, she also expressed her disgust with the dilapidated state of the home, placing blame on the entire nation: "We make a mockery of Black History Month by celebrating it every year when the home of Dr. Carter G. Woodson is boarded up and in shambles."[130] In the summer of 2003 in the *Journal of African American History* the ASALH executive council reported that they were "reaching out to the public for support in our ongoing campaign to make the home of Carter G. Woodson a national historic site."[131]

The various efforts to acknowledge Woodson in the early 2000s paid off. In a detailed 2003 report accompanying H.R. 1012, the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources unanimously recommended that the resolution be passed by the Senate. The congressional budget office estimated that "implementing H.R. 1012 would cost the Federal Government $9.5 million over the next five years." Included in this budget was the acquisition of the Woodson Home and adjacent buildings, the restoration of the home and the development of interpretive exhibits, and the management, operation, researching, and documenting of the site. In this report, the committee put forth the specifics of the act. Among other things, the Committee indicated that the Secretary of the Interior "may acquire any of the 3 properties immediately north of the Carter G. Woodson Home located at 1540, 1542, and 1544 Ninth Street, Northwest;" that the Woodson Home would be administered like other units in the national park system; that the Secretary of the Interior was required to prepare a general management plan within three year after receiving the funding to do so; and that the ASALH would have the opportunity to perhaps use parts of the Woodson Home for its administrative purposes and would play an advisory role in the administration of the site.

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129 Bill to Establish the Carter G. Woodson Home National Historic Site, H.R. 1012, 108 Cong., 1 sess., Feb. 27, 2003, available at http://www.dcwatch.com/issues/mansion14.htm

130 "Statement of Hon. Eleanor Holmes Norton, Delegate from the District of Columbia," 3–4.

131 *Journal of African American History,* 88 (Summer 2003), 326.

Months later, on December 19, 2003, the Carter G. Woodson Home was formally designated a national historic site and on February 27, 2006, the building was "officially" dedicated as the Carter G. Woodson Home National Historic Site, a distinct unit of the National Park Service and the 389th unit of the national park system. On June 10, 2005, the National Park Service purchased the Woodson Home from ASALH for $465,000.00 and on January 15, 2008, the architectural firm of Beyer Blinder Belle produced an exhaustive *Historic Structure Report for the Carter G. Woodson Home*. For several years the ASALH's Web site has featured a commentary on their founder's home, declaring: "Carter G. Woodson's Home is a National Historic Site!" On November 12, 2008, the Association and the National Park Service played key roles in a public meeting at the Thurgood Marshall Center to discuss the general management plan for the site. The general public can also send comments to the park planning website at *http://parkplanning.nps.gov/CAWO.132* As a writer in a recent volume of *National Parks: The Magazine of the National Parks Conservation Association* asserted, "when the Park Service unveils the Carter G. Woodson Home as a National Historic Site in Washington D.C.'s Shaw neighborhood (with luck, sometime before 2015), the residence of one of American history's unsung heroes, Dr. Carter G. Woodson, will finally be made public. And with that, there is hope that Woodson's lifework will at last be given the recognition it deserves."[133]

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132 For information pertaining to the ASALH's discussion of the Carter G. Woodson Home, see http://www.asalh.org/WoodsonHome.html.

133 Gilsdorf, "Historic Highlights," 58–59.

Chapter Three

"Because of his selfless dedication to the work of the Association": Negro History Week, Woodson's "Mass Education Movement," and *The Mis-Education of the Negro* (1933)

> *Real history requires the elimination of self. Facts must be set forth with objectivity. History must be kept out of the atmosphere of agitation and propaganda. It is not a question as to what the teacher or leader of a group may think about things but what the person taught will think about them when he has learned the facts for himself. Every person under instruction must be given credit for having sense enough to make an inference. Facts set properly forth will tell their own story.*
>
> —Carter G. Woodson, *NEGRO HISTORY BULLETIN*, 1938

> *We must go back to the achievements of these black men, then, and looking into these black faces of heroes and heroines, get inspiration to achieve as well as they did. With a vision of these great souls looking down upon us and urging us on to complete the unfinished task to the performance of which they made an outstanding contribution, let us press forward to the next objective in the development and uplift of the despised and rejected of men.*
>
> —Carter G. Woodson, *NORFOLK JOURNAL AND GUIDE*, 1932

Taken together, the two citations above epitomize Woodson's philosophy of the purpose of history. On the one hand, he viewed history as the scholarly, scientific, and objective study and chronicling of the past. On the other hand, he viewed history as a practical tool for black psychological uplift, self-determination, and inspiration. Though he tried to separate these two distinct approaches to how he interpreted history, after founding the ASNLH and increasingly by the 1920s Woodson blended and balanced these two ideologies. Though he articulated and publicized his visions of the psychologically pragmatic and revisionist functions of black history throughout his career, Woodson did not devote a great deal of his scholarship to directly defining black history in abstract and philosophical terms. Despite his tendency to publish histories of "well-authenticated truths," in a 1928 pamphlet on Negro History Week he expanded on many conventional ideas of history and briefly defined history as "clarified experience . . . the depository of great actions, the witness of what is past, the examples and the instructor of the present, and the monitor to the future." Woodson argued: "there was no such thing as Negro History in the sense of isolated contributions." He proposed that all peoples in the United States contributed significantly to the nation's development. "History, then, is a record of the progress of mankind rather than of racial or national achievement," Woodson noted.[1] He was opposed to history as "the record of the successes and disappointments of those who engage in contentions for power" and as a "register of

1 Carter G. Woodson, "Negro History Week," *Journal of Negro History,* 13 (April 1928), 121-125.

the crimes and misfortunes of mankind."[2] At the same time, Woodson's view of history was fundamentally pragmatic and directly connected to the present.

Woodson stressed that history was a necessary ingredient to a people's self-knowledge and collective identity. One of his most famous sayings, shared by Marcus Garvey and appreciated by many black power activists, was: "If a race has no history, if it has not worth-while tradition, it becomes a negligible factor in the thought of the world, and it stands in the danger of being exterminated."[3] Woodson perceived black history as an essential part of American history. In a 1927 Negro History Week circular, he asserted that "we should emphasize not Negro History, but the Negro in history. What we need is not a history of selected races or nations, but the history of the world void of national bias, race hate, and religious prejudice. There should be no indulgence in undue eulogy of the Negro. The case of the Negro is well taken care of when it is shown how he has influenced the development of civilization."[4]

Woodson routinely highlighted that the purpose of black history was not to focus on how blacks had been victimized but instead to demonstrate how blacks influenced U.S. and world history. Woodson shared black, white American, and European nineteenth-century historians' "fetishism of facts."[5] In promoting black history, Woodson argued that "the aim has been to emphasize important facts in the belief that facts properly set forth will speak for themselves."[6] As he announced during Negro History Week celebrations, Woodson was opposed to opportunists within the black community who used fictional or hyperbolized expressions of black history as a form of propaganda or black cultural nationalism. In the *Norfolk Journal and Guide* in 1936, Woodson warned: "Because the public is gullible it will seize upon almost any thing labeled as history. Negroes, themselves, then are doing much to discredit the effort to set forth in scientific form what the race has thought and felt and attempted and accomplished. Certain Negro writers are using the opportunity as a racket to sell the public the spectacular for whatever cash may be obtained therefrom. Often the Association is called upon to evaluate these unscientific efforts, but most of them are not worthy of a criticism."[7] Black history for Woodson was also American history; the two were inseparable. This idea has been long lasting, gaining prominence in the 1980s with historians such as Nathan Huggins, who advocated "a new synthesis, a new American history." For Huggins, U.S. history "cannot be told as a story of black history and white history." He argued: "It must be told as one. While that idea is simple enough—a truism indeed—too few of us accept the radical implications of it. We do not put it into our thinking, our writing, our courses. That idea, nevertheless, is key to any new, successful narrative of American history."[8]

Throughout the pages of the *Negro History Bulletin* during the late 1930s and the 1940s, Woodson articulated his vision of how history could serve mankind. Although he wrote many polemics, Woodson never really altered his fundamental belief that history entailed the objective chronicling of the "facts." While he certainly did emphasize black

2 Carter G. Woodson, "Negro History Week," *ibid*., 11 (April 1926), 238–39.

3 *Ibid*., 239.

4 Carter G. Woodson, "The Celebration of Negro History Week, 1927," *ibid*., 12 (April 1927), 105.

5 Edward Hallett Carr, *What is History?* (New York, 1963), 15.

6 Carter G. Woodson, "The Annual Report of the Director," *Journal of Negro History,* 12 (Oct. 1927), 573.

7 Carter G. Woodson, "Association on Guard," *Norfolk Journal and Guide,* Oct. 17, 1936, p. 8.

8 Thorpe, *Black Historians,* 4, 18; Nathan I. Huggins, "Integrating Afro-American History into American History," in *The State of Afro-American History: Past, Present, and Future,* ed. Darlene Clark Hine (Baton Rouge, 1986), 166–67.

achievements and at times employed history as some form of propaganda, he insisted to *NHB* readers that "real history requires the elimination of self. . . . Facts properly set forth will tell their own story."[9]

One of Woodson's most important contributions to the early black history movement and the proto–black studies movement (the black studies movement prior to the emergence of black studies programs at predominantly white universities during the black power era) was his mission and ability to transform black history into a practical and popular medium for uplifting blacks and challenging racial prejudice. He revolutionized the American historical profession and democratized the study of black history by extending the discipline to various nonprofessional groups of trained scholars. Especially after founding Negro History Week, he was able to transform his early black history movement into a mass movement. After Woodson severed ties from white philanthropists, the association was forced to rely on black communities throughout the nation for support and Woodson, in turn, actively solicited their support and praised their efforts. In 1947, Woodson recounted:

> Believing that the Negroes as a mass should do something material for the advancement of this work, numerous schools and colleges have staged local drives and penny collections to aid the work which the Association has been promoting these thirty-two years in spite of many handicaps. A teacher in a rural school takes up a penny collection among her forty pupils and adds a twenty-five cents or a dollar and sends it to the national office in Washington. The amount contributed is small, but the lesson in self-help may be far-reaching. Years hence the pupils who gave only a penny each may give thousands to a worthy cause.[10]

In adopting this approach, he maintained that in addition to being founded on meticulous research, the study and dissemination of black history had to extend to the working-class and youthful sectors of the black community. Woodson reasoned that the knowledge of African American history was an important and practical though nonmaterial way black people could become liberated and empowered. Between 1915 and 1950 (increasingly more by the 1920s), he strove to enlighten the black masses, popularizing black history in a variety of innovative ways. He extended himself as a resource to black communities throughout the country. Woodson opened the doors of the association meetings and activities to lay historians, ministers, secondary and elementary school teachers, businessmen, and the black community as a whole. He initiated Negro History Week and other extension services. He published the *Negro History Bulletin,* an essential outlet for not only Woodson himself but countless black thinkers representing a wide spectrum of the black community. Equally important, as he articulated in no uncertain terms in *The Mis-Education of the Negro,* Woodson dictated that his contemporaries with Ph.D.s apply their specialized academic training to the black struggle and commit themselves to working with and on behalf of the black masses.

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9 Carter G. Woodson, "Timely Suggestions for Negro History Week," *Negro History Bulletin,* 1 (Feb. 1938), 11.

10 "Negro History Week Aftermath," *ibid*., 10 (April 1947), 153.

Targeting the Black Youth and the Black Masses: Woodson's Practical Scholarship

In searching for the origins of Woodson's concern with popularizing black history and facilitating cross-class dialogues and interactions, a logical starting point is his upbringing and early years. Raised by former slaves and impoverished farmers, Woodson came from very humble origins that he never seemed to have forgotten. He routinely recalled the toils of working in the coal mines. A seasoned manual laborer from his early childhood until his twenties, Woodson probably identified strongly with the children of black coal miners whom he taught from 1898 until 1900 in Winona, West Virginia.[11]

After receiving his Ph.D. from Harvard in 1912, Woodson began publishing a genre of historical scholarship that was accessible to a wide range of readers. He wrote in such a simple language that some of his modern critics have considered him unsophisticated. Failing to place his scholarship within the context of his pragmatic philosophy of black history, August Meier and Elliott Rudwick have claimed that "Woodson, unlike Du Bois, did not produce monographs that are read and admired to this day," that he "did not function as an influential historian through his own monographs."[12] Woodson published several brands of scholarship: (1) in the vindicationist tradition: rigorous, scientific scholarship to combat racist scholarship; (2) polemical commentaries and books in scrutinizing black America's contemporary status in American society; and (3) books aimed at attracting a wide readership from elementary school students to university students. This last collection of books included *The Negro in Our History* (1922), *Negro Makers of History* (1928), *African Myths Together with Proverbs* (1928), *The African Background Outlined* (1936), and *African Heroes and Heroines* (1939). The unfinished *Encyclopedia Africana* was also written in a very simple language. Woodson valued his practical history texts. Several years before it was actually published, Woodson advertised *The Negro in Our History* as a study for use in black history clubs, elementary and high schools, and colleges and universities. "Just as soon as this book has come from the press," Woodson told *The Journal of Negro History* readership, "the Association will send to all Negro schools of secondary and college grade a field agent to interest them in the effort to inculcate in the mind of the youth of African blood an appreciation of what their race has thought and felt and done."[13]

It is difficult to discern how the black youth and laypersons were impacted by Woodson's writings. The exhaustive *Papers of Carter G. Woodson and the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1915-1950* contains elaborate records of books sold by the association from the 1920s on. While there are countless receipts and orders, Associated Publishers struggled throughout its existence. The press, simply put, struggled to sell books. During Woodson's lifetime, there was not a high demand for black history books among the general black populace. The poet Sterling Brown observed in the early 1940s that black authors faced the enormous challenge of "developing a critical but interested reading public."[14] Working-class blacks, especially during the lean years of the Great Depression,

11 For a further discussion of Woodson's early years, see Goggin, *Carter G. Woodson,* 1–31; Meier and Rudwick, *Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915-1980,* 42, 93; and Woodson, "My Recollections of Veterans of the Civil War," *Negro History Bulletin,* 7 (Feb. 1944),103–04, 115–18.

12 Meier and Rudwick, *Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915-1980,* 71.

13 "Notes," *Journal of Negro History,* 4 (Oct. 1919), 474.

14 Sterling A. Brown, "The Negro Author and His Publisher," *QRHEAN,* 9 (July 1941), 145–46.

did not place a high priority on purchasing scholarly literature. As Greene testified during his book-selling campaigns, black professionals usually purchased the association's literature. *The Negro in Our History* was Woodson's most popular book. By March 1941 Woodson noted that 40,000 copies of his text had been sold.[15] Woodson's interaction with nonprofessional black communities went beyond simply using the written word.

Early on, the ASNLH developed connections to the heart of black communities. Every year during Woodson's lifetime, the association meetings were held in black churches, community centers, colleges and universities, and high school auditoriums throughout the country. Patricia Romero has noted that the first time an association meeting was held in a major hotel was in 1964 in Detroit.[16] While the breakfasts, luncheons, and dinners attracted a certain high-brow crowd and the executive council held its own private business meetings, the keynote speakers, panel discussions, presentations, and pageants were attended by a much broader spectrum of the black community. Unlike any other academic organization of its time, the ASNLH welcomed non-Ph.D.s into its ranks and even into its leadership positions. A perusal of the *Journal of Negro History* from 1916 through Woodson's death indicates that at annual meetings, school teachers and community activists—including many club women—presented papers and in many cases even had their essays published in the pages of the *JNH* alongside the research of leading black and white scholars. Woodson democratized the black scholarly community.

Negro History Week

Woodson's most famous and perhaps most effective black history popularization effort was through Negro History Week celebrations. But before 1926 when he inaugurated this celebration, Woodson took black history to the people in other ways. During the era of Jim Crow segregation, Woodson and his entourage were among the most demanded lecturers in the black community nationwide. Woodson himself spoke at countless venues throughout his lifetime for minimal fees. L. D. Reddick recounted that during his childhood in Jacksonville, Florida, Woodson was easily "the most impressive speaker" that he had heard. The way he handled himself before his audience, his electricity, and his dedication to "the cause," influenced the young Reddick to join the "Negro History Movement."[17] Woodson also corresponded with countless men and women from all around the world interested in black history. He answered their questions, commented on papers, and mailed them information pertaining to black history. Since its inception, Woodson commented in *Ten Years of Collecting and Publishing the Records of the Negro*, the association had functioned as a "free reference bureau."

Early on in the association's history, Woodson sought a mass following with outreach programs. By 1919 he employed J. E. Ormes, formerly in the business department of Wilberforce University, as a field agent. Ormes's role was to increase association membership, appoint agents to sell books and subscriptions to the *JNH,* and organize black history clubs. In the early years, Woodson called on any interested individuals to join his cause. According to a statement made in the *JNH* in 1919, "any five persons desiring to prosecute

15 Strickland, ed., *Selling Black History for Carter G. Woodson*.

16 Romero, "Carter G. Woodson: A Biography," 121.

17 Reddick, "As I Remember Woodson," 36.

studies" in black history could have organized a club. Each club was required to pay the association $2.00, a small fee which entitled the club to a year's subscription to the *JNH* and access to Woodson, by mail, for advice and the necessary instruction. He often sent clubs bibliographies and outlines for study. Woodson required only that the clubs elect a president, a secretary, a treasurer, and an instructor.[18]

Such early efforts from Woodson seemed to have been fairly effective. Several years before the first Negro History Week celebration, he commented that he had succeeded in convincing schools and colleges to "devote more time to the study of Negro life and history" and that "a larger number of persons" were becoming interested in the association's work. By the mid 1920s, Woodson remarked that ASNLH black history clubs existed in practically all U.S. cites with considerable black populations.[19] Before Negro History Week, Woodson also attempted to stir interest in black history among the youth with financial incentives, including the $200 price for folktales, offered in 1924 in conjunction with the American Folklore Society.[20]

Woodson founded Negro History Week in 1926. He explained the reason behind the celebration in a pamphlet "widely distributed" months before the first celebration was to take place during the second week in February of 1926, in commemoration of Frederick Douglass's and Abraham Lincoln's birthdays. Woodson exclaimed that blacks knew "practically nothing" about their history and that without this knowledge "the race" could become "a negligible factor in the thought of the world" and stood "in danger of being exterminated."[21] Woodson added that race prejudice, from segregation to violence, resulted from the widely accepted notion that black people had not contributed anything of worth to world civilization. He argued that if the historical record was set straight and that if in schools the history of black people were studied along with the achievements of others, not only would black youth develop a sense of pride and self-worth, but racism would be abolished. Woodson ended his plea by asserting: "Let truth destroy the dividing prejudice of nationality and teach universal love without distinction of race, merit or rank. With sublime enthusiasm and heavenly vision of the Great Teacher let us help men rise above the race hate of their age unto the altruism of a rejuvenated universe."[22]

Woodson's contention that racial tension was the byproduct of whites' historical and cultural ignorance and that education could help alleviate these problems of misunderstanding was shared by liberal and radical, black and white, intellectuals and educators of the intercultural education movement. Woodson's black history popularization efforts both preceded and mirrored those of many intercultural educational specialists of his time. Woodson's efforts were an important expression and ingredient of American educational

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18 "Notes," *Journal of Negro History,* 4 (April 1919), 237; "Notes," *ibid*., 4 (July 1919), 347.

19 "Notes," *ibid*., 4 (April 1919), 237; "Annual Report of the Director," *ibid*., 9 (October 1924), 580.

20 "Notes," *ibid*., 9 (April 1924), 239.

21 Several historians seem to agree that the concept of Negro History Week originated in 1920. In that year, Woodson delivered a speech entitled "Democracy and the Man Far Down" to members of the Omega Psi Phi fraternity in Nashville, Tennessee. During the presentation Woodson commented that these fraternity members needed to become more active in promoting the study of black life and history. This Omega chapter responded by devoting one week out of every year to the study of black history. They called their celebration "Negro History and Literature Week." Their efforts continued until 1925. Woodson did not acknowledge the association's Negro History Week as an extension of the Omegas' efforts. For a discussion of the origins of Negro History Week, see Romero, "Carter G. Woodson: A Biography"; and Carter G. Woodson, "Negro History Week," *Journal of Negro History* 11 (April 1926), 238–42.

22 Woodson, "Negro History Week," 238–41.

reform during the interwar period. Interculturalists were by no means unified in their views. Like their Progressive Era predecessors, they did not constitute a monolithic group of reformers. They were motivated by the Europeanization of American culture as a result of immigration during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Many advocates of the intercultural education movement shared the underlying belief that intercultural education that acknowledged the contributions of various subgroups in American society could effectively reduce "misconceptions about cultural differences" and ethnocentrism, while promoting self-esteem in minority groups, cultural integration, and diversity in the United States.[23]

Negro History Week was the first major achievement in popularizing black history and was unique in that it focused on the black youth. Woodson realized that the miseducation of black people began in their homes, communities, and elementary schools. He therefore targeted these sites aggressively, focusing on the schools. Woodson's strategy of gradually introducing black history as a supplement to mainstream American history was pragmatic and part of a core expansive vision and agenda. Woodson realized that if he had demanded that black history be integrated into the American educational system all at once, his plan would have been too easily dismissed. A modest week-long celebration during the winter season appeared much less threatening to the white public, philanthropists, and to those "highly mis-educated Negroes" whom he sought to convert into devout black nationalists.[24]

Linking the past, present, and the future, Woodson's vision of Negro History Week was optimistic and lasting. This seemingly token celebration was to serve as a stepping stone toward the gradual introduction of black history into the curricula of U.S. educational institutions from the elementary school years through college. He wanted Negro History Week to evolve into "Negro History Year," as he affirmed from time to time. Woodson consistently instructed those observing the week that they needed to diligently prepare for the celebration months in advance and that after mid-February they needed to continue acknowledging the role of African descendants in world history. "Negro History Week should be a demonstration of what has been done in the study of the Negro during the year and at the same time as a demonstration of greater things to be accomplished," Woodson instructed school teachers, "A subject which receives attention one week out of the thirty-six will not mean much to anyone."[25]

According to Woodson, soon after he mailed out his first "Negro History Week Circulars" to various educational institutions, presses, fraternal and social welfare organizations, literary societies, and radio stations, "there was a stir in the direction of active participation." He boasted that "there were few places in the country where this celebration did not make some impression."[26] Woodson offered to those interested a concrete program along with research and promotional materials which highlighted black achievements, from ancient times in Africa to contemporary times. People who decided to take part in the celebration had autonomy over the week's activities, but Woodson did often

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23 Michael R. Olneck, "The Recurring Dream: Symbolism and Ideology in Intercultural and Multicultural Education," *American Journal of Education,* 98 (Feb. 1990), 149.

24 Carter G. Woodson, *The Mis-Education of the Negro*; "How Shall We Celebrate Negro History Week," *Negro History Bulletin,* 8 (Jan. 1945), 91. For a provocative discussion of Woodson's relationship with white philanthropists, see Hine, "Carter G. Woodson: White Philanthropy and Negro Historiography."

25 "Starting Right," *Negro History Bulletin,* 1 (Feb. 1938), 12; "Renew Your Subscription," *ibid*., 9 (May 1946), 188.

26 "The Annual Report of the Director," *Journal of Negro History,* 11 (Oct. 1926), 551.

offer a host of suggestions. In pamphlets and articles in the *Negro History Bulletin* as well as in editorials in several black newspapers, he routinely instructed participants to organize committees for the celebration months before Negro History Week. He outlined the critical steps to success: involving the governing, power-wielding board of education; advertising the events extensively; recording oral testimonies from elders within the community; persuading libraries to order black history books; setting aside one day of every week as a "Book and Picture Fund Day" to raise money to purchase black history books for the community; sending in any relevant historical documents into the Association so that they could be properly maintained; organizing black history clubs; and creating a pageant highlighting the struggles of black Americans. He always offered special suggestions to schoolteachers about maximizing the involvement of the youth in practical ways, especially in February volumes of the *NHB*.

During the celebrations there were banquets, breakfasts, speeches, parades, exhibits, and lectures that were usually held in churches, black colleges and universities, and community centers. Woodson insisted that a significant number of the events be free to the public. For this week, he stressed that speakers and organizers must donate their time to the cause. Schoolteachers, mainly black women, were vital Negro History Week organizers. They raised funds in their communities; they had their students compose essays on famous blacks and events in black history; and some had their students act in historical plays and pageants, taken largely from an anthology written for elementary students called *Plays and Pageants for the Life of the Negro*.[27]

After its inception in 1926, Negro History Week continued to expand. In his annual report of the director, Woodson noted that every year Negro History Week drew a greater following. In many volumes of the *Journal of Negro History* after 1926, Woodson devoted brief articles to describing the success of the various programs. He was very pleased that Negro History Week had eventually made its way into the black churches, self-help organizations, public schools, and even to rural areas. In 1932, he also noted that Negro History Week was finding its way into white schools, facilitating better "inter-racial relations." With each passing year, the black and occasionally the white press advertised local and national events. The most active presses in helping publicize Woodson's movement early on included the *Philadelphia Tribune,* the *Baltimore Commonwealth,* the *Chicago Defender,* the *Palmetto Leader,* the *Tampa Bulletin,* the *Washington Eagle,* and the *Norfolk Guide and Journal*. Later, they were joined by other more widely distributed newspaper publishers. Various radio stations were instrumental in publicizing and broadcasting Negro History Week events.[28]

By the 1940s Negro History Week celebrations were increasingly popular. Woodson developed elaborate programming schedules. In November 1948, to help rural schools with little or no resources, Woodson introduced Negro History Week kits at $2.00 each. At first the kits included writings and speeches by famous blacks as well as a play depicting black history. Two years later, they were revised by Woodson to also include many photos of famous blacks as well as a list of books for further research. The cost for this edition was $2.50.

27 For a brief discussion of some typical Negro History Week events, see Goggin, *Carter G. Woodson,* 84–85, 119–120.

28 Every year after the founding of Negro History Week in 1926, Woodson reviewed the status of the celebration. See, for instance, "Negro History the Fourth Year," *Journal of Negro History,* 14 (April 1929), 109–15; "Negro History Week the Eight Year," *ibid*., 18 (April 1933), 107–13; and "Negro History Week the Eleventh Year," *ibid*., 21 (April 1936), 105–10.

The Negro History Weeks of Woodson's times were much more different than most Black History Month celebrations of the current era. Since the end of the black power era, along with other facets of African American popular culture, Black History Month celebrations have been commodified, watered down, and tokenized by a capital-driven American popular culture. For Woodson, it was of the utmost importance for the people themselves—especially the children—to create their own unique, personalized celebrations. While Woodson offered many suggestions, he basically challenged those interested in discovering the value of their past to do the uncovering themselves. In October 1941 he offered the following advice to schoolteachers: "Do not call in some silver-tongued orator to talk to your school about the history of the Negro. The orator does not generally have much in his head. His chief qualification is strong lungs—a good bellows. He knows very little about things in general and practically nothing about the Negro in particular except how to exploit the race. Let the children study the history of the race, and they will be the speakers who will put the spellbinder to shame."[29]

As Negro History Week become more popular, Woodson believed that there was a class of people who were exploiting the celebration for their own benefit. In the *Journal of Negro History* and the *Negro History Bulletin* he routinely warned his readers about "the disastrous methods of pseudo-historians among Negroes exaggerating in spectacular fashion facts of minor importance" to capitalize on a movement and transform it into a commercial venture. He was especially enraged with those "impostors" and "mis-informants," mainly entertainers, who, under the name of the ASNLH, made large profits during February. At one point, he even demanded that they turn over their earnings to the association, and he called on Negro History Week organizers to boycott those "mischievous orators" and instead call on one of the many historians whom Woodson trained.[30] Woodson was angered because as late as 1945 many students and teachers celebrated Negro History Week by calling on lecturers and because many school texts on the black past "found their way to some shelf where they serve mainly to catch a portion of dust raised in that room." In one sense, he admitted the shortcomings of Negro History Week to penetrate into the psyche of American society. "It is evident then," he noted, "that our supplementary books on the Negro supplement nothing in most of our schools."[31] Negro History Week was a monumental educational and cultural movement. Assessing the impact of Negro History Week celebrations on black working-class and youth consciousness from 1926 until 1950 is challenging, yet we can assume that many of those blacks who took part in these events felt great pride in their heritage and that some open-minded whites who witnessed and helped sponsor such events may have changed their views of black history and culture.

School children were probably the most highly transformed by these events. They learned by doing, researching the lives of famous blacks, and acting in plays that depicted the African American past. Woodson extended himself to detail specific things children should do during Negro History Week. In the February 1938 issue of the *NHB* he instructed children to "make a study" of their school's history; collect newspaper articles on "prominent" blacks in their county, city, or state; explore the history of blacks in the professions;

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29 Carter G. Woodson, "Start Now Negro History Year in Order to Have a Negro History Week," *Negro History Bulletin,* 5 (Oct. 1941), 24.

30 "Negro History Week," *Journal of Negro History,* (April 1936), 106–07.

31 Woodson, "Supplementing Nothing," *Negro History Bulletin,* 8 (March 1945), 144.

and create a play or pageant that represented "every phase of life and every phase of struggle through which the race has come."[32] Throughout the late 1930s and 1940s, *NHB* readers, especially female teachers, wrote to Woodson sharing with him, often in great detail, how they conducted their Negro History Week celebrations and how the processes had influenced them and others. Woodson often published these commentaries in the *NHB*. Many testified that Negro History Week had helped transform their cultural and political consciousness. Carrie E. Johnson, a teacher from Troy, Alabama, told Woodson that his work "has been my greatest inspiration in making me want to devote all my time to the study of my race."[33]

Many of Woodson's colleagues also believed that Negro History Week was his "most characteristic creation." The devoted Negro History Week promoter Luther Porter Jackson called Negro History Week "the feeder for every other activity of the Association." In paying tribute to the association founder, L. D. Reddick noted that "his greatest influence upon the public mind came through Negro History Week." Reddick believed that the effect of Negro History Week on African Americans' self-confidence, poise, desire to achieve, and morale "defies measurement." This "mass education program" and "God-send for the Association" pleased Woodson to "no end" and on several occasions he deemed it the association's most valuable contribution. Woodson extended himself during this month. In 1933, during the peak of the Great Depression, he spent not only the week of Negro History Week lecturing at various venues but also spent the next month "in the field" lecturing and helping people organize.[34] "By far," Woodson noted in the early 1930s, "the greatest stimulus given to the educational work of the Association in recent years has been the observance of Negro History Week."[35]

The impact of Negro History Week went beyond the black community during Woodson's lifetime. In 1949 Morris U. Schappes, a member of the American Jewish Historical Society, wrote to Woodson and informed him that at their annual meeting in February they decided to observe Jewish History Week from April 24 until April 30. He told Woodson that their decision was influenced by the success of Negro History Week. "The American Jewish Historical Society," Schappes noted, "began to purpose a Jewish History Week some five years ago, [we] took as our stimulus the accomplishments of Negro History Week." Woodson took pride in this impact of the association's work, telling blacks that they could learn a lot from the cultural nationalism of their Jewish counterparts.[36]

The ASNLH's Extension Division and Home Study Department

In 1927, a year after the founding of Negro History Week, Woodson established the association's extension division to expose more people to black history through public lectures and correspondence study. The Home Study Department was necessary

32 Carter G. Woodson, "What Children Should Do in Observing Negro History Week," *Negro History Bulletin,* 1 (Feb. 1938), 12.

33 "Negro History Week Nation-Wide," *ibid.*, 12 (March 1949), 135.

34 "Negro History Week the Eighth Year," *Journal of Negro History,* 18 (April 1933), 107–13.

35 L. D. Reddick, "Twenty-Five Negro History Weeks," *Negro History Bulletin,* 13 (May 1950), 178–88; "Annual Report of the Director," *Journal of Negro History,* 18 (Oct. 1933), 362.

36 "Negro History Week Nationwide," *Negro History Bulletin,* 12 (March 1949), 136; "Jewish History Week," *ibid.*, 12 (June 1949), 194.

in Woodson's view because it could educate teachers who would then teach the black youth about their history and because "various classes of citizens" needed to know their history. This process of education involved the passing of information through a series of closely interactive stages and levels. In a tone reminiscent of Booker T. Washington when he advertised Tuskegee Institute's Movable School or Jesup Agricultural Wagon, Woodson asserted that the Home Study Program took the school to the student. Woodson's program offered courses at introductory and advanced levels. Only those with a high school education and the desire to "profit by the work" were encouraged to apply for admission. While Woodson sought to make the study of black history and life more accessible, he refused to delegitimize the scholarly endeavor by abandoning standards. One had to apply for admission and pay a $5.00 matriculation fee. Tuition for one course was $20.00. Two classes could be taken for $35.00 and three classes could be taken for $52.00. Students had a maximum of one year to finish the requirements for each course, including the passing of a final examination. Woodson encouraged students to complete the assigned work in two to three months.[37]

Each introductory course was accompanied by a series of lessons with specific readings and suggestions. After completing these lessons, the student would answer some questions and mail the "recitation paper" back to the instructor who would then review it and mail it back to the student with comments. Advanced courses were offered to college graduates. More flexible in nature than their introductory counterparts, classes were arranged with input from both the students and the professors. Woodson assured the public that the standards of the Home Study Department were equal to those of "accredited colleges and universities," that nothing is hastily done," and that "every student is guaranteed personal attention." A brochure for the Home Study Department, offered anthropology, art, English, history, literature, and sociology. The teaching staff boasted leading scholars in the African American community, including Woodson himself, Charles H. Wesley, Alain Locke, E. Franklin Frazier, Luther Porter Jackson, James Hugo Johnston, and Charles Johnson. At the end of the course, each student received a certificate noting the amount of work accomplished. Full credit was granted only to those who passed the final examination.

The Home Study Department did not appear to be successful in terms of enrollment. It did not spread its roots into the black community like Negro History Week. While Woodson noted that the second year of the Home Study Department went "remarkably well," a year later he admitted that the enrollment was very low, mainly because of the fees and the standards of admission. Woodson still had a positive outlook, noting that those who did manage to finish were prepared to instruct others.[38] Moreover, such efforts demonstrate that central to Woodson's philosophy was the democratization of American academic culture.

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37 Carter G. Woodson, *Home Study Department of the Extension Division of the ASNLH, Inc.: Bulletin of General Information* (Washington, n.d.). For a discussion of Tuskegee's Movable School or Jesup Agricultural Wagon, see Virginia Lantz Denton, *Booker T. Washington and the Adult Education Movement* (Gainesville, 1993).

38 "Annual Report of the Director," *Journal of Negro History,* 15 (Oct. 1930). 396.

The Negro History Bulletin (1937-1950)

> *The distribution of literature will be continued, although the Negro History Week Pamphlet once published has been discontinued. THE NEGRO HISTORY BULLETIN itself is the successor to the Negro History Week Pamphlet. Readers of this periodical who follow the course of study outlined will understand how to make Negro History Week develop into Negro History Year.*
>
> —Carter G. Woodson, 1940

The last major extension work undertaken by the association director was the founding of the *Negro History Bulletin*. By the mid 1930s Woodson wanted to increase his regular readership among black youth, the black working class, black elementary and secondary school teachers, and nonacademics in general. The *Journal of Negro History* was also inaccessible to many because of its price. While white scholars such as Edward Channing told Woodson that the price of the *JNH* was too low, some black scholars told Woodson otherwise. W. H. Crogman, once president of Clark University in Atlanta, wrote to Woodson in April 1927 to express his regret that "for some reason I did not come into touch with your 'Journal of Negro History' until about three years ago. I subscribed to it one year, and discontinued my subscription because of the terribly hard times and high prices."[39]

The *NHB* had many functions. Written in a simple language to help black teachers who had little or no knowledge of black history, it supplemented "whitestream" American history textbooks at the time. The *NHB* was the vehicle by which teachers and other concerned citizens helped Woodson take black history into the homes of the black masses. The magazine served as an advertising mechanism for the ASLNH's activities, especially for Negro History Week. It also served as a platform with which blacks, from elementary school children to community activists to teachers to professional scholars, openly discussed and even published their thoughts about black history. Woodson stressed to potential contributors that only serious articles dealing with black history would be considered. The *NHB* was not an entertainment magazine; Woodson also used it as another one of his ideological platforms.

The first issue of the *NHB* was published in October 1937 and, like the rest of the volumes during Woodson's lifetime, appeared nine times throughout the year, coinciding with the months of the school year. Until the late 1940s, a year's subscription was $1.00 (or 12 to 15 cents per copy) and for some time clubs of five people or more could secure the magazine for only 45 cents per year. Woodson also offered bulk-rate discounts. By the time of his death in 1950, the subscription price had only risen to $2.00 per year or 25 cents per copy. Woodson kept the price low and in fact sold the *NHB* at a lossto maintain a higher readership. Though Woodson was the managing editor, the editorial and managing boards were dominated by black women. They wrote many of the articles, organized and ran the magazine, and encouraged children to begin their historical studies early. Individual issues of the *NHB* focused on certain topics and themes in black American history. Woodson adopted this approach so that regular subscribers would have "a brief illustrated history of the Negro" at the end of the year. He also sold previous issues bound in one volume.[40]

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39 W. H. Crogman to Woodson, April 4, 1927, The Papers of Carter G. Woodson, reel 3.

40 See, *Negro History Bulletin*, 1 (Oct. 1937); *ibid.*, 13 (May 1950), 170.

Between 1937 and 1950 issues contained biographical sketches of famous and nonfamous blacks and whites who were sentimental to the cause; simple book reviews; challenging lists of questions for the readers; plenty of photographs reminiscent of those found in the *Crisis*; discussions of periods and important events in black history; updates about current events mainly pertaining to black schools, Negro History Week, branches, and clubs; art by leading black artists; a "Book of the Month" section; poetry; information about Africa and the Diaspora; suggestions for Negro History Week; simple plays written by teachers and lay scholars; and primary sources. Of particular importance in terms of socializing black communities and cultivating within blacks' minds black historical consciousnesses were the "Children's Page," discussions initiated by teachers, and Woodson's polemical columns.

The *NHB* aimed at instilling "the youth of African blood" with pride in their history and culture. In October 1941 a formal "Children's Page" was introduced. The female editorial staff as well as other female readers suggested to Woodson that a section of the magazine be officially designated for children. In November 1940, for instance, Lillian M. Rhoades, the associate editor of *Apex News,* told Woodson that she would like the *NHB* "to solicit verse and articles by children." She reasoned: "this column devoted to their contributions will get them interested in their particular page, and familiar with the *Journal* as a whole. Then as they grow up," she continued, "they will grow up with the *JNH*, and would not be without it."[41] Increasingly after its debut, the thoughts, prose, and ideas of children were featured in the *NHB* as a method of influencing other youngsters to seriously study black history. Each issue's "Children's Section" challenged readers to answer questions pertaining to the monthly theme and quizzed about how they could best facilitate a Negro History Week celebration. Under the guidance of the Howard University–trained artist Lois Mailou Jones, the young readers during the early 1940s were also provided a picture to color or paint, a mask to cut out and wear, or a sculpture to cut out of a bar of soap. While Jones gave her readers very clear instructions, the children were challenged to think creatively.[42]

The *Bulletin* also served as an autonomous discursive outlet for teachers. They discussed how to best incorporate black history into their individual classrooms and their schools' curricula; exchanged teaching methods; joined the contemporary political debates; and traded advice about how to best celebrate Negro History Week. The February 1939 issue featured articles by teachers discussing how Negro History Week could be best celebrated in elementary and secondary schools and in colleges and universities. In a sense, the pages of the *NHB* belonged to black teachers, serving as their autonomous space for generating epistemologies of black history. Woodson encouraged this ownership and dialogue by assuring them that the magazine belonged to them and by publishing their ideas just as he published the scholarship of intellectuals in the *JNH.* Woodson also solicited their suggestions and published them from time to time. The *NHB* was unique in that it was one of the only journals open to black female teachers. He included photographs of them in the midst of other movers and shakers in the struggle.

Woodson's image and voice resonated above his teacher counterparts. In every issue of the *NHB*, Woodson wrote at least one column with which he addressed problems faced

41 Lillian M. Rhoades to Woodson, November 14, 1940, Papers of Carter G. Woodson and the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, reel 1.

42 "The Saturday Morning Art Class," *Negro History Bulletin,* 5 (April 1942), 158; Romare Bearden and Harry Henderson, *A History of African-American Artists* (New York, 1993), 381–88.

by black Americans, defined his philosophy of history, and offered his readers potential solutions. Throughout the pages of the *NHB* Woodson articulated his vision of how history could serve mankind. He never really altered his fundamental belief that history entailed the objective laying down of "the facts." While he certainly did emphasize black achievements and at times employed history as some form of "propaganda," a tactic he himself despised, he insisted to *NHB* readers that "real history requires the elimination of self. . . . Facts properly set forth will tell their own story."[43] Woodson wanted history to be a major part of black people's everyday life. He used columns to call on blacks to act and change the course of history. For the association founder, the status of black people was a "life-and-death struggle." He shared with Marcus Garvey a fear that black people faced the possibility of extermination. In an essay appearing in the February 1940 issue of the *NHB,* Woodson challenged his readers to do great things based upon the deeds of their ancestors. History was for Woodson a tool of inspiration. "To you, then, comes the challenge as to what you will do in building upon the foundation which they have laid. These people whose civilization was marked by the kerosene lamp, the wash tub, the hoe, and the ox-cart disappointed the prophets who said they would be exterminated; and on the contrary they enrolled themselves among the great," Woodson pleaded, "What will you do in the day of the moving picture, the radio, and the aeroplane? If we do not take hold where they left off and advance further in the service of truth and justice, we are unworthy to claim descent from such a noble people."[44]

Woodson wanted blacks to study history seriously and to genuinely incorporate it into their world views. He constantly reminded his readers that the purpose of Negro History Week was not simply to acknowledge and celebrate blacks' accomplishments for one week. Woodson argued that black history should be taught in classrooms daily; that the knowledge that blacks do have a history could significantly decrease race prejudice; and that if blacks knew their history they would be inspired to act. Woodson's straightforward philosophy of history as explained in the *NHB* was very nonelitist. He believed that anyone willing to invest significant work could act "like" a historian. In 1943 the association founder told teachers that a historian was a rigorous collector and organizer of facts, that children could be historians by recording their families' pasts, and that even those not formally educated could be historians of some sort by writing down, in whatever language, the histories of their communities. Woodson firmly held that the history of black Americans, despite their oral traditions, needed to be recorded by black people. He did not deem anyone who recorded historical "facts" a historian. Yet he was committed to demystifying one function of the black scholar and stimulating interest in black history and the historical profession in a widely accessible manner.

Woodson used the *NHB* to indict white America for mistreating blacks while celebrating blacks' abilities to persevere and to critique his fellow black Americans. In a 1939 essay in a volume devoted to the black church, Woodson asserted that black churches were too emotional, plagued by disunity, and lacked concrete philosophies of social uplift. He was especially critical of the exploitative preacher. "He will come to the church at times during the week to fire the hearts of the 'seeker,'" Woodson charged, "but after he receives his collection he is ready to retire to some other part of the city because he does not care

43 Carter G. Woodson, "Timely Suggestions for Negro History Week," *ibid.,* 1 (Feb. 1938), 11.

44 Carter G. Woodson, "The Heritage of the Negro," *ibid.,,* 3 (Feb. 1940), 79.

to dwell in their district." Woodson concluded that such behavior existed because "most trained ministers were miseducated."[45] Perhaps he critiqued the black church because he realized the potential it had in regenerating black America.

Woodson also continued his attack on black intellectuals and the black middle class in the *NHB*. More than five years after *The Mis-Education of the Negro* was first published, Woodson described the typical black graduate from Yale University, Columbia University, Princeton University, and Harvard as being useless. A graduate of Harvard himself, Woodson used such generalizations in hopes of sparking debates and critical conversations. The black college graduate in Woodson's estimation was one "equipped to begin the life of an Americanized or Europeanized white man," one without the proper training to help the masses of his people. These "intellectuals," Woodson added, despised Africa and its descendants. Woodson claimed that their aping of white people would not help themselves or American culture. He instructed blacks to "learn to do what whites cannot do" and then make the world "much better off' with these gifts. Woodson advocated a "revolution" in the American educational system, calling for institutions that would be molded to the conditions of black Americans.[46]

In a later issue of the *NHB*, perhaps in reference to black participation in Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* (1944) or Du Bois's and Rayford W. Logan's participation in the Phelps Stokes Fund's encyclopedia on Africa, Woodson attacked black scholars for working hand in hand with white scholars in what he called misrepresenting black people. Woodson argued that too many black scholars were blindly selling their research to white research investigators who altered their works to support theories of black inferiority.[47] Woodson charged that these black intellectuals lacked character and would sell out their people for any amount of money and recognition within white scholarly circles.

Woodson extended his criticisms to black political leaders. Several times in the 1930s, he championed the opinion that no black political leadership had existed since Reconstruction. He proclaimed that there were too many "inconsistent and compromising" self-ordained leaders who were "working against the interests of the race." Black leaders, in his view, too often accepted segregation. At times he seems to have given up on black leadership entirely. In the early 1940s Woodson argued that blacks would gain democracy in America only with the leadership of "the laboring classes" since they were "not obligated to the oppressors of their people" as were their spokesmen or "hand-picked agents."[48] Woodson's iconoclastic rhetorical strategy was aimed at raising debate within black intellectual circles.

In the pages of the *NHB,* Woodson also indicted the black middle class for their lack of business sense and failure to operationalize economic nationalism and self-sufficiency. Foreshadowing Malcolm X, Woodson deplored the fact that blacks allowed foreigners to open businesses in their communities. He argued that black people lacked an economic program in the most basic of forms. The Great Depression was "a blessing in disguise," the association founder commented in challenging blacks to turn within, to rely on themselves,

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45 Carter G. Woodson, "Suggestion for Improving the Negro Church," *ibid*., 3 (Feb. 1939), 9.

46 Carter G. Woodson, "Suggestions for Improvements in the Education of the Negro," *ibid*., 3 (Nov. 1939), 29–31.

47 Carter G. Woodson, "Mis-Representing the Negro," *ibid*., 7 (March 1944), 144.

48 Carter G. Woodson, "Negroes Not United for Democracy," *ibid*., 6 (May 1943), 170, 177; Carter G. Woodson, "In Spite of No Leaders the Negroes Hope for Democracy Lingers," *ibid*., 6 (June 1943), 194, 213.

and to be creative. Concluding that "the Negro's point of view . . . must be changed," Woodson offered readers several potential solutions. He called upon blacks to open small business ventures, demanded that his people—especially professionals—stop wasting their money on toys and leisure activities, and called on "the man who has few thousand dollars" to make sacrifices for the benefit of those in need. Woodson was especially critical of the black middle and professional classes. He was convinced that they had the power to help the masses in monumental ways. He arrived at this conclusion not only by studying the ideologies and actions of countless of his predecessors, but also in recognizing the ways one person and one organization of committed individuals could serve a "needy cause."[49]

Woodson's open criticism of the black middle and professional classes (of which he was a member) revealed not only his impatience with his counterparts' failure to establish more meaningful coalitions with the black laboring classes but also his faith in their abilities to bring about the advancement and liberation of themselves and black Americans as a whole. In holding such beliefs, Woodson's ideas resembled those of other black intellectuals of his times. For instance, while Charles H. Wesley revised the history of black workers and in the process recognized their potential to generate significant social change, Harry Haywood "not only defended the black working class against the racist attacks of white workers, but he also emphasized its revolutionary potential in the long-term struggle to abolish American capitalism and imperialism." For Wesley, Haywood, Woodson, and others like them, the black working class would itself, without the guidance of an elite black leadership, play an essential role in helping improve the status of black America.[50]

During the era of World War II, Woodson's commentaries took on a much more political flavor. He indicted the U.S. government for mistreating devoted black soldiers during and after the war. He declared in one column that U.S. policies "resembled more the policies of Hitler" than those of a so-called democratic nation. To Woodson, this behavior conformed with the historical abuse endured by black American soldiers since the colonial era. Woodson interpreted the role of blacks in World War II, and in previous wars, as "peculiar." Like many other black leaders throughout history and his time, he publicized and supported blacks' historical and contemporary activities in the armed forces in hopes that blacks would receive citizenship in exchange for their services. Embracing the "Double V Campaign," he believed that the black soldier's loyalty during World War II would "strengthen his case" for equality and first-class citizenship. He urged blacks to engrave their unwavering patriotism deeply into the historical record so that whites could not deny their basic human rights without denying "the truth." In one sense, Woodson had faith that enough liberal whites would eventually acknowledge "the truth" and undergo significant ideological transformations.[51]

Throughout the remainder of the 1940s, Woodson continued to publish social commentaries in the *NHB*. He attacked segregation in American social and institutional life, condemned America's imperialist and expansionist ethos in the immediate aftermath of World War II, scrutinized problems plaguing the black community from within, reiterated

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49 Carter G. Woodson, "How Foreign Merchants Exploit the Negro," *ibid*., 3 (Jan. 1940), 56–58.

50 Francille Rusan Wilson, "Racial Consciousness and Black Scholarship: Charles H. Wesley and the Construction of *Negro Labor in the United States*, *Journal of Negro History,* 82 (Autumn 1997), 72–88; Franklin, *Living Our Stories*, 142.

51 Carter G. Woodson, "The Negro Looks for Democracy," *Negro History Bulletin,* 7 (Dec. 1943), 72; and Carter G. Woodson, "Why Negroes Fight in This War," *ibid*., 7 (May 1944), 170.

and clarified the function of Negro History Week, and commented on the changes affecting black people in a global context.

During Woodson's lifetime, the underwent various changes and developments. The first major change, in October 1939, was the increase in size from eight to sixteen pages. Woodson resolved that black schoolteachers were in need of more information to adequately incorporate black history into their curricula. To maintain his audience, Woodson did not raise the price and by the magazine's third volume, the articles were becoming more in-depth, thematically organized, and more scholarly in tone. During the 1940s, more than a few of Woodson's protégés contributed scientific historical scholarship to the *NHB* increasingly during the l940s. By October 1940 the style of the magazine had changed. While the first three volumes resembled a small newspaper, the volumes after 1940 looked more like a journal or magazine, resembling issues of the *Crisis*. From October 1937 until April 1950, Woodson's columns in the *NHB* became increasingly more political. The gradual radicalization and increased scholarly flavor of the magazine is best explained by Woodson's strong conviction that the magazine was not a vehicle of popular matters or propaganda. He stressed that it was a space where students with varying interests of history could enlighten and engage each other. He tended to couch his polemical diatribes in a historical article and perhaps guard them with some sense of anonymity.

According to Woodson, the *NHB* was a successful venture. In 1943 he declared that "nothing attempted" by the ASNLH since Negro History Week "has met with more public approval" than the *NHB*. He felt justified in publishing it at a loss because he believed that it was finding its ways into the minds of black people, making black teachers more well rounded, inspiring black youth, and even helping deconstruct race prejudice and foster better relations between blacks and whites. Woodson used the *NHB* as he had the "Notes" section of the *JNH* as a comfortable place to articulate his dynamic, iconoclastic world view in a simple language. At the same time, the *NHB* was one of Woodson's gifts to black people. John Hope Franklin certainly thought so. "The BULLETIN," Franklin noted, "represented perhaps the most vigorous extension of the work of Dr. Woodson into the lives of persons who were soon to share the responsibility of making their communities better places in which to live."[52]

During the four decades after the founding of the Association of the Study of Negro Life and History in 1915, Carter G. Woodson helped lay the ideological foundations for the modern black studies movement. Since the black power era, many scholars have acknowledged Woodson's key role in the proto–black studies movement. Most importantly he successfully converted a scientific academic discipline into a practical tool of self-empowerment and liberation. Many decades before the golden years of black studies, the scope and seriousness of Woodson's scholarship and social activism served as useful object lessons for practitioners of the modern black studies movement. Dimensions of Woodson's approach can be beneficially adapted to black studies paradigms of the twenty-first century.

The Mis-Education of the Negro (1933)

During the peak of the Great Depression, Woodson published *The Mis-Education of the Negro* (1933), his most famous, widely read, and durable book that remains a classic for many black scholar-activists, Afrocentric thinkers, and even hip-hop generationers, as epitomized

52 Franklin, "The Place of Carter G. Woodson in American Historiography," 176.

by the hip-hop "nation-conscious" emcee and soulful rhythm and blues singer Lauryn Hill's debut (and Grammy Award–winning) album *The Miseducation of Lauryn Hill* (1998). More than any other book that he wrote, *The Mis-Education* has for many become synonymous with Woodson's philosophy and legacy. Numerous presses have capitalized on reproducing this book because of the public domain policies in the United States. It is not surprising that this work is Woodson's most popular book. Not only is it a polemic but it also speaks to pressing issues facing black America today with the same keenness and insight that it did to its original targeted readership.

Woodson's ideas articulated in *The Mis-Education of the Negro* had been brewing in his mind for more than a decade before.[53] For instance, in his unpublished "The Case of the Negro," (1921), Woodson critiqued white America, from presidents to ordinary citizens, and the black middle class in outspoken manners. In 1931 in a *JNH* review of the fifth year of Negro History Week, Woodson challenged "successful Negroes" educated at the "best colleges" to help uplift the masses. "Statistics show that the large majority of the Negroes who have put on the finishing touches of our best colleges are all but worthless in the uplift of their people." Woodson continued, "If after leaving school they have the opportunity to give out to Negroes what traducers of the race would like to have it learn, such persons may earn a living, but they never become a contributing force in the elevation of those far down." Woodson denounced the educational system that misled "advanced Negro students" to despise "their own people" and to study things that "have no bearing on the tasks which they confront in life." As a solution, Woodson called for a revolutionary change in the educational training of black intellectuals. He asked black scholars to study their African heritage and to apply their learning to uplifting people of African blood. He called on teachers of "ripe scholarship" to teach the children. In the 1931 annual report of the director Woodson prepared his readership for his forthcoming book on the plight of the black intellectual and professional.[54] Woodson also deconstructed "mis-educated" and "highly educated Negroes" in essays in the *Crisis,* the *Chicago Defender,* the *New York Age,* and the *Pittsburgh Courier* before publishing his 1933 classic. In 1931 he published an essay in the *Crisis* entitled "The Miseducation of the Negro" and an essay in the *New York Age* entitled "The Mis-Education of the Negro in Economics."

In 1933, during the midst of the Great Depression, Woodson published *The Mis-Education of the Negro.* At the outset, he told his readers that he had decided to present this volume to the public because many people "were deeply interested" in his ideas. Despite the confrontational tone of Woodson's essays, he claimed that he did not intend for his book to be a "broadside" against specific people but rather a new set of solutions for how to best create an educated body of black reformers in an age that supported intellectual narcissism. His main focus was first showing how "highly educated Negroes" had misled, exploited, and hampered the livelihood of the black masses, and then how these destructive approaches could be reversed.[55]

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53 Goggin, *Carter G. Woodson,* 3. In his monographs published before 1933, one can see traces of his iconoclastic character breaking through. In the final chapter of *A Century of Negro Migration,* Woodson makes many observations about how blacks have been victimized in America. In the last pages of *The History of the Negro Church,* he also offers a solution to blacks' dilemma. For Lorenzo Johnston Greene's discussion of Woodson, see Greene, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson: The Man as I Knew Him."

54 "Annual Report of the Director," *Journal of Negro History,* 16 (Oct. 1931), 349–58.

55 Carter G. Woodson, *The Mis-Education of the Negro.*

Woodson's polemic, laced with traces of history, is delivered in simple and straightforward language. The prevailing argument running throughout the twenty-eight chapters of overlapping subjects is that blacks educated at leading white and black colleges and universities during the early twentieth century failed miserably in helping to improve the status of black America. Woodson posits many reasons and offers various remedies to address diverse political, social, cultural, economic, and religious needs in the lives of black Americans. According to Woodson, the "educated Negro" acted irresponsibly because he was not trained to serve black people in practical ways and in fact had been taught to hate Africans and the black masses. The "American educational system" made black people "Americanized" and "Europeanized white-men." Woodson argued that blacks did not get enough adequate training in fields such as art, drama, and other more creative fields of thought. He claimed that educated blacks strove to gain acceptance by imitating white America and by downplaying their own cultural individuality. Woodson rooted this mentality in the post-emancipation education of black people. During the antebellum era, he argued, there had been many sincere northerners and southerners who believed in helping blacks to help themselves, but after emancipation, these "unselfish" workers were replaced by exploiters of "the race."[56]

In Woodson's view, the educational system established by white philanthropists during Reconstruction did little to help blacks deal with their unique situation. Their scholarship lacked the "spirit of their predecessors." Woodson found fault in both industrial education and classical education. The former often turned out unprepared workers for the industrial market and the latter proved impractical. "We do not have in the life of the Negro today a large number of persons who have benefited by either of the systems about which we have quarreled so long," Woodson concluded. Such systems continued to blossom, in Woodson's estimation, because black teachers had not stepped forth to instigate or demand change. On the contrary, they had been trained "to do what they are told" and were too afraid to challenge the system. Woodson declared that only "few mis-educated Negroes" posed challenges. In his view, most educated blacks bought into the "diploma-mill produce" system. Blacks went to college, he argued, to get a "darkter's 'gree" in order to get a job, make money, and buy happiness.[57]

Woodson argued that receiving a doctorate only contributed to blacks' laziness and lack of scholarly activism. He argued that black holders of doctorates "not only lose touch with the common people, but they do not do as much creative work as those of less formal education." He accused black scholars of resting "their oars" once they received their passes into the ivory towers of academia. Black Ph.D.s were often produced as "Doctors of Philosophy made to order." Woodson accused the Columbia, Yale, Harvard, and University of Chicago graduates of dismissing black businesses and embracing brands of socialism and communism that did not originate from within the black experience. He indicted them for failing to do the groundwork for blacks in business. He also attacked the educated business owners themselves for being too individualistic and materialistic.[58]

According to Woodson, one of the most detrimental consequences of being miseducated at black and white colleges and universities was turning one's back on the black

56 Woodson, *ibid.,* 9–37.

57 Woodson, *ibid.,* 26, 15, 23, 34.

58 Woodson, *ibid.,* 35.

masses. Woodson believed strongly that the gap between the masses and the Talented Tenth was widening greatly. He noticed that this problem was especially sensed in the religious life. He indicted black leaders for adopting the religion of "the enslaver and segregationist." In comparing black leaders of the late nineteenth century with those of the 1930s, he concluded that while nineteenth century black reformers "went off to school to prepare themselves for the uplift of a downtrodden people," his contemporaries went to school "to memorize certain facts to pass examinations." A lot of black professionals, in Woodson's estimation, viewed their jobs solely as a way to make money. "Too many Negroes go into medicine and dentistry merely for selfish purposes, hoping thereby to increase their income and spend it on joyous living." Woodson's most blatant attack was thrust on those blacks that considered themselves leaders of their people. He asserted that all too often leadership had been conferred on a few without popular consent.[59]

Woodson offered a host of solutions to the problems he saw facing all blacks, the masses as well as the middle-class professionals. He called on his people to be independent pioneers. In simplest terms, he wanted all black people to abandon "slavish imitation" and learn how to think on their own, thus making themselves indispensable in enterprises that others could not do. To achieve this goal, Woodson called for the development of "common sense schools" with dedicated teachers, not those "roll-top desk theorists who have never touched the life of the Negro." Woodson believed that the educated black could solve the problems of black people if he "would forget most the untried theories taught him in school, if he could see through the propaganda that has been instilled into his mind under the pretext of education," and "if he would fall in love with his own people and begin to sacrifice for their uplift." Woodson claimed that he even preferred grass-roots leaders and reformers as teachers over professors from Columbia, Harvard, or the University of Chicago. Woodson called upon highly educated leaders and teachers to be servants of the people guided by unselfishness:

The servant of the people, unlike the leader, is not on a high horse elevated above the people and trying to carry them to some designated point to which he would like to go for his own advantage. The servant of the people is down among them, living as they live, doing what they do and enjoying what they enjoy. He may be a little better informed than some other members of the group; it may be that he has had some experience that they have not had, but in spite of this advantage he should have more humility than those whom he serves, for we are told that "Whosoever is greatest among you, let him be your servant."[60]

Woodson also challenged black leaders and educators to transform the educational system in which they were trained and to take steps to incorporate the African and black experience.

Woodson instructed blacks to become more radical in their politics. He wanted blacks to use politics only to better secure their goals when practical and to create a brand of politics from within. Woodson believed that the political tradition in America that had oppressed his people for so long was not designed to empower black people. He advocated a straightforward, bourgeoisie economic nationalist platform. He believed that blacks should patronize black businesses and warned his readers that such an alternative would

59 Woodson, *ibid.,* 56, 65, 176.

60 Woodson, *ibid.*, 44, 131.

work only if the black businesses had the community's best at heart. He advised blacks not to become enslaved by the vices of materialism. He counseled blacks not to waste money on unnecessary items. While he valued hard, manual labor, he discouraged blacks from leading a life in traditional industrial education. By the 1930s such an approach was becoming impractical in his mind.[61]

The Mis-Education of the Negro has been praised by scholars and leaders in both the black power era and the succeeding Afrocentric movement. However, these generations did not adequately criticize the shortcomings in Woodson's vision. For example, while Woodson elaborated on the failure of the "highly educated Negro" to deal with the masses on a one-on-one level, he himself exhibited some of this same class prejudice. He believed that the masses needed to be rescued from their state of "backwardness." "Sometimes you find as many as two or three store-front churches in a single block where Negroes indulge in heathen-like practices which could hardly be equaled in the jungle," Woodson commented in his description of blacks in Washington, D.C., "The Negroes in Africa have not descended to such depths." What Woodson labeled "heathen-like" comprised characteristics that made black American religion and culture distinct.[62] Like his Talented Tenth predecessors, Woodson believed at one level at least that the black masses were "underdeveloped" and needed civilization as offered by a reformed, educated black constituency.

Woodson also drew shallow and even erroneous conclusions from history. In one case, he even argued that blacks refused to work under each other and to take orders from each other because "slaveholders taught their bondsmen that they were as good or better than any others and, therefore, should not be subjected to any member of their race."[63] Woodson assumed, without proof, that enslaved blacks internalized what their owners placed before them. Throughout the book Woodson oversimplified the historical record to hammer home his conviction that the black middle class was failing to maintain "the race" during the Great Depression. He also did not consider that there were many black scholars who did not fit his convenient prototype. As is the case with most radical polemics, *The Mis-Education of the Negro* contains broad generalizations which are not grounded in rigorous, documented study, but instead are the products of the day-to-day observations and experiences of its author.

How did Woodson's contemporaries respond to *The Mis-Education of the Negro*? In more than a dozen newspapers in the winter and spring of 1933, the majority of reviewers welcomed Woodson's book as a needed criticism of the American educational system. Black scholars of the 1930s certainly could not simply ignore the relevancy of his assessment. Most did not take him on in a public forum. In *The Survey,* Alain Leroy Locke applauded Woodson's "articulate and reasoned" statement to a "very great dilemma."[64] On the other hand, Horace Mann Bond—then an associate professor of education at Fisk—was extremely critical of Woodson's book in a long review in the second volume of the widely read and respected *Journal of Negro Education* (April 1933). Comparing Woodson to black conservative William Hannibal Thomas, author of the controversial *The American Negro* (1901) and dubbing Woodson's collection of essays and speeches "sledgehammer blows at existing difficulties and deficiencies in the present situation of the Negro," Bond declared: "The

61 Woodson, *ibid*., 144–72.

62 Woodson, *ibid*., 56.

63 Woodson, *ibid*., 122.

64 Alain Locke, "Black Zionism," *Survey,* 69 (Oct. 1933), 363–64.

material should never have become a book. . . . Dr. Woodson engages in contradictions which might have passed unnoticed in a series of articles, but which are inexcusable in a book. . . . Shall we judge the book as the production of a historian? By no means. . . . The book, then, is not history; rather it is the compilation of the rather bitter 'reflections' and 'observations' of Carter Godwin Woodson."[65] Benjamin Brawley, who had his fair share of run-ins with Woodson during the mid-1930s, agreed with Bond, telling *Baltimore Afro-American* (Baltimore) readers on June 6, 1936: "With that work [*The Mis-Education*] the author seemed to lose poise completely."

The Mis-Education of the Negro represents one of the first major publicized assaults leveled against the black bourgeoisie and the black intellectual by a professionally trained black scholar. Despite Bond's valid critiques, "the rather bitter 'reflections' and 'observations'" of Woodson influenced many of his times and beyond. After Woodson's polemic, only a handful of other black intellectuals reinvoked his message in monograph-length polemics. Among them are E. Franklin Frazier, Nathan Hare, and Harold Cruse. More recently, intellectuals such as Adolph Reed Jr., Houston Baker Jr., and several black studies scholars have called for critiques of black intellectuals that echo Woodson's concerns of the early 1930s.

65 Horace Mann Bond, "Dr. Woodson Goes Wool-Gathering," *Journal of Negro Education,* 2 (April 1933), 210–13.

Chapter Four

Chipping Past Woodson's "forbidding exterior": "The Father of Negro History" Remembered

In order to best inform visitors to the Carter G. Woodson Home about the intricacies of Woodson's personality and the essence of his character that made him so committed to black history and fundamentally made him who he was, it is necessary that National Park Service managers, tour guides, and resource specialists be exposed and have access to the existing recollections of Woodson, especially since Woodson only authored two brief essays (written in 1932 and 1944) in which he reflected on his life. Filling this need and void in Woodsonian scholarship, this chapter has two main objectives: (1) to summarize the recollections, first-hand accounts, and intimate biographical sketches of Woodson and (2) to cite and reproduce more than a dozen revealing and important, often at length, recollections offered by those who closely interacted with "The Father of Negro History," as well as Woodson's own personal 1944 reflections in "My Recollections of Veterans of the Civil War" that he shared with *Negro History Bulletin* readers.

While many of Woodson's contemporaries and protégés have written about their experiences with Woodson, the importance of Lorenzo J. Greene's observations in his diary on June 27, 1928, cannot be underemphasized: "I told Miss Revallion she should have kept a diary during her four years here. After Woodson's death it would become invaluable to anyone who desired to write his life."[1] Willie L. Miles noted that as a secretary "you actually learned the interworkings of the Associated Publishers and the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History from taking dictation from Dr. Woodson."[2] Woodson was complex—remembered by different people in different ways. As Lorenzo J. Greene noted, "it is virtually impossible to evaluate a personality as intricate as that of Dr. Woodson." Few "really knew him."[3] Most tended to agree that he was a physically fit and stubborn "hard man," with a "seemingly forbidding exterior" who embraced a herculean work ethic that he developed while laboring in the coal mines of West Virginia and that he enjoyed researching, traveling, talking, and walking. "Few, if any, took the liberty to call him 'Carter.'"[4] Mary McLeod Bethune and Nannie Helen Burroughs were the only ones to call him by his first name; the rest called him Dr. Woodson. While many have concurred that he was stern, serious, single-minded, cantankerous, and impatient with those who were not as committed to his "life-and-death struggle" as he was, in 1958 *Ebony* perhaps stretched the truth a bit in proclaiming that he had "few friends" and "never consciously sought to be liked" and "never cultivated those habits and personality traits which would endear him to the public." As the ASNLH co-founder and close friend of Woodson James E. Stamps recalled in November of 1965 in the *NHB*: "It was my privilege then to know Woodson. Walking and talking were his favorite recreations. . . . Most of us, a bit younger than Woodson, loved his wit, his humor and even his sarcasm. If you did not know him his sharp tongue could hurt you, but whatever he said as a

1 Strickland, ed., *Working with Carter G. Woodson, the Father of Black History,* 198.

2 Miles, "Dr. Carter Godwin Woodson as I Recall Him," 95.

3 Greene, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson."

4 *Ibid.*

gem." Woodson also had a soft spot in his heart for children. He enjoyed lecturing to black youth during Negro History Week celebrations, recounting for them folktales and stories of black history heroes and heroines, teaching them a variety of subjects, and even treating Shaw neighborhood kids with ice cream.

Assessing More than Six Decades of Recollections and Intimate Biographical Sketches of Carter G. Woodson

After he died in 1950, Woodson was remembered by his co-workers, friends, and disciples. Most of the published recollections were written as laudatory tributes and praise songs to the deceased founder of the ASNLH, with the exception of critical appraisals by Rayford W. Logan, W. E. B. Du Bois, and later Charles H. Wesley and unpublished papers by Lorenzo J. Greene. Before he died, despite Woodson's wishes, several black historians independently profiled his life and work in the 1940s. In 1945 Logan published a brief essay on Woodson in Du Bois's *Phylon*. This was the first of several important articles in which Woodson's immediate successor as association director assessed Woodson. Logan called on the public to recognize Woodson's contributions that had been overlooked by Edwin Embree's *Thirteen Against the Odds*. "For by any criterion of solid achievement Dr. Woodson should rank among the first five contemporary Negroes," Logan accentuated. Yet, Logan critiqued his mentor's leadership skills and personality traits. "Dr. Woodson's refusal to join this rival project illustrates what even some of his friends term his great weakness, that is," Logan recounted concerning their intense conflict over the Phelps-Stokes Project's *Encyclopedia Africana*, "his devotion to his own cause which makes him suspicious of any one else engaged in the same work." Logan also responded to Woodson's attack on him during the early 1930s and criticized the association founder for not paying his employees enough and for not supposedly taking anyone directly under his wing. "Perhaps the one quality lacking in Dr. Woodson to make him great," Logan concluded, "is his failure to attach himself a young scholar who loves the work as much as Dr. Woodson does and who would dedicate himself to perpetuating it as the greatest monument to his magnificent achievements." According to one of Woodson's close friends, William M. Brewer, "Rayford's profile in *Phylon* . . . made Dr. Woodson furious."[5]

Unsurprisingly, the first distinct scholarly body of personal recollections of Woodson were published immediately following his death when many black scholars and leaders remembered Woodson. In the dawning of the 1950s, Logan, Mary McLeod Bethune, and

5 Rayford W. Logan, "Phylon Profile VI: Carter G. Woodson," *Phylon,* 6 (4th quarter 1945), 315, 318, 321. To see why Logan was upset with Edwin Embree, see Edwin Embree, *Thirteen Against the Odds* (New York, 1944). William M. Brewer to Greene, June 30, 1950, folder 8, box 72, Greene Papers.. Logan probably publicized his criticisms of Woodson for several reasons. Logan's approach to Woodson was impacted by his wide range of experiences before joining the association. By the early 1930s, he had graduated from the District of Columbia's most prestigious secondary school for African Americans, attended Williams College, participated in World War I, traveled throughout France and Europe, assumed a high position in the 1919 Pan-African conferences, taught at Virginia Union University, and had established himself as a leading African American political activist, intellectual, and polemicist. Logan was unlike Woodson's lesser experienced protégés. Early on, he was an outspoken critical thinker who did not feel obligated to work with Woodson in a common cause at the expense of masking his true feelings. He was especially offended with how Woodson publicly dismissed him before the black scholarly community, black college presidents, and the *Journal of Negro History* readership in the 1930s. The outspoken Logan was unwilling to allow his character to be defamed as such. For the most in-depth treatment of Logan and his relationship with Woodson, see Janken, *Rayford Logan and the Dilemma of the African-American Intellectual.*

Charles H. Wesley published brief accounts of their deceased friend and mentor in the *Journal of Negro History*. Wesley's article was the most in-depth. He laid out the five major characteristics making Woodson a scholar to emulate. He was, in Wesley's estimation, "a Discoverer of the Truth," who "did not want the Negro people to meet 'the awful fate of becoming a negligible factor in the thought of the world'" and who "never hesitated to abandon the false for the true, whatever the cost to him or the cause;" "a Contributor to Truth" by publishing and editing extensively; "an Organizer of Truth" who left behind a movement; "a Disseminator of Truth" to scholarly and unscholarly audiences; and he was "a Fighter for Truth" who fought all "traducers" of the race, regardless of race or class.[6]

While essays in the *JNH* touched on Woodson in the decade following his death, accounts in the more widely read by the rank-and-file *NHB* celebrated him. The May 1950 edition featured a photo of a characteristically confident Woodson on the cover, included several photos and memorabilia, and every article therein was devoted to him. The biographical sketch in this volume, interestingly reprinted from *Current Biography—Who's News and Why* (1944), surveyed his major achievements and reprinted direct quotations from "the father of negro history." The association president at that time, Bethune, recounted how he helped her develop. "He helped me to maintain faith in myself," she recounted, "He gave me renewed confidence in the capacity of my race for development, and in the capacity of my country for justice for her own people and for all peoples." John Hope Franklin placed Woodson within the context of American historiography and measured his "far-reaching" contributions in terms of his diverse scholarship and his editing skills of rare primary sources and journals. L. D. Reddick, the "youngest member of the Woodson circle" who "early on advocated an avante guard approach to black history," applauded Woodson's "most characteristic creation," Negro History Week. Others, including Arnett G. Lindsay, Alrutheus A. Taylor, and Langston Hughes, remembered the association director for his seriousness, mentoring abilities, work ethic, and high expectations.[7]

The *NHB*'s "Children's Page" paid special tribute to Woodson. Above a reprinted copy of Woodson's Teacher's High School certificate,—a motivational device for the magazine's young readers—is a brief sketch of his life and work. "But Dr. Woodson was not always a writer, lecturer, and a teacher," the female authors of the "Children's Page" pointed out in encouragement, "He was once a little boy, with all the love of fun and mischief which other boys have." Following these words are a set of fill-in-the-blank questions quizzing the young readers' knowledge of Woodson. An eight-year-old Washington, D.C., student's poem simply entitled "Dr. Woodson" illustrates the understanding that many children had of Woodson:

> Dr. Woodson, all of his days
> Improved his mind, improved his ways.
> He wrote history for school,
> And never broke the golden rule.

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6 Charles H. Wesley, "Carter G. Woodson—As Scholar," *Journal of Negro History,* 36 (Jan. 1951), 12–24.

7 Mary McLeod Bethune, "True Leadership is Timeless," *Negro History Bulletin,* 13 (May 1950), 173; August Meier and Elliot Rudwick, *Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915-1980*, 103—04; John Hope Franklin, "The Place of Carter G. Woodson in American Historiography," *Negro History Bulletin,* 13 (May 1950), 174–76; L .D. Reddick, "Twenty-Five Negro History Weeks," *ibid*., 13 (May 1950),178–79; Arnett G. Lindsay, "Dr. Woodson as a Teacher," *ibid*., 183, 191; Alrutheus A. Taylor, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson: Inspirer and Benefactor of Young Scholars," *ibid*., 186,189; Langston Hughes, "When I worked for Dr. Woodson," *ibid*., 188.

He wrote history for our race
And never made himself a disgrace.
Now Dr. Woodson was a kind man;
His death left heavy hearts.
I don't think that anyone else
Could step in and take his part.[8]

The Association founder was not, however, eulogized uncritically by all of his associates. In 1950 W. E. B. Du Bois wrote a scathing critique of Woodson in *Masses and Mainstream*. Though he praised Woodson for his "crowning achievement," Negro History Week, Du Bois devoted his brief article to critiquing his contemporary. According to Du Bois, Woodson had "a good mind, but was by no means "brilliant;" he "lacked background for broad historical writing" (for he "never read Marx"); he overate; "he was almost contemptuous of emotion; he had limited contacts and sympathies;" "he had no conception of the pace of woman in creation;" he was stubborn; he had "no ties, family or social;" he was a loner with a "rather narrow outlook. . . . He was, and had to be, a cramped soul. There was in him no geniality and very little humor. To him life was hard and cynically logical; his writing was mechanical and unemotional. He never had the opportunity to develop warm sympathy with other human beings; and he did develop a deep-seated dislike, if not hatred, of white people of the United States and of the world," Du Bois declared, "In his death he does not leave many very warm friends; there were few tears shed at his grave." Certainly a byproduct of his tumultuous relationship with Woodson and discounted many of those who "really" knew Woodson, Du Bois' article vexed at least one of Woodson's close friends. "Dr. Du Bois has a nasty article on Dr. Woodson in *Masses and Mainstream* for June 1950 which does Du Bois no credit," William Brewer told Lorenzo J. Greene.[9]

Throughout the remainder of the 1950s, Woodson's characteristically serious picture and prophetic words graced the pages of the *NHB*. Most of these brief articles praised his achievements. L. D. Reddick in one sense challenged his colleagues, publishing one of the first articles in the *NHB* after 1950 that portrayed Woodson as more than a fallen hero. He revised his own obituary for Woodson appearing in *Phylon* three years earlier.[10] Like Logan and Du Bois, he discussed Woodson's seriousness and authoritative nature. "If anything, Woodson was forthright. Much of his stimulation to others came by way of challenge. He had little more than contempt for pretense or excuses," Reddick recalled, "Those who did not know him too well considered him to be a 'hard' man—and, upon occasion, he could be as cantankerous and as irascible as they came." Yet, Reddick remembered how much he profited from "the good Doctor" in their long "engaging" discussions while when Reddick visited the Washington, D.C., area from his former residence in New York. Like John Hope Franklin, he placed Woodson within the proper context of his time. In Reddick's estimation, Woodson mirrored his predecessors in realizing that racial stereotypes were facilitated by institutional racism and that these antiblack images simultaneously facilitated institutionalized oppression. Woodson was a pioneer because he initiated and sustained, "as

8 "A Great American," *ibid*., 180; Patricia Fletcher, "Dr. Woodson," *ibid*., 181.

9 W. E. B. Du Bois, "A Portrait of Carter G. Woodson," *Masses and Mainstream,* 3 (June 1950), 19, 21, 23, 24; and Brewer to Greene, June 30, 1950, folder 8, box 72, Greene Papers.

10 See L. D. Reddick, "Carter G. Woodson (1875–1950) An Appreciation," *Phylon,* 11 (2nd quarter 1950), 177–79.

almost nobody before him had done," the black history movement to combat this. Reddick speculated that his mentor was naturally driven to such accomplishments by his childhood, adolescence, and early adulthood experiences; his "rugged" health; and his commitment to a solid set of principles. Reddick concluded by calling on young scholars to join the ASNLH in modernizing the black history movement, in continuing the work of a "truly great man!"[11]

During the rest of the 1950s, Woodson received little scholarly attention. The *NHB* routinely saluted its founder, but between the magazine's May 1950 edition and Earl E. Thorpe's pioneering 1958 publication on black historians, only a handful of scholars commented on Woodson's contributions. One of these assessments was John Hope Franklin's "The New Negro History" published first in the *Crisis* fittingly during February of 1957. At this time one of the most respected and established authorities on African American history, Franklin emphasized that "the changes that have occurred in the writing of the history of the Negro race are as significant and, in many ways, even more dramatic than the very events themselves that the writers have sought to describe." Franklin underscored that the power derived from so-called scholarly misrepresentations of black people "provided the historical justification for the whole complex of mischievous and pernicious laws designed to create and maintain an unbridgeable gulf between Negroes and whites." He acknowledged the pioneering efforts of John Russworm, William Cooper Nell, and George Washington Williams and credited Woodson for "launching the era of 'The New Negro History.'" He noted that the new movement sprung from a combination of factors of American life, but he underscored Woodson's and the association's work. Franklin insisted:

> This [Woodson's efforts] was, perhaps, the most far-reaching and ambitious effort to rewrite history that has ever been attempted in this country. But it was more than an attempt to rewrite history. It was a remarkable attempt to rehabilitate a whole people—to explode racial myths, to establish a secure and respectable place for the Negro in the evolution of the American social order, to develop self-respect and self-esteem among those who had been subjected to the greatest indignities known in the Western world. Finally, it was a valiant attempt to force America to keep faith with herself, to remind her that truth is more praiseworthy than power, and that justice and equality, long the state policy of this nation, should apply to all its citizens and even to the writing of history.[12]

Ironically, during the 1960s, the second half of which is referred to as the period of black cultural awakening and militancy (the black power era), there were no major studies published on Woodson.[13] In 1965 at the 50th anniversary annual meeting of the association in Atlanta, there was a "Carter G. Woodson Memorial Session" with tributes presented by

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11 L.D. Reddick, "As I Remember Woodson," *Negro History Bulletin,* 17 (Nov. 1953), 36.

12 John Hope Franklin, "The New Negro History," *Journal of Negro History,* 43 (April 1957), 90, 91, 93, and 94. The original article first appeared as "The New Negro History," *Crisis,* 64 (Feb. 1957), 69–75. The *Crisis* did not even acknowledge Woodson's death. So, in one sense this article represents the NAACP's first and perhaps most elaborate portrait of Woodson.

13 Woodson's contributions were touched on in several books, a few journal articles, and he was featured in one master's thesis. See Sister Anthony Scally, *Carter G. Woodson: A Bio-Bibliography* (Westport, 1985), 147–60 and 191–92. Included among these sources is Noreen Hale, "Carter G. Woodson: Historian of the Negro American" (M.A. thesis, University of San Francisco, 1969). In addition, Earl E. Thorpe reissued several of his writings on black history and Woodson. See, for example, "The Father of Negro History" in *The Central Theme of Black History,* ed. Earl E. Thorpe (Westport, 1979), 49–75.

James E. Stamps, Willie Miles, William H. Brewer, Louis R. Mehlinger, Lorenzo J. Greene, C. Walker Thomas, and Harry V. Richardson. Those who attended this session certainly benefited from these ASNLH members' recollections.

Throughout the early 1960s, Woodson's contributions were recognized in a reappearing "About the Founder" sketch located on the back page of the *NHB*. He was also featured on the cover of a February volume. The mid-1960s witnessed a resurgence of writings on Woodson in the *NHB*. The 1965 special summer issue celebrated fifty years of the association. Wesley introduced the "Golden Anniversary Number" with a concise account of Woodson's work. The magazine's subscribers read first-hand accounts of the association's early years. Wesley eloquently captured the disposition with which Woodson approached his mission:

> Despite the founding associates, Woodson, our Founder, belonged to the list of post-nineteenth century pioneer personalities in the techniques of American life who believed that it was necessary to work one's plan alone. He had, in this respect, a type of intolerance and self-opinion, which some of us regarded with humor and indulgence because we looked upon the cause as well as the man as equally valuable. This was an aspect of rugged individualism, which has helped to create the greatness of our nation through individual initiative and energy. He belonged to the era, the earmarks of which we hope have not entirely disappeared, when the individual will endeavor to be creative in his contributions and not to act so as merely to imitate the work launched by another.[14]

Wesley, who had his fair share of serious conflicts with Woodson, contextualized and justified his elder's peculiar personality that others who did not know him too well perhaps mistakenly deemed selfishness and self-centeredness. Wesley interpreted those peculiarities as beneficial characteristics and products of his age. He ended his assessment with a call to others to join the cause: "Let us take up the Torch, lighted up fifty years ago by Carter G. Woodson, our pioneer, our historian. . . . We follow in his footsteps with his Torch. . . . We shall not fail him or ourselves!"[15]

Included in this volume are other valuable insights into the impressions Woodson left on his co-workers that appear in the next section of this chapter. Jessie H. Roy, for instance, told *NHB* readers how Woodson actively mentored her and other black women.[16] In the twenty-eighth volume of the *NHB* Lorenzo J. Greene shared some of his experiences with Woodson in 1930 from his detailed diary. In this particular entry, Greene "marveled" at Woodson's leadership and devotion to black history.[17] The remainder of Greene's journal was published in two volumes several decades later by Arvarh Strickland. Greene was much more critical of Woodson in a paper, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson: The Man As I Knew Him," that he delivered at various venues from the mid-1960s until the early 1980s.

Greene's unpublished essay is one of the most detailed, candid, and revealing assessments of Woodson's character written by one of Woodson's "boys" who really knew him. Greene's assessments of Woodson's character were largely taken from his experiences

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14 Charles H. Wesley, "Our Fiftieth Year: Our Golden Anniversary, 1965," *Negro History Bulletin*, 28 (Summer 1965), 173.

15 *Ibid*., 195.

16 Jessie H. Roy, "Some Personal Recollection of Dr. Woodson," *ibid*., 28 (Summer 1965), 186.

17 Lorenzo Johnston Greene, "Dr. Woodson Prepares for Negro History Week, 1930," *ibid*., 195.

working with him closely in the ASNLH from 1928 until 1933 as a field investigator, book salesman, and an office employee. Though this document is undated and was presented and revised more than a few times by Greene during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, I believe that this is the paper that Greene first delivered at the semicentennial celebration of the ASNLH at the fiftieth annual meeting in Atlanta from October 21–23, 1965, at the "Carter G. Woodson Memorial Session." The title of Greene's paper at this meeting was "Notes on Woodson." Greene revised it a bit and presented it at the opening of the Carter G. Woodson Center in the mid-1970s. Evidence also indicates that he probably delivered a version of this paper at annual meeting in Cleveland, Ohio in October 1985. Greene never published this paper, perhaps because he did not want to publicize Woodson's shortcomings. One thing remains clear: Greene's recollections are very important in unearthing and reconstructing Woodson's character in all its complexity. Those who knew Woodson like Greene probably felt what Greene was saying. Greene's unpublished essay went far beyond simply honoring Woodson. Greene's critique angered at least one of Woodson's contemporaries. William Brewer, the longtime editor of the *Journal of Negro History* after Woodson's death and an outspoken Woodson advocate, "became irate" when Greene once read a "shorter version" of this paper in Atlanta in 1965. "He swore I had defamed Woodson; further that so long as he was editor, it would not be published either in the *Journal* or the *Bulletin*," an eighty-five-year-old Greene recounted in a letter to one of his confidants.[18]

What was it that Greene said that made Brewer so furious? Like Woodson's other "boys," Greene shared many positive memories about "the master," such as his endless devotion to "the cause," his "forceful, sincere, clear, and convincing speaking abilities," his unmatched work ethic, his isolated acts of extreme kindness, his "phenomenal memory," his love of children, and his modesty. He also stressed that "Dr. Woodson was a complex, many-sided man." At the same time, Greene added: "many admired Woodson, but few could love him. It was certainly so with me. . . . Woodson had little consideration for the feelings of his co-workers. On several occasions when he cruelly hurt me, I remained faithful to him but only because of the movement that he personified. He was egotistic, opinionated, truculent, sarcastic, vindictive and at times seemed to take a sadistic delight in offending or hurting persons. We used to say at the office when Woodson spoke, no dog barked." Greene underscored his point, noting: "Woodson often disparaged and derided his associates. He seemed to take pleasure in crushing any vestige of self-confidence in them."[19] Greene shared many personal experiences and those of other employees to validate his claims. He added that as an employer, Woodson paid his employees little, pressured and overworked them, and fired them suddenly, exemplified in his own case and that of Charles H. Wesley. Attempting to explain the origins of his teacher's peculiar personality, Greene surmised: "Despite the obvious greatness of the man and the adulation heaped upon him, deep down within, I believe Dr. Woodson was obsessed by a feeling of insecurity. It may have stemmed from the deprivation of his childhood. At any rate, his seeming compulsion to disparage, humiliate, even hurt those who worked closely with him led some of us to wonder whether he feared lest some younger man might push him from his intellectual stool and usurp his position."[20]

18 Greene to Romero, March 15, 1984, folder 8, box 70, Greene Papers.

19 Greene, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson."

20 Greene, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson."

While Woodson's "boys" often wrote to each other sharing their intimate views of their elder, Greene appears to have been the most critical and detailed in striving to explain Woodson's personality. In mid-March 1984 Greene told Patricia Romero that he planned to publish the paper.[21] Brewer may have objected to Greene's unpublished portrayal of Woodson, but a cousin of Woodson's, after hearing Greene deliver this paper at Washington University in February 1983, approached him and said, "That was Carter G. Woodson." Had Greene published his paper or had he written a biography of Woodson, the historiography and scholarship on Woodson and black historians would have certainly been different.

A year following the golden anniversary issue of the *NHB* while Greene was President of the association, the *JNH* featured many tributes to the association founder. Prominent white scholars and leading black historians commented on the achievements of the *JNH*. Wesley alone assessed Woodson as a person. He reiterated what he had written in earlier articles, highlighting that Woodson's "rugged individualism" set him apart from most of his co-workers and that it was also his greatest weakness and strength. He still perceived his elder as a pioneer, "as the first of the organizers of modern research, writing, and publication in the history of the people with darker color in all parts of the world." Dr. Woodson, Wesley surmised, "pioneered in the cause of uniting these processes and succeeded."[22]

During the second half of the black power era (1970–1975), the writings on the ASNLH founder acquired a more scholarly flavor and Patricia Romero's 1971 dissertation that included interviews with Woodson's co-workers became the first detailed book-length study on Woodson. Romero began working with the ASNLH a year after she received her bachelor's degree from Central State University. From 1965 until 1968 she served as a research associate and an assistant editor for the *NHB*. Having some access to unpublished association papers and to people who worked closely with Woodson, she was able to "plough a new furrow" in black historiography. She conducted painstaking research. Charles Wesley loaned her his papers dealing with Woodson and she obtained important unpublished papers and advice from Lorenzo Johnston Greene. Romero also interviewed Woodson's family members, including Mrs. Callie Barnett, Nelson Bickley, Belva Clark, Nelson Barnett, Carl Barnett, and other of his co-workers such as Herbert Aptheker and the association co-founders Victor R. Daly, Wesley, Langston Hughes, and Louis R. Mehlinger. Romero "stalked" Woodson like John Hope Franklin stalked George Washington Williams. She even traveled to the Sorbonne where she learned that all of the records concerning Woodson's brief stay there in the early 1900s had been destroyed during World War II.

While Romero's dissertation is comprehensive, she only briefly touched on Woodson's intellectual persona and personality. She posited that Woodson patterned the association after the NAACP and the Urban League, stressing how much Woodson's work meant to him. "The birth of the *Journal* was to Woodson literally something more than a mere publishing event; throughout his life he devoted himself to the *Journal* as most men would to a family," Romero suggested, "When he had conflicts with other men, or organization, he would turn to the 'Notes' section of the *Journal* to unburden himself. A lonely man except for his work, he used the *Journal* as some men might a wife as an emotional outlet." Romero's point is well taken. A significant part of Woodson's personality can be reconstructed through an

21 Greene to Romero, March 15, 1984, folder 8, box 70, Greene Papers.

22 "Fiftieth Anniversary of the Journal of Negro History," *Journal of Negro History*, 51 (April 1966), 79.

examination of the *Journal*. Romero clearly admired Woodson, but her biography is by no means uncritical or celebratory. She cited the criticisms of men like Victor Daly, who asserted that Woodson "was a hard man to get along with. He was not a lover of his fellow man."[23]

Several years after Romero's dissertation was completed, Woodson's immediate successor as association director published a thoughtful paper first delivered before the fifty-seventh annual meeting of the ASNLH in Cincinnati, Ohio, on October 21, 1972. "It is hoped," Rayford W. Logan humbly announced, "that this lecture will suggest the need for further investigation that will result in an authoritative biography. The address is not authoritative; indeed, it is not complete because I have not had time to finish my investigation of the Woodson Papers at the Association Headquarters, those in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, and some materials in the National Archives."[24] Logan grappled with how Woodson's experiences before the founding of the association impacted his unwavering character established thereafter. Assembling information from primary sources, such as *JNH* articles, Harvard University's archives, and from his own memories, he wrote a concise history of Woodson's thought. Logan posited several original ideas that were examined later by various scholars. He discussed the relationship between the ASNLH and the American Negro Academy founded nearly two decades earlier, revised the apolitical image of Woodson by suggesting that during the early years of Woodrow Wilson's presidency Woodson joined the Epsilon Boule, Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity, for its political flavor, and analyzed the problems that Woodson had with philanthropists and large foundations.

In the 1980s the *JNH*, *NHB*, and magazines the *Crisis* continued to acknowledge Woodson's contributions, especially during February of every year. In 1983 Sister Anthony Scally published the first full-length biography on Woodson. In writing her brief study, Scally interviewed Woodson's relatives, combed through various archives, and corrected some the inconsistencies generated by previous scholarship. Scally's study was further authenticated by her working experience as a librarian for the ASALH and as a regular contributor to the *NHB*. Jacqueline Goggin, Earl E. Thorpe, Charles H. Wesley, and the ASALH all endorsed and praised Scally's *Walking Proud*.[25]

In the early 1980s under the presidency of Earl E. Thorpe, the association further consolidated its efforts to honor and publicize its founder's life and work. On April 1, 1982, the executive director of the association proposed: "a statue be erected to Dr. Woodson's memory in the mini-park bounded by 9th Street and Rhode Island Avenue, N.W. and Q Street." In late May of the same year, the association called for a national historical editing project that sought to "(1) seek to identify those repositories throughout the nation which hold documents relating to the life and times of Carter G. Woodson; (2) process and select materials including those housed at the ASALH national headquarters; (3) publish the edited volumes; and (4) lastly, complete a definitive biography of Carter G. Woodson as well as an administrative history of the ASALH and the Associated Publishers."[26] The editor-in-chief

23 Romero, "Carter G. Woodson: A Biography," 95, 138, 185.

24 Rayford W. Logan, "Carter G. Woodson: Mirror and Molder of His Time, 1875-1950," *Journal of Negro History* 58 (January 1973), 2.

25 See, Joe Johnson, "Carter G. Woodson: Father of The Study of Black History,"*Crisis,* 94 (February 1987), 35–37 (an article that deemed Woodson a self-made man, but unsurprisingly measured him by Du Bois' standards); Sister Anthony Scally, "The Philippine Challenge," *Negro History Bulletin,* 44 (Feb. 1981), 16–18; and M. A. Scally, *Walking Proud: The Story of Dr. Carter G. Woodson* (Washington, 1983).

26 Folder 14, box 70, Greene Papers.

was to be Charles H. Wesley and the managing editor was to be J. Rupert Picott. Other editors included Clement Price, Jacqueline Goggin, Robert Hill, Louis Harlan, Herbert Aptheker, and Daniel T. Williams. These projects did not materialize beyond the planning stages but indicated that there was a genuine interest in documenting Woodson's life and work and the association's maturation.

In the mid-1980s the association organized several panel discussions on its founder at various meetings. In December 1984 the association had a "Day of Commemoration for Woodson" at the association headquarters. The program for the event included six accounts of Woodson from those who knew him best, recognition of honorees, and various exhibits featuring Woodson artifacts, memorabilia, and books by and about him. Those who attended certainly heard more intimate stories about this man who kept largely to himself. About a year later, the association had a seminar on Woodson at their annual meeting which included as panelists L. D. Reddick, John Hope Franklin, Dorothy Porter Wesley, Arnett Lindsay, and Lorenzo J. Greene. In 1985 Scally published her exhaustive biography/bibliography of Woodson. While her brief biographical sketch sheds some light on many of the unknown facets of Woodson's life, she constructed an in-depth chronology of Woodson's life, highlighting the various endeavors he simultaneously undertook. Most importantly, Scally listed nearly all of Woodson's books, pamphlets, and articles (including book reviews and weekly columns in various black newspapers) as well as those M.A. theses, dissertations, books, book reviews, articles, and manuscript collections dealing with him in varying degrees. In many cases, she even provided succinct reviews of these sources. In total, she assembled over 800 items. This is an indispensable study for Woodson scholars.[27]

In 1983, the same year that Scally's *Walking Proud* was published, Jacqueline Goggin completed her dissertation on Woodson. It equals her 1993 biography on Woodson in many regards.[28] Goggin sought to assess how and why Woodson used black history to uplift black America and how the American historical community responded to him. Her dissertation built on previous studies by incorporating the papers of Franz Boas, John Hope, James Weldon Johnson, Julius Rosenwald, the Terrells, Arthur Spingarn, James F. Jameson, Nannie Helen Burroughs, Luther Porter Jackson, James Hugo Johnston, Benjamin Brawley, Alain Locke, Kelly Miller, the Grimke brothers, and W. E. B. Du Bois. Goggin also interviewed and corresponded with many of those historians who worked closely with Woodson.[29]

She sought advice from several of Woodson's protégés and Lorenzo Greene offered her some valuable constructive criticism. In March 1984 he commented that he was impressed by her "diligent" search for materials and the heavy documentation in her work. He

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27 Scally, *Carter G. Woodson.*

28 Meier and Rudwick, *Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915-1980*, 1–71; Jacqueline A. Goggin, "Carter G. Woodson and the Movement to Promote Black History" (Ph.D. dissertation, the University of Rochester, New York, 1983).

29 Jacqueline A. Goggin began doing serious research on Woodson as a graduate student at the University of Rochester. After publishing her dissertation, she produced several articles on Woodson, including "Countering White Racist Scholarship: Carter G. Woodson and the Journal of Negro History," *Journal of Negro History* (Fall 1983), 355–75 and "Carter G. Woodson and the Collection of Source Materials for Afro-American History," *American Archivist,* 48 (Summer 1985), 261–71. The latter article is especially informative. Goggin traced how Woodson built up a collection of primary sources in the Library of Congress with the help of J. Franklin Jameson (1859–1937). From 1968, when Woodson's papers were finally processed and made accessible to scholars, until 1977, the Woodson collection was used extensively. Throughout the decade and into the 1990s she presented several papers on Woodson at many venues.

challenged Goggin "to paint a more intimate picture of Woodson the man." Greene preceded some of Goggin's more recent critics. "Intensively as you have researched Woodson, your study is not a biography of the man. You have not drawn a flesh and blood picture of your subject," Greene continued, "We see him depicted as 'highly independent, principled, opinionated . . . moody . . . self assured', with a 'domineering personality.' The reader would like to know what made him so."[30] In 1984 Greene lamented: "the real biography of Woodson remains to be written and, unfortunately, those who held the key to Woodson's real personality, the focus that drove him, and the psychic factors that made him Woodson, have passed, or are rapidly passing, from the scene."[31]

In 1991 the *Journal of Negro History* featured two reflections on Woodson. Marion J. Pryde's "My Personal and Family Reminiscences of Dr. Carter G. Woodson" and Willie Leanna Miles' "Dr. Carter G. Woodson as I Recall Him, 1943-1950." A cousin of Woodson's who worked for the Department of Special Education in the Washington, D.C., public schools, Pryde recalled how in 1920 Woodson—then the ASNLH director and editor of the *Journal of Negro History*, author of two books, and making the transition from a deanship at Howard University to one at West Virginia Collegiate Institute—visited his family in Washington, D.C. She remembered that Woodson was affectionate toward children, committed to family, ate Thanksgiving and Christmas dinners at her family's home, and shared stories and family histories. Once when Woodson visited Pryde's family on Christmas, he arrived "with his arms full of gifts. For each child he had wrapped a book in white tissue paper and tied it with a red ribbon. Each book was based on Negro History." Woodson also helped Pryde with her homework. "He loved teaching and loved young people," Pryde avowed, "On warms days the children of his neighborhood liked to gather on his front steps and listen to his stories, his advice, and to enjoy an ice cream cone that came at the close of the hour." She concluded: "His gifts of inspiration, his devotion to family, his love for his people and his lighting the torch which blazed the path for other historians are, however, gifts to which we shall be ever heirs—gifts we always will treasure and revere."[32]

In her 1991 *Journal of Negro History* recollection, Willie Leanna Miles, who worked with Woodson from 1943 until 1950, provided very revealing descriptions of Woodson's "office home" and Woodson's personality. In offering her "birdseye view" of her "memories of the man and his life," Miles described the Carter G. Woodson Home: "Dr. Woodson lived in the building where he worked. His bedroom and living room were on the third floor. . . . My work space assignment was in Dr. Woodson's Library, 2nd floor front, opposite the staircase leading to the third floor. This allowed me an opportunity to hear conversations from his office. He seldom missed telling a visitor about the fact that he was once a coal miner and once earned a living as a garbage collector."[33] Miles reconstructed a floor plan of the four levels of Woodson's home and concluded that Woodson, the somewhat private, "aloof," and "lonely man," shared in the comforts of his home stories of his past with his visitors, co-workers, and employees. In 1998 the *Journal of Negro History* published its last major

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30 Greene to Goggin, March 15, 1984, folder 12, box 69, Greene Papers.

31 Greene to Romero, April 25, 1984, folder 3, box 27, Greene Papers; Greene to Romero, March 15, 1984, folder 8, box 70, *ibid*.

32 Marion J. Pryde, "My Personal and Family Reminiscences of Dr. Carter Godwin Woodson," Journal of Negro History, 76 (Winter–Autumn 1991), 101–105.

33 Miles, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson as I Recall Him, 1943–1950," 92, 93, 95.

recollection on Woodson, the reflections of Charles H. Wesley from 1975 that largely reiterated what he said about his elder in essays that he wrote in the 1950s and 1960s.[34]

On September 29, 2006, at ASALH's ninety-first annual convention in Atlanta, Georgia, the sociologist Adelaide M. Cromwell and historian John Hope Franklin provided their audience with valuable insights into Woodson's character. In 2007 the ASALH released a DVD featuring these recollections, "Reflections on Carter G. Woodson." Born and raised in Washington, D.C., Cromwell, who met Woodson on several occasions but, unlike Franklin, really did not have a close relationship with Woodson was inaccurate with some of her claims, such as her assertions that Woodson had an amicable friendship with Du Bois and that he never traveled to Africa. Nonetheless, she was accurate in labeling Woodson "a very paradoxical person." She situated Woodson among the four major black spokespersons, in her estimation as a sociologist, before the ascendancy of Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X: Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Marcus Garvey. Based largely on a reading of Goggin's biography and various humorous anecdotes, Cromwell highlighted how Woodson treated the history of Africa in the *Journal of Negro History* and his scholarship; how he negotiated with and perceived the racial climate of his times; and how he targeted the "average person" through the ASNLH.

Franklin's reminiscences were derived from his relationship with Woodson, "the patron saint of the whole area of minority history in the United States" in his words, from the fall of 1936 until the early spring of 1950. Franklin recalled how he, at age twenty-one, first met Woodson in 1936 at the ASNLH annual meeting in Petersburg, Virginia, at Virginia State College. Franklin was especially impressed with the commitment of Woodson and his "small staff"; the presence of white scholars (at least a half dozen) at this meeting; the active participation of black elementary and high school teachers; the contributions of "Woodson's Boys"; and the overall welcoming and supportive intellectual and social atmosphere. Franklin described his first meeting with Woodson, noting that Woodson with his "big heart" welcomed him into the ranks of the association with open arms. Franklin said that Woodson was all about "business," "knew everything," never held a conference at a HBCU during a "football weekend," and planned the conference largely by himself. Franklin was in awe of the way Woodson was "in every way so dedicated" to the dissemination of African American history with "no surrender of scholarship." As others have said, Franklin emphasized that Woodson "*was* the Association."

Franklin was changed profoundly by this 1936 meeting; it marked a significant turning point in his life. He was "in a cloud" when he shared a meal and conversation with Mary McLeod Bethune, Rayford W. Logan, and others. While at this conference, Franklin received a telegram indicating that his mother was in critical condition and that he needed to return to Tulsa, Oklahoma, immediately. After he made the long journey from Virginia to Oklahoma, his mother died on November 1, 1936. Franklin recalled how before he left Virginia, he informed Woodson what had happened. Franklin said that Woodson comforted him and pulled out his wallet to give him money for his fare. Franklin retold this story in his autobiography, *Mirror to America: The Autobiography of John Hope Franklin* (2005), as well: "When I found him [Woodson], I told him why I was rushing away, at which point he put

34 Charles H. Wesley, "Documents: Recollections of Carter G. Woodson," *Journal of Negro History,* 83 (Spring 1998), 143–149. Wesley's recollections were taken from the Wesley Collection from the private files of Janette Hoston Harris.

an arm around me, expressed his concern, and asked if I needed any money." This conference, in Franklin's words, represented a "remarkable transforming experience of my life." From that point on, he said that he had two fathers: Buck Colbert Franklin and Carter G. Woodson.

Between 1936 and 1950, Franklin underscored that he developed a close relationship with Woodson, corresponding with him and visiting in Washington, D.C., regularly. Franklin attested that Woodson helped him with his research, encouraging and supporting him in a variety of ways. In one of their conversations, Franklin asked Woodson why he wrote so many book reviews for the *Journal of Negro History*. Woodson replied that he assumed this responsibility out of necessity. The *JNH*, he said, received many books to review from many presses on a regular basis and Woodson would send out the books to be reviewed and often those to whom he sent the books would not provide him with reviews in timely manners. Woodson, Franklin recalled, was not happy with his colleagues who were too busy teaching and researching. "They don't read and they don't write," Woodson retorted to Franklin. When Franklin was commissioned to write *From Slavery to Freedom* in 1945, he was warned by others in the ASNLH that Woodson would view this project as work that would compete with *The Negro in Our History* (first published in 1922 and by 1947 in its ninth edition). Franklin avowed that to the contrary Woodson was fully supportive of Franklin's book, noting that in 1947 Woodson placed him on the editorial board of the *Journal of Negro History*.

Franklin also shared how Woodson was supportive of his research on George Washington Williams. In fact, Woodson pushed and motivated Franklin to write a biography of Williams. When Franklin first discovered Williams' 1882 *History of the Negro Race*, he asked Woodson who Williams was. Woodson responded: "He was quite a scholar, an important person" and then instructed Franklin to write a paper on his life and work. Woodson also told Franklin that he thought that Williams' wife was still living and in Washington, D.C. Woodson tracked her down for Franklin, but by the time that Franklin attempted to set up a meeting through correspondence. Pushing Franklin, Woodson put him on a panel in the ASNLH program in 1945 to deliver a paper on Williams. The paper was entitled "George Washington Williams, Historian." In January 1946, Franklin's paper was published as an article in the *Journal of Negro History*. This article laid the foundation for a work that took forty years to complete, *George Washington Williams: A Biography* (1985), the runner-up for the Pulitzer Prize. Franklin concluded his "deeply, deeply personal" first-hand account with gratitude and humility: "I am proud to stand here and say were it not for Carter Godwin Woodson before me, I would not be here either." Though uncritical, Franklin's 2006 recollections are crucial because there are very few people who knew Woodson personally who were still living during the new millennium. Franklin's talk will probably remain the most detailed accounts of Woodson published since the early 1990s. I strongly recommend the ASALH's DVD "Reflections on Carter G. Woodson," especially because of John Hope Franklin's heart-felt testimonies.

Recollections of "The Father of Negro History"

Responding to Lorenzo J. Greene's sentiments that in order to understand and appreciate Woodson we need to probe into and decipher his "real personality," in what follows are excerpts from those who knew Woodson at a personal level. The testimonies that begin on the following page, are arranged in alphabetical order and briefly contextualized and cited in the corresponding footnotes. The essays are from a range of sources, especially the *Journal of Negro History* and the *Negro History Bulletin*. The more than a dozen reminiscences come from a diverse group, including: Mary McLeod Bethune, W. Montague Cobb, Mary Pearl Dougherty, Lorenzo J. Greene, E. B. Henderson, Langston Hughes, Alexander L. Jackson, Lois Jones Pierre-Noel, Arnett G. Lindsay, Willie Leanna Miles, Marion J. Pryde, L. D. Reddick, Jessie H. Roy, A. A. Taylor, Charles H. Thompson, Charles H. Wesley, and Woodson himself.

Mary McLeod Bethune, "True Leadership is Timeless" (1950)[35]

I LOVED Carter Woodson, but I do not grieve for him, because I know that on that April day when he left his post as director of our Association, he left it to join the ranks of those great servants of humanity whose leadership is timeless.

For thirteen long years, since the passing of John Hope whom I succeeded as president of the Association, I worked with him and listened to his counsel, suggesting, where I could, what might be of help to him. I adored him. He was a prince among men—true all the way through to the cause of democracy for which we both labored together.

He dug down into the cells of darkness and revealed to us the background of the Negro, while he kept us constantly aware of history influx around us, still responsive to shaping by today's dynamic action —and of our duty to contribute to that action in increasing measure.

This year I felt that my own shoulders were over-tired and I told Carter Woodson that I wanted to lay down the duties of the Association's presidency, but he would not let me. He pleaded with me to stay through this year. Now he has left me with the presidency, but his is still the leadership.

I believed in Carter Woodson because he stirred the dormant pride in the souls of thousands ignorant or unmindful of our glorious heritage, and then struck the roots of his leadership deep, to produce the orderly and keen-sighted evaluation and objective interpretation of the facts unearthed through his efforts.

I believed in him because he was big! He was quiet to the point of being taciturn, because he was shy. He was a man of the soil. He grew to young manhood the hard self-taught way. But he was too big and too wise to underestimate or reject the tools of intellectual training and skill. He knew the value of both experience and training. He had both and applied both, ceaselessly and unstintingly, to his labors for his fellowmen. He scorned nothing that could be used to build a better civilization. Long ago he learned to "clean bricks" to rehabilitate our cultures and to strengthen our democracies.

The mines of West Virginia, the associations of Berea College, which he lived to see free again from the shackles of state-law segregation, were the strong undergirding for later academic achievement—a solid, well-rounded whole, which went into the building of this Association.

I shall always believe in Carter Woodson. He helped me to maintain faith in myself. He gave me renewed confidence in the capacity of my race for development, and in the capacity of my country for justice for her own people and for all peoples. With the power of cumulative fact he moved back the barriers and broadened our vision of the world, and the world's vision of us.

Inevitably, the active direction of our Association, which our leader has laid down, will pass to other hands—capable and sure because of his guidance. There will be other directors and other presidents. They will build on the foundation laid and mortared, stone by stone, with his selfless sacrifice and devotion, translated now into the timeless leadership of the truly great.

May God bless him and bless us, as we move forward to carry on.

35 Bethune, "True Leadership is Timeless," 173.

W. Montague Cobb, "Carter Godwin Woodson" (1973)[36]

It had been my good fortune to have known Dr. Woodson for a long time. We came to Washington's new Dunbar High School together in 1917, I as a freshman of 12 and he as a teacher of history of 42. Although I was never in his classes, I got to know him informally and to hold him in high esteem. It was customary at that time for each teacher to stand in the hall outside of his or her own room while pupils were changing classes. The presence influenced orderly passage. When Dr. Woodson stood so posed, the quiet, unsmiling dignity of his figure commanded good order. His erect carriage, broad shoulders and sturdy chest, developed during his days in the coal mines of West Virginia, indicated the rugged strength that carried him through his long career. His reserved, independent demeanor never changed in the 33 years I knew him.

The impression of sternness which one might have on first acquaintance was soon dispelled in any conversation with Dr. Woodson. I used to see him fairly often in the early thirties after I had joined the medical faculty at Howard . . . He always talked very freely and fully to me. In the course of several years and many hours of conversation, he spoke without reservation of his whole life . . .

The quarters of the ASNLH at 1538 Ninth St., clearly showed the difference between form and substance. There was no money to spend on renovations so none were made. No one would scoff at the unpainted front or bare wooden floors, because the volume and quality of the work done in the house made any external trappings insignificant . . .

Despite the Spartan austerity of his daily routine, he know how to interweave gracious interludes. He would often dine at the Phillis Wheatley Y.W.C.A. at the next corner and linger afterwards in the lobby, sitting and chatting with the young ladies who resided there. They paid great tribute to the richness and entertaining quality of his conversation . . . Dr. Woodson lived a full life . . .

Mary Pearl Dougherty, "Memories of Dr. Woodson" (2000)[37]

Dr. Woodson was a disciplinarian. You were at your desk, your coat off and ready to work, at 9 a.m. sharp. His reputation for being strict was such that many graduates from Cortez Peters Business College [in Washington, D.C] declined to work for him. But I was very well trained at the leading commercial school in Ohio, so it didn't bother me. Besides, back in the 30's, you needed a damn job.

He would walk around his office, his eyes closed and his hands clasped behind his back, crisply dictating. Sometimes he would dictate whole chapters of one of his books, without reference to any notes. Then, when I would show him the transcript, he would say, "Mrs. D., you split an infinitive!"

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36 Cobb, "Carter Godwin Woodson," 153-155.

37 These recollections were told to Hank Chase who authored an article entitled "Carter G. Woodson's Home," *American Visions Media, Inc.* (2000). Dougherty worked with Woodson as a typist and secretary from 1938 until 1941, while she was also working with the U.S. War Department. She spent a great deal of time typing letters requesting contributions for the ASNLH. According to Chase, she was "still sprightly and alert at 84" when he interviewed her.

Lorenzo Johnston Greene, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson: The Man as I Knew Him"[38]

It is virtually impossible to evaluate a personality as intricate as that of Dr. Woodson. Although for twenty-years, I was closely associated directly or indirectly with Dr. Woodson, I cannot say that I really knew the man. I doubt seriously whether anyone save a few very intimate persons such as Dr. John W. Davis, Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, or Attorney Louis Mehlinger really knew him. To most persons, Dr. Woodson wrapped himself in a seemingly forbidding exterior which, effectively repelled any effort to penetrate to his inner self. Few, if any, took the liberty to call him "Carter." To intimate associate or casual acquaintance alike he was *Dr. Woodson*. During all the years I knew Dr. Woodson, I only heard one person address him familiarly as "Carter" . . . This privileged individual was Mrs. Bethune . . .

It is not too much to say that my association with Dr. Woodson changed the entire course of my life . . . Dr. Woodson was a many-sided man. To you, who did not know him, he was robust, healthy-looking, light-brown in color, of somewhat more than average height, with thin tightly-pursed lips. He often wore a scowling, condescending expression on his face. At other times, his face would light up in a smile with a roughish twinkle in hi eyes. His eyesight was good, but he wore gold rimmed glasses for reading. When I went to work with him he was fifty-three. His browning hair was thinning about the temples, his head balding, and his lower lip protruded at times beyond the upper one, giving him an aspect of scorn or determination . . .

Personally, Dr. Woodson had many admirable traits. He was an indefatigable worker. Besides writing and editing books, turning out scores of articles, founding that editing the *Journal of Negro History* and later the *Negro History Bulletin*, Woodson maintained a grueling schedule of speaking engagements throughout the country . . . Also, he had the knack of gripping and holding his audience through his crusading zeal, and his ability to interland his abundant facts with timely anecdotes. He both informed and entertained his audience. Speaking without notes, he employed his vast arsenal of facts to explode myths, stereotypes, rationalizations, falsehoods, omissions, and racial bias concerning the Negro . . . Dr. Woodson always spoke at some length—an hour or longer, yet he never failed to receive a prolonged ovation from his audience—whether mixed or not—starving for authoritative information to controvert the traditional picture of the Negro.

In his own way, Woodson also had the ability to inspire loyalty in his co-workers. In my opinion, however, this loyalty was to the cause and not to the man. Many *admired* Woodson, but few could *love* him. It was certainly so with me. Woodson had little consideration for the feelings of his coworkers. On several occasions when he cruelly hurt me, I remained faithful to him but only because of the movement which he personified.

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38 These recollections are from Greene's "Dr. Carter G. Woodson: The Man as I Knew Him." While Greene's diaries from 1928 until 1933, published and edited in two volumes by Arvarh E. Strickland in 1989 and 1996 respectively, provide insightful windows into Woodson's personality, Greene's "Dr. Carter G. Woodson" includes and expands upon all of the major observations that he made in his diaries.

The devotion which Woodson stimulated in his subordinates stemmed from his whole-hearted dedication to Negro history and the tremendous personal sacrifices which he made to carry on the work. He drove himself mercilessly, regularly working sixteen to eighteen hours a day. When I asked him how he did it, he chuckled and replied that laboring in the coal mines of West Virginia had given him the physical energy to carry on.

Woodson was no snob, no work was too menial for him. He cooked his own breakfast, generally of cereal, bacon, eggs, toast, and coffee in a kitchen to the rear of his office. Many a morning the delicious tell-tale aroma of frying bacon would greet my nostrils as I entered the building. Since Woodson could not afford to hire a janitor, not infrequently of a morning I encountered him attired in pajamas and a shabby bathrobe, broom and dustpan, or mop and pail in hand, cleaning the office. The climax came one morning when I found him down on his hands and knees oiling the floors, and of all things the floor of my office which adjoined his. Ashamed and embarrassed at seeing him do such lowly work, I volunteered to help. But he cut me short with: "Mr. Greene, I did not hire you to be a janitor."

You cannot imagine how very humble I felt before this man who, despite his stature as a historian, would cook, wash dishes, sweep and scrub floors, fire the furnace, take out ashes; in fact, do everything from janitor and charwoman to author, lecturer, and editor. *And all for the cause.* Much as I desired to be an integral part of the Association and share in all its responsibilities, whatever their nature, I could not persuade Woodson to let me perform duties other than those for which he employed me. The only opportunity I had to do so was when he was out of town.

But such occasions were rare. Regularly Woodson wrapped and packed books, prepared them for shipment and carried them or letters to the main Post Office. It was a common sight, winter or summer, in fair or foul weather, for him to leave the office between ten-thirty and midnight with a mail bag crammed with books or letters on his way to the Post Office. Never once did he ask me to do so, or even to help him. If I wrapped books, it was because I volunteered, or he was out of town . . .

Dr. Woodson, also was a staunch advocate of physical fitness. He never bought a car for himself in order to exercise by walking. Although he did not play golf or tennis, probably because he believed he could not spare the time to do so, he walked where and whenever possible, whether to church, the Post Office, Library of Congress, or to the home where he ate dinner, not matter how inclement the weather. He also advised me to do the same, excellent advice which I honored in the breach . . .

Woodson had a sense of humor that was both delightful and sardonic . . . One October night I came out of a theatre on "U" street with a young woman. While inside, the weather had turned unexpectedly cold and a brisk wind was blowing. Whom should I meet, muffled up in his topcoat, but Dr. Woodson. Seeing me without a coat and obviously cold, Woodson, ignoring the young lady, blurted out: "Mr. Greene, you had better put on your topcoat, if you have one." For some time, Woodson had helped support his brother, Robert, who made frequent

demands on him for money. One day, he sent Woodson an urgent telegram asking for help. "Save me Carter," it read, "or I am lost." Woodson wired back, "Can't save you, Robert, I am already lost."

Along with his sense of humor, Woodson could be kind, considerate, even fatherly. One Christmas when his sisters sent him a fruit cake, Woodson gave it to me saying: "Take it Mr. Greene, you are away from home." When the office girls asked to be paid before Christmas, Woodson, after cautioning them they would probably be broke by New Year's Day, gave them their checks on December 20, so they might do their Christmas shopping.

At times he manifested a paternal interest in me, constantly advising me to safeguard my health in general. Particularly did he admonish me to eat properly, and exercise especially by walking. Dr. Woodson generally enjoyed good health. I never knew him to miss a day from the office because of illness . . .

Woodson possessed a phenomenal memory. He amazed me by the way he remembered the names of persons, often identifying them with their places of residence, work, or some relative . . .

For all his hectic existence, Dr. Woodson lived a lonely life. Virtually all his time and energy he devoted to the Association. You probably know he never married. When I asked why, his stock answer was that he had been in love once, had been jilted, and subsequently had followed the woman around like a little "fice" dog. She married someone else. To my knowledge, he did manifest some interest in a comely-widow from West Virginia, but nothing came of it . . . Woodson told me many times that marriage would interfere with his life's work, Negro history, to which he was dedicated. True or not, his attitude, I am sure, influenced my own relatively late marriage.

Dr. Woodson loved children, I have seen him talk to elementary pupils and regale them with some of the beautiful and interesting African myths which he had collected and published . . . Their little faces would light up with joy, and their evident happiness affected Dr. Woodson. As he talked to them, it seemed that the years fell away from him. His countenance lighted up; the scowl disappeared, his face broke into smiles and often he laughed heartily. In fact, he appeared positively human. As I watched, my heart went out for him, for I believed that Woodson saw in these children the offspring which, he so longed for but had denied himself because of his selfless dedication to the work of the Association.

And yet Woodson did have children. Married to the Association, his offspring were not only the numerous books, scholarly papers, and other achievements which he had wrought, but far more important were his children unrelated by blood—his boys as he called us—Now Dr. Wesley, Dr. Reddick, Dr. A. A. Taylor, Dr. Luther Porter Jackson, Dr. Franklin and humble self, Dr. W. Sherman Savage, Dr. Benjamin Quarles. Although we were his pride, for it was his torch that had ignited us, he was never overgenerous in his praise, yet he knew that he could always count on us . . . Although frequently hurt, disillusioned, and hating the things that Woodson did, nevertheless, we always decided that the cause was bigger than the man and remained loyal to the Association . . .

Although we feuded, and all too often I would leave, telling him I never wanted to see him again, I always returned. My appreciate of the man is expressed by this concluding anecdote: At an Annual Meeting of the Association held in Washington, D.C. Dr. Mordecai Johnson, President of Howard University and one of America's foremost orators, was the main speakers at the public meeting. After he had brought his audience to its feet following an eloquent eulogy of Dr. Woodson's historical contributions, I later confided in my diary that if at that moment I had the choice of being President of the United States or Dr. Woodson, my decision unhesitatingly would have been *Carter G. Woodson* . . .

Dr. Woodson was modest regarding his achievements. Realizing his greatness and his vast contribution to historiography which he was making, I asked him one day who would write his biography. "No one," he replied with a twinkle in his eye, "because there would be nothing to write about" . . .

Woodson's views on religion were not orthodox. Whether he believed in a hereafter or not, I cannot say. Although he attended church, I do not know whether he did so regularly. He held that religion should enable a man to live that he might be at peace with his own conscience. True religion, he went on, was not in words but in the guidance of one's life by lofty principles, utter lack of vindictiveness, and in service rendered to one's fellowman. Then he impressed upon me the importance of living in accordance to the golden rule. "Never," he counseled, "and this should be taken seriously by you—do anything that you would not have someone do to you." I told him that this was the creed by which I tried to live.

Nevertheless he believed in retributive justice. No man, he admonished me, can sin with impunity without reaping the reward of his folly . . .

In all fairness to Dr. Woodson, he was not unmindful of his faults which made it difficult for persons to work with him. Just before I accepted the position of research assistant to him, he volunteered, "I suppose you have heard, Mr. Greene, that I am eccentric, that I do things in fits and starts." Not only had I been told, but had experienced such. However, my only reply was that all I desired was to know what my job was. I would carry on. He did not answer . . . For all his weaknesses, and what man does not have them, Woodson must remain one of the greatest figures in Twentieth Century American historiography. His place in history is assured . . . As Dr. Woodson so often said, "Know the truth and the truth shall set you free."

E.B. Henderson, "In Appreciation" (1965)[39]

Although many books by and about Negroes are coming off the press let us not forget that much of what is presently known as the Negro Revolution was sparked by the work of our late leader, Dr. Carter G. Woodson. His research and contributions to the history of the Negro in America inspired much of today's agitation for human and civil rights. How many authors ware encouraged by Dr. Woodson to put history on the printed page will never be known.

Personally I owe a great debt of gratitude to him for urging me to tell the story of the Negro in sports. In this day when the exploits of our Negro athletes are known throughout the nation and the world and when it is impossible to chronicle the wide participation of our boys and girls we must be aware of the beginnings over two centuries.

Although Dr. Woodson was a scholar and interested in intellectual pursuit he early realized the effect of sports on the minds and emotions of mankind. He therefore urged me to look into this area and come up with a record that might inspire youth and permit reminiscence by adults. Today when thousands of our youth freely engage in sports, except for written history, few realize the road our great athletes of by-gone years had to take to enter the lists of competitors unhampered by restrictions and prejudices of the past.

39 Henderson's recollections appear in "In Appreciation: Reminiscences, Greetings and Challenges," *NHB* 28 (Summer 1965): 180-186.

Langston Hughes, "When I Worked for Dr. Woodson" (1950)[40]

In the mid-1920's when I worked for Dr. Woodson, he set an example in industry and stick-to-it-tiveness for his entire staff since he himself worked very hard. He did everything from editing *The Journal of Negro History* to banking the furnace, writing books to wrapping books. One never got the idea that the boss would ask you to do anything that he would not do himself. His own working day extended from early morning to late at night. Those working with him seldom wished to keep the same pace. But he always saw that we had enough to do ahead to keep our own working hours entirely occupied.

One time Dr. Woodson went away on a trip which those of us in his office thought would take about a week. Instead, he came back on the third day and found us all in the shipping room playing cards. Nobody got fired. Instead he requested our presence in his study where he gave us a long and very serious talk on our responsibilities to our work, to history, and to the Negro race. And he predicted that neither we nor the race would get ahead playing cards during working hours.

My job was to open the office in the mornings, keep it clean, wrap and mail books assist in answering the mail, read proofs, bank the furnace at night when Dr. Woodson was away, and do anything else that came to hand which the secretaries could not do. . . . It may be said truly of Dr. Woodson that *never did anyone with so little bring self-respect to so many.*

40 Langston Hughes, "When I worked for Dr. Woodson," *NHB* 13 (May 1950): 188.

ALEXANDER L. JACKSON, "IN APPRECIATION" (1965)[41]

Throughout the next three or four years, Dr. Woodson made several visits to Chicago and often was a visitor in my home. My wife often teased him about being a bachelor and not being married. His reply always was, "I am married to the Journal." At that time I think he was Dean of the Graduate School at Howard.

He almost persuaded me to go to Howard to teach Sociology with Professor Kelly Miller. Our mutual friend, Dr. Jesse E. Moorland, was a trustee of Howard University, vitally interested in the Association and the University. After a not very satisfactory interview with the President, I decided not to teach and joined the National Urban League as Educational Secretary.

Dr. Woodson often regaled us with stories of his early life as a coal miner and teacher in West Virginia, followed by a long spell of teaching in the Philippine Islands. I have never known a man who worked so hard to become a student and superior scholar in his field as Dr. Woodson.

He had a very keen sense of humor and was dedicated to his work — determined to find and publish the records of Negro achievement everywhere.

Did you know he was a vegetarian and until the end remained in excellent health and physical condition?

He was a warm true friend; and I am proud to have had the privilege of his friendship and inspiration.

41 Jackson, a co-founder of the ASNLH, offered these recollections in "In Appreciation: Reminiscences, Greetings and Challenges," *NHB* 28 (Summer 1965): 180-186.

Lois Jones Pierre-Noel, "In Appreciation" (1965)[42]

I happily recall working with Dr. Carter G. Woodson as illustrator for the *Bulletin* and children's books over a twelve-year period which began in 1932.

He was an untiring worker, one who dedicated himself to research, writing and the publication of works which aimed to develop pride in the Negro people through authentic information concerning their African background, their achievements and contributions to American society. These documentary works have recorded and enlightened people all over the world on the role the American Negro has played in the growth of his country.

His great foresight was evidenced through his special interest in publishing works for Negro youth which offered them a balance in their study of American history through an appreciation of the traditions, aspirations and accomplishments of the Negro race. In this direction we worked tirelessly together in selecting illustrative materials and work projects for classroom teaching.

It is with great admiration for Dr. Woodson that I recall the years I spent in his service.

42 Formerly known as Lois Mailou Jones, Pierre-Noel worked closely with Woodson as the Bulletin's artists and "Children's Page" coordinator. For her recollections, see "In Appreciation: Reminiscences, Greetings and Challenges," *NHB* 28 (Summer 1965): 180-186.

Arnett G. Lindsay, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson as a Teacher" (1950)[43]

FIVE students were initially enrolled in the newly established Graduate School of Howard University at the beginning of the 1919-1920 school year. I was among that number. Dr. Carter G. Woodson who had only recently been appointed (Fall, 1919) Dean of the School of Liberal Arts was also designated as Head of the Graduate Faculty of Howard University—the beginning of the present Graduate School.

I remember well the serious setting of that first day in Dr. Woodson's classes. How could one ever forget what transpired during the first sessions of his classes? In his characteristically frank manner, he stressed the seriousness of the undertaking which we were assuming and advised us not to take lightly graduate work. He outlined the requirements for completing the work leading to the M.A. degree and warned, in the meantime, that any student would be dropped automatically with no opportunity to make up any deficiency unless the minimum grade of B was maintained in every required subject. He suggested moreover that it would be wise for any student who was not seriously interested in studying history to withdraw from the course of study in the beginning rather than be embarrassed later. In fact, the entire first session of Dr. Woodson's class was devoted to warnings—a frightening experience for some of the students but a direct challenge to others.

During the next few sessions, Dr. Woodson pointed out the necessity of our appreciating what he termed a "new and acceptable definition of history." He began with the Greek word "historia" meaning searching to find out and traced its evolution, its wide extension and its rapid change in connotation. He taught that the mere acquisition of facts was not all that was involved in historical study. "The right interpretation of these data," he argued, "was the end and object of historical study."

Dr. Woodson further advised us to broaden our concept of history. Presumably, he thought we shared the same narrow concept which was generally held. To him, the history which was traditionally taught in Negro and white schools was inadequate and unsatisfactory because this kind of history included, in the main, only the political and military records of nations and peoples. He contended that unless we comprehended fully this "new and acceptable definition of history" which included some description of the social conditions of the periods under study — unless we learned further how to study important historical movements which afforded continuous threads with which to bind events, places, dates and persons, our study of history would be in vain.

Soon thereafter, Dr. Woodson began his favorite subject, why study Negro history? He believed that the Negro's contributions to American history, up to that time, had been regarded as solitary fragments rather than large contributions to American history—that the Negro's contributions moreover should be considered not as illustrative pictures, but rather as constructive parts of American history. He frequently asserted that he "looked forward to the day when he and other historians would not have to teach Negro history as such." But, he continued, "until historians include in their teachings or write into American history the true and full story of the Negro's participation in the making of America, he would devote his life to the task of integrating the contributions which Negroes have made to world history." He taught also that "directly and indirectly these contributions were overlooked, ignored and even suppressed by writers of history text

(*Continued on page* 191)

43 Arnett G. Lindsay, "Dr. Woodson as Teacher," *NHB* 13 (May 1950): 183, 191.

interest in this work and of his abiding desire for its continuance.

The Executive Council through a meeting of the majority of its members at its June session in Washington has pledged itself to assist more completely in the continuance of the great work of Carter G. Woodson. He lived for his day and for the time when emphasis was needed upon the forgotten achievements of the Negro people. This challenge must still be carried on, but we must not overlook the fact that intercultural education and intergroup relations in our day call for more than an insular, separatist approach. Until all the facts are in, and at least the major ones, we shall need to continue the emphasis. But today and tomorrow, we can undertake the integration of history. Woodson saw this in his day, for one has only to look at the pictures in *The Negro in our History* to see the demonstration of his thinking that black and white together have made America what it is. This work must be continued, and the Council pledges the new Director, Rayford W. Logan, their individual and collective support. This should be given even in larger measure than it seemed to have been given to Carter G. Woodson, pioneer historian, organizer of a people's faith in themselves, creator of values in folk achievement, and builder of a foundation for brotherhood in a nation of mixed races colors, and creeds. To us, he has passed the torch of his generation. May it be our challenge to hold it high for ours!

Dr. Woodson as a Teacher

(*Continued from page* 183)

books and the teachers who use them." He believed firmly that if a race had no recorded history, its achievements would be forgotten and finally claimed by other groups. As a result, "the race," as he so frequently put it, "would thus become a negligible factor in the thought of the world and stand in danger of being exterminated."

At the end of the first quarter, two of the students initially enrolled for this graduate work were dropped because they failed to maintain the minimum B grade required in every course; two more of the five originally enrolled graduate students were advised for the same reason to discontinue their work at the end of the second quarter. I alone survived.

A stern warning letter however was addressed to me in which Dr. Woodson wrote that "although you have maintained the minimum required mark of B in all courses, it will be necessary for you to give up your work in the University dining room and spend at least six (6) hours daily in The Library of Congress so that you may not only continue to do satisfactory class room work, but also so that you may have sufficient time to do some serious research work on your thesis which must be submitted for approval in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the M.A. degree not later than May 1, 1920." Needless to say, I took his advice. Thus, for the final quarter, of the 1919-20 school year, I was the lone student enrolled in Dr. Woodson's classes.

One of the remarkable things about his teaching was the fact that day after day he lectured for hours without books, note books or notes. Our guide in the study of history was a comprehensive and detailed outline which he distributed during one of the first sessions of his classes. His retentive memory enabled him to cite sources accurately and quote verbatim from documents, narratives and other historical materials.

Possibly the quotation of Frederica Bremer made the most lasting impression on me, viz., "the romance of American history is the fate of the Negro." Truly, in his teaching as well as in his writing, Dr. Woodson added romance and spice to our study of American history.

At the end of this school year, I had managed somehow to fulfill all requirements including the acceptance of my thesis and the satisfactory passing of oral comprehensive examinations. Well do I remember Dr. Woodson's comment. Soon after other members of the Graduate faculty congratulated me upon the successful completion of the work, Dr. Woodson turned to me and bluntly said: "You have more sense than I thought you had"—a characteristic saying of his and one which he frequently uttered in his later years when anyone performed a task satisfactorily.

Dr. Woodson taught just as he wrote, viz., frankly, convincingly and uncompromisingly. He was at times brutally frank and unsympathetic, especially with persons who said "it can't be done," persons who looked for short cuts or persons who feigned illnesses when assigned difficult tasks.

Dr. Woodson's teaching stemmed from economic necessity, whereas his writings of Negro history were a "labor of love." Above all, however he was truly an historian—the kind Macaulay must have had in mind when he wrote that "the perfect historian is he in whose work the character and spirit of an age is exhibited in miniature. He relates no fact; he attributes no expression to his characters which is not authenticated by sufficient testimony. By judicious selection, rejection and arrangement he gives to truth those attractions which have been usurped by fiction. In his narrative a due subordination is observed: some transactions are prominent; others retire. But the scale on which he represents them is increased or diminished not according to the dignity of the persons concerned in them but according to the degree in which they elucidate the conditions of society and the nature of man. He shows us the court, the camp and the senate. But he shows us also the nation. He considers no anecdote, no peculiarity of manner, no familiar saying, as too insignificant for his notice which is not too insignificant to illustrate the operation of laws, of religion and of education, and to mark the progress of the human mind. Men will not merely be described, but will be made intimately known to us."

Willie Leanna Miles, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson as I Recall Him, 1943-1950" (1991)[44]

Dr. Woodson had penetrating eyes, thin lips and a very rigid posture. He was light skinned, stood about 5 feet eight inches tall, wore a size 10 shoe, size 15 ½ x 24 shirt and weighed about 175 pounds. Bear in mind, Dr. Woodson was in his 68th year when I met him. He could tell jokes and anecdotes like a chain smoker, lighting one story on the butt of the other.[2] He was an inexhaustible gold mine of knowledge. Dr. Woodson was somewhat aloof, somewhat of a lonely man. Nevertheless,

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tireless in his search for the facts about the history of our people, he found time for laughter, and to chat with the children. He maintained a fierce determination to live and write for the fixed purpose of placing the Negro people and their history on the highest rung of the history of peoples in the United States and, indeed, of the whole world.

Just two months before Dr. Woodson's death, I asked him why he never married. In a round about way he left me with the idea that some girl had jilted him. He let me know that his first and most lasting love had been his work since most of his lady friends just couldn't wait.

My work space assignment was in Dr. Woodson's Library, 2nd floor front, opposite the staircase leading to the third floor. This allowed me an opportunity to hear conversations from his office. He seldom missed telling a visitor about the fact he was once a coal miner and once earned a living as a garbage collector.

Dr. Woodson made very few remarks about his family. He was very fond of his mother and father, Anne Eliza Riddle Woodson and James Edward, his sister Bessie Woodson Yancey of Huntington, West Virginia; his first cousin Anne Eliza Barnett Jackson and family of Washington, D.C. Dr. Woodson told me his sister, Bessie Woodson Yancey, had a poor marriage, and that he had helped her along financially. Dr. Woodson mentioned the following relatives in conversation from time to time:

Mr. Robert Henry Woodson, Sr., brother
Mr. James Edward Woodson, brother
Mr. Robert H. Woodson, Jr., son of Robert H. Woodson, Sr., nephew
Mr. James Edward Woodson, son of Robert Henry Woodson, nephew
Mrs. Belva Bickley, daughter of Mrs. Yancey, niece
Mrs. Joan Hurtz, daughter of Mrs. Bickley, grand niece
Mr. Nelson Bickley, son of Mrs. Bickley, grand nephew
Mrs. Ursula William, daughter of Mrs. Yancey, niece

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44 Miles, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson as I Recall Him, 1943-1950." This recollection is very important. Not only did she provide some interesting insight into Woodson as an employer, but she provided details of the Woodson Home.

established. In other words, the Associated Publishers was Dr. Woodson's own firm which earned about $75,000 annually. The Associated Publishers and the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History occupied the same building, but were not interlocked. There were no exchanges of one with the other. This was done to avoid tax complications. The Associated Publishers was a business subject to corporate taxes, while the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History was a cultural and learned society and was tax free. The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History was a membership body supported by subscriptions to *The Journal of Negro History* and *The Negro History Bulletin.*

Dr. Woodson rarely used the services of duplicating companies for processing multiple letters. Each letter had to be typed individually. Believe it or not, the wrappers for the mailing of the *Bulletin* and *Journal* were prepared by typewriters. Usually there were three or four available typists for this function. Once the wrappers were completed, the typists would pitch in and wrap the publications for mailing. This process was continued by the staff until the late sixties.

Dr. Woodson would have the same letter typed 500 times rather than use mimeographing services. Reason: The response to a personal letter is fifty percent greater than from duplicated letters.

You actually learned the interworkings of the Associated Publishers and the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History from taking dictation from Dr. Woodson. Listed are some of the most important or frequently used letters and replies. (Space allotment for this essay will not allow me to cover all items.)

1. Requests for information concerning contemporary Negroes would be answered as follows:

We have your request for information concerning contemporary Negroes. We do not compile such data. We are interested primarily in history. We are very much like undertakers in that we operate on persons after they are dead.

You will have to depend upon current newspapers and magazines for your information, and these cannot be definitive because these persons are still living.[5]

2. Life memberships in the Association:

We thank you for your check to cover your life membership fee. This admits you to the inner circle of those who take this work seriously and willingly make sacrifices to sustain it. Your record shows that you belong in this advance guard in digging up the past of the Negro and publishing it to an uninformed world.

Shortly we shall send you a life membership certificate which I hope you will have framed to hang on your wall to demonstrate that you are vitally connected with the long neglected work of preventing the Negro from becoming a negligible factor in the thought of the world.[6]

3. Inquiry concerning *The Journal of Negro History*:

The Journal of Negro History is a scientific publication containing more than 100 pages of current articles and reviews by scholarly persons of both races.[7]

4. During Negro History Week:

We are asking the people throughout the country to make a contribution to The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc. This will enable us to enlarge the scope of this work and prosecute it more extensively.

Negro History Week has become "Negro History Year" in that schools are now taking up the study the year round.

5. About scholars:

A scholar without character is dangerous.[8]

6. Type of persons Dr. Woodson included in his many acquaintances:

Persons of independent thought and action. Dr. Woodson made a serious effort to steer clear of propaganda of any sort and to "adhere to scientific historiography."[9]

In Dr. Woodson's office over the mantle was a large picture of Julius Rosenwald, U. S. businessman and philanthropist. This seemed odd to me so I questioned him why he was located in such a prominent place in his office. Dr. Woodson told me that he admired Mr. Rosenwald because grants given were based on what the organizations were able to raise themselves. Whatever the amount, the Rosenwald Foundation would match same.

All employees were paid the last working day of the month based on the time record maintained by the employees. It was very rare for Dr. Woodson to pay employees by check. We were paid in cash.

Dr. Woodson was very active with two organizations. 1) The American Teachers Association. He became a life member under President John H. Brodhead and Executive Secretary Harper Councill Trenholm (See Figure #2). 2) The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Washington Branch. At one point, he wrote the National Office in New York about some "rabblerousers" there who were against the gentlemen in charge.[10]

Each day was full of surprises for leaders, both black and white who came to see Dr. Woodson. Each day you learned more about this man. He was an enigma.

The end for Dr. Woodson came very quickly. In October, 1949, Dr. Henry Arthur Callis, Dr. Woodson's medical doctor, asked the office personnel to watch him closely, and do not let him lift over ten pounds. Dr. Callis was an experienced physician born in Rochester, N. Y. in 1887 and had received his M. D. from Rush Medical College in Chicago, Illinois in 1922. He also served as Associate Professor of Medicine at Howard University, 1930 - 1939.[11]

It was quite a chore to keep an eye on Dr. Woodson since he liked taking the last mail to the Post Office at North Capital and Massachusetts Avenue, near the train station. After leaving the Post Office, he would have his dinner in the Gateway Dining Room in the Union Station, Washington, D. C. The next day he would tell us about his delectable meal.

The trips to the Post Office became very rare during January, February, and March, 1950. Mr. Frank Hunter, the regular mail carrier, managed to keep him satisfied with the way the mail was being delivered to the Post Office.

Another place that he frequented for his meals was the Phillis Wheatly Y. W. C. A. just one-half block north of the Association's office. The entire staff knew and appreciated him.

minutes later, the gentleman came down stairs to leave. He informed us that he had told Dr. Woodson about Dr. Charles Drew's death.

The Negro History Week was over; therefore, I left the office around 3:00 P.M. However, I saw him Sunday afternoon, April 2, 1950, at the little delicatessen where I lived at 1536 9th Street, N. W., next door to the Association's Office.

On Monday, April 3, 1950 when I reported for work Dr. Woodson had made his transition. This was quite a shock for me.

Dr. Woodson's funeral was Saturday, April 8, 1950 from the Shiloh Baptist Church, 9th and P Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C. He is buried at Lincoln Memorial Cemetery, Suitland Maryland. (See Figure #3) The late Dr. Charles Harris Wesley delivered the eulogy.

I learned through all my years of experience that Dr. Woodson was a compassionate man and one of the most forthright persons I have ever known. I treasure my seven years I worked with this great man. An opportunity of this type comes once in a lifetime, and I will cherish this experience for the rest of my life.

[1] *The Negro History Bulletin*, May 1950, Volume XII, #8.
[2] Article *Afro Magazine* dated February 11, 1947.
[3] Letter to ASNLH Executive Council dated April 7, 1950.
[4] Letter from Reading File dated July 13, 1949.
[5] Letter from Reading File dated December 3, 1949.
[6] Letter from Reading File dated November 14, 1949.
[7] Repeated in many letters from the Reading File.
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] Letter dated February 5, 1937.
[11] *Who's Who in Colored America*, 7th Editiion, 1950, Christian E. Burckel.

Marion J. Pryde, "My Personal and Family Reminiscences of Dr. Carter Godwin Woodson" (1991)[45]

It was a bright fall day back in 1920, I believe, that my mother announced that her cousin, Carter Woodson, was coming to see us. She dressed us in our Sunday clothes, reminded us of good manners and impressed all six children of the fact that our visitor was a world traveler and a teacher in a high school. My oldest sister, Beatrice, filled me with awe when she observed that Cousin Carter Woodson had been to the Holy Lands. I was about nine years old at the time with a poor sense of geography. "I thought the Holy Lands were in heaven," I protested. I had learned in Sunday School that Jesus Christ lived in the Holy Lands. I knew He was in heaven. Sister Bea cleared the matter up just as our guest arrived.

Each child was lined up according to age and presented to our august relative. One thing that stood out in my mind was how warmly Cousin Carter Woodson greeted my baby sister, Ursula. True, she was a cute little four-year-old with bright eyes, black curls, framing a dimpled face and a friendly disposition. I was not prepared after the pleasant nod he had afforded the rest of us, to see him smile broadly, lean forward in his chair and extend a hand of greeting so cordial that I thought he might lift her onto his lap . . .

At the close of the visit Dr. Woodson observed that we were his closest relatives in Washington. Whereupon my mother invited him to Thanksgiving dinner, an offer he eagerly accepted. From that time on whenever he was in Washington, Dr. Woodson came to have Christmas and Thanksgiving dinners with us.

Dr. Woodson did the talking. We did the admiring and the listening . . . At Christmas time we were delighted to open the door to a smiling Cousin Woodson with his arms full of gifts. For each child he had wrapped a book in white tissue paper and tied it with red ribbon. Each book was based on Negro history-one that he had written or one published by his firm, The Associated Publishers, Inc. Over the years he created for us a valuable library of first editions in Black History . . .

My mother, whose name was Anne Eliza, did not care for her given name at all. She insisted that all her nieces and nephews call her "Auntie" until she learned from her illustrious cousin that she had been named for his mother, Anne Eliza Woodson.

As I reflect upon the past, certain incidents come to mind like tiny vignettes. My eldest sister, Beatrice, who was in high school forgot to carry her lunch to school one day. Mama called the school and asked Dr. Woodson to see that Bea got something to eat. He gave my sister fifty cents-a half dollar! What a gift! She was able to buy lunch on two days.

My eldest brother, Charles, was a "live wire." He was rebellious and dropped out of high school to make money. He got a job as a waiter on a train. As he went about his chores he spotted Dr. Woodson in the dining car. He tried his best to ignore a voice calling out imperiously "Young man - young man."

45 Pryde, "My Personal and Family Reminiscences of Dr. Carter Godwin Woodson," 101-105.

The head waiter directed my brother's attention to the diner who questioned, "Aren't you Eliza Jackson's boy? why aren't you in school?" My brother eventually returned to high school to earn his diploma.

One Thanksgiving Day after dinner I dropped the fact that I was beginning to study French. Dr. Woodson sent me for my textbook and proceeded to help me with my homework. He loved teaching and he loved young people. He brought his niece, Jennie Woodson, to Washington and enrolled her in Nannie Helen Burrough's School. He also brought a nephew, Robert, by the house to meet us.

On warm days the children of his neighborhood liked to gather on his front steps to listen to his stories, his advice, and to enjoy an ice cream cone that came at the close of the hour . . .

Upon returning from a trip to Africa, Dr. Woodson dropped by to deliver books to Bea and to me. For Ursula he had a beautiful tooled leather bag. He said she would prefer it to a book. (So would I, but I never admitted it.) I learned later that Dr. Woodson had proposed marriage to a young lady, but she refused because she did not want to go to the Philippines where he was to teach. That lady's name was Ursula.

Mama tried to play match-maker, so anxious was she to have her bachelor cousin lead a full life. When Dr. Clinton Barnett's widow, Clara, came to Washington, dinner at our house for the two was the first order of business. Dr. Woodson who had visited the Barnetts at Lakin was happy to renew their relationship. He took her to dinner, to the movies and the two enjoyed many happy hours reminiscing about their Virginia heritage. But no commitment was forthcoming. Of Woodson, it was said that he was wedded to his work and his books were his children.

At Christmas time he continued his gifts of books to the children. For mama, however, he brought a large box of chocolates and for dad, in later years, he brought a tie . . .

It was at a family dinner that he first asked my sister and me to write stories for the [Negro History] Bulletin. He had a wealth of information that he wanted published for children but his style, he explained, was too formal and advanced for youngsters he wished to reach. He was pleased with our stories and elated when Bea wrote a play, "The Thrilling Escape of William and Ellen Craft" . . .

My last recollection of this kind and eminent family man was at the Christmas dinner before his death. He brought books for my son, Paul, Jr. and for my daughter, Marilyn. I now appreciated the importance of the man and asked that he auto- graph my children's books. He was hesitant, saying that he was reluctant to do so because he was not the author. He bowed to my insistence, however, for which I am grateful. They were the last of his Christmas gifts.

His gifts of inspiration, his devotion to his family, his love for his people and his lighting of the torch which blazed the path for other historians are, however, gifts to which we shall be ever heirs—gifts we always will treasure and revere.

L.D. Reddick, "As I Remember Woodson" (1953)[46]

Each year when February rolls around, we think of Carter G. Woodson. We should think of him at other times and some time we do. But it is almost impossible not to think of Woodson during Negro History Week.

When we see and hear little children "reciting" their poems about "Brave Black Heroes" or "declaiming" Wendell Phillips' moving tribute to Louverture or when some "progressive" labor union or college presents a "distinguished scholar" in a lecture on "The Ruins of Zimbabwe" or "The Glories of Medieval Timbuctoo," our mind irresistibly slips back to the man who, above all others, started it all: really, the "father" of Negro History Week itself.

I remember the first time I saw Dr. Woodson. I was a small boy, living at the time in Jacksonville, Florida. One of my teachers had said to our class that a "great man" would be speaking at Edward Waters College that evening. I lived nearby and went on over to hear him.

As he arose to speak, I was immediately taken in by the force of his personality. He seemed scarcely to recognize the chairman. There were none of the flourishes and repetitions of the average speaker. Here was a man who, quite obviously, had something to say. He came to the point. Every sentence counted.

As the light from the ceiling fell upon him, his face appeared to be light brown in color and altogether thoughtful. His prominent forehead to my child's eye signified "intellect," "brains"!

He handled himself well upon the platform, I thought, moving about very much like a skilled boxer: never hurried, never faltering, sparring skillfully for openings, driving home his blows deftly. As I recall it now, he seemed to be wearing a tweed suit. Easily this was the most impressive speaker that I had ever heard up to that time in my life.

The next day — as a complete surprise — Woodson appeared at the assembly of the Stanton School, where I was a student. At first he was not nearly so impressive as he had been the night before. After he had been talking for a few moments he noticed that one of the students was asleep. Thoroughly aroused, Woodson pointed to him and said: "Wake him up, wake up that sleeping one." And then swinging around full-face to the whole audience, he exclaimed: "That is what we have been doing for decades; sleeping, sleeping away our rights!"

The effect was electric. Woodson was now inspired and went on to make another masterly speech.

This was the beginning of my interest in Dr. Woodson and the Negro History movement. During my high school and college days I read everything of his that I came across. Early in my teaching career, he had me on one of the programs of one of his anual conventions of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. From that I got to know him personally and through the years had many pleasant and a few unpleasant experiences with him.

Guarded Time

I believe that I enjoyed most and learned most from the informal chats that we had from time to time. While I was living and working in New York City it was often necessary for me to visit Washington, D. C. I would let Woodson know when I was coming to town. He would save the late afternoon for me. Though he guarded his time like a soldier, he was always generous with it when it came to "young scholars."

On most of these trips down to the nation's capital, I found Woodson at 1538 Ninth Street, Northwest. This was the headquarters of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History and the home of the *Journal of Negro History* and the other publications. The first floor was given over to the mail-order work of the Association. Woodson's office was on the second floor — and what an office! Books and magazines were piled everywhere (almost as bad as mine these days). Papers and letters and galley proofs covered the desk. But there seemed to be actually no disorder. The editor probably did more high grade work at that desk than any editor I know. Woodson lived, that is, slept, on the third floor of the small building. He was a bachelor.

Upon my arrival, he and I would exchange a few quips and then get on down to business by discussing some scheme I had up my sleeve or some article or book review that the editor wanted me to do for the *Journal*. At times these "suggestions" of the good Doctor sounded more like commands than requests. If anything, Woodson was forthright. Much of his stimulation to others came by way of challenge. He had little more than contempt for pretences or excuses. Those who did not know him too well considered him to be a "hard" man — and, upon occasion, he could be as cantankerous and as irascible as they come.

He could be engaging, too; that is, when he wanted to be. Quite frequently, when we had finished talk-

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DR. L. D. REDDICK, *formerly curator of the Schomburg Collection of the New York Public Library, is chief librarian of the Trevor Arnett Library at Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia.*

46 Reddick, "As I Remember Woodson." This is one of the most extensive published accounts about Woodson by one of his "Boys."

ing about books and scholars, as such, he would tell me about some of his own adventures in the Philippines or in Europe or in this country. Woodson had quite a sense of humor and was filled with anecdotes.

He always got a kick out of the ones about the jobs that he didn't get or keep. As a young man, Woodson was once interviewed by the school board of a Southern city for the position of principal of a school there. Apparently, he had satisfied the board but for one final question. This was: "What do you think of the philosophy of Booker T. Washington?" As we might expect, Woodson replied with characteristic tactlessness: "Not very much." The appointment never came through.

Harsh But Fair

Again, Woodson says that his stay as Dean of a well-known university was short, for soon after he assumed this office "the President began to hit me like this and I began to hit him like that," Woodson chuckled while demonstrating by pounding his left fist into his right palm and his right fist into his left palm.

We would talk about other people, too. Woodson seemed to know or know about all the prominent Negroes of his generation. I would ask him about first this one, then that one. He would characterize each and often knew some intimate story to illustrate his judgment. On these long afternoons I would toss these balls (these names) up to him for hours. He would knock them over the fence every time. He was often harsh, but fair. I was delighted to learn that he thought so well of W. E. B. DuBois, though each man plowed his own individual furrow.

Woodson did not think very much of the professional "inter-racialists." He was contemptuous of whites who climbed to fame on the backs of Negroes or of Negroes who collaborated with these "friends" and the so-called charitable foundations which were really seeking to control the thought of Negro leaders and institutions. Perhaps he was over-ly suspicious, but in nine cases out of ten he could prove his point.

In the early years of the Association Woodson sought and received financial support from several philanthropic "funds"; later on the Association's monies came largely from Negroes themselves. Woodson was most proud of that.

Woodson saw clearly what American culture was doing to the psyche of the Negro. Racist elements were strong whether one looked at American literature, newspapers, science or social science. Historically, most of the nation's scientists — social as well as natural — had gone along with the theory that the Negro was a more "animal-like" physical type and definitely inferior mentally. Actually, the whole context of this consideration was subjective; yet to the man in the street, the words of an eminent biologist, anthropologist or psychologist meant "scientific proof."

Likewise, a host of the nation's best known men of letters, song writers and journalists were in one degree or another anti-Negro. Ever so many American schools, libraries, movie houses and theatres could be described, insofar as this factor mattered, as agencies of anti-Negro propaganda.

The weight of the culture, through suggestion no less than by way of direct representation, has tended to make the average white person feel "superior" and the average Negro "inferior" — content to be a "nobody" or a servant, a clown or a criminal.

Had The Answer

Woodson, of course, was not the only one to see this. He, like others, realized that the racial stereotypes were nourished by racial discrimination and segregation and at the same time these images made discrimination and segregation more acceptable to blacks as well as whites. Woodson did, however, initiate *and sustain* (as almost nobody before him had done) a movement that was an answer to the picture of the Negro that had been conjured up in the American mind. Woodson's answer is what we know in this country today as the Negro History movement.

The drive against the anti-Negro elements in American culture assumes two forms. On the one hand, there is the campaign to combat the stereotypes; to stamp them out wherever they appear in any of the media of communication. This means cleansing the culture of derogatory terms and caricatures on stage and screen, in comic books, in textbooks, on television; and removing the racial tags from sports and crime and so on. The civil rights organizations are quite active in all this and have won some notable victories. They lost out against "Amos and Andy," who "filthy rich" from decades of radio and television commercialization are now prepared to retire from the field.

The other phase of this fight is often stated in the form of a counter-thrust by some movie magnate who has been challenged. He may say in so many words: "If you contend that *The Birth of a Nation* or *Gone With the Wind* is not a true picture of history, remember that not only novelists but historians support our view. Where is *your* proof?" Very often the best answer to that, the "proof," is to be found in the pages of the *Journal of Negro History* or other publications of the Association.

Woodson's point in setting up the organization was to build up a body of "true facts" on the life and history of Negroid peoples. He would use the method of the trained scholar in digging up and assembling these facts. Without this ammunition the social action groups would not have much of a chance in the struggle to get a more truthful picture of the Negro presented through our channels of communication, entertainment and education.

Woodson devoted full time to the Negro History movement during the latter part of his adult life. He founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History in 1915, the *Journal of Negro History* (January 1916) for scholars and the *Negro History Bulletin* (October 1937) for teachers and school children. He inaugurated the annual observance of Negro History Week in 1926. This turned out to be a most successful avenue for bringing the history movement to the general public. Woodson was unquestionably one of the most influential historian-educators

that this nation has produced.

What gave the man his drive, his point of view, his unshakeable devotion to this single idea? It is, of course, impossible to be precise about this. Something of an answer may be suggested by his background.

Woodson was born December 19, 1875 in New Canton, Buckingham County, Virginia. Actually he grew up in West Virginia where Jim Crow was not so overwhelming. After high school in Hunting, he attended Berea College in Kentucky. Here students of various creeds and colors studied together in an atmosphere of Yankee equalitarianism until the infamous Day law broke it up. Woodson left Berea in 1898, just two years before the State enforced racial segregation on the educational institutions within its borders.

Education was interspersed with hard work — much of it laborious coal mining. Woodson earned both his A.B. (1907) and M.A. (1908) at the University of Chicago. Here he met such great minds as William E. Dodd, A. C. McLaughlin, and Ferdinand Schevill. His Ph.D. came from Harvard which, at the time, had the strongest department of history in the United States.

Widely Traveled

Education was also interspersed with travel. Woodson, between times, had seen much of Europe and something of Asia and Africa. This, obviously, helped give him a world point of view which was characteristic of him. For a number of years, he spent a part of each summer in Paris.

Other qualities of a more intimate nature, no doubt, helped give shape to the basic personality of the man. His health was rugged, his mind perceptive and extraordinarily retentive. I never saw him use notes for a lecture. There was something of the Yankee about him. He was altogether uncompromising when it came to a question of principle. With his talents he could have made money, taught at a great university and/or married. Woodson felt that each of these would have hampered his mission.

Though Woodson never had any children of his own, figuratively he "fathered" a brood of younger scholars (and some not so young) who have done significant work in this field. Two of his earliest disciples were A. A. Taylor and Charles H. Wesley. At one time, Rayford W. Logan was Woodson's chief understudy. Lorenzo J. Green, C. A. Bacote and Luther P. Jackson were highly esteemed 'sons." William M. Brewer and Louis R. Mehlinger were almost brothers. Woodson praised John Hope Franklin's textbook though it was sure to compete against Woodson's own best seller, *The Negro in Our History*. Nobody could introduce a political argument that would lessen his regard for the scholarship of Herbert Aptheker. And there were, naturally, others. I can testify personally to the valiant way he stood by me when I tore the hide off a pro-Southern professor of history at one of our greatest universities.

Woodson could inspire the so-called common man, too. One evening he and I were in a taxi on the way up to my class at New York's City College. Woodson talked so interestingly during the ride that when we arrived at the College, the taxi driver said that he would park his cab, if he would be permitted to come inside the classroom and hear Dr. Woodson speak. Anyone who knows New York cab drivers knows that this was a supreme compliment.

Mellowed With Age

In the last year of his life, Woodson noticeably mellowed. For the first time he seemed to be more willing to listen than to talk. He was less caustic in his criticisms. He appeared to be trying to learn to delegate important tasks, to let others lift some of the load from his individual shoulders.

As a matter of fact, "father time" was exacting his toll. The rugged constitution was weakening. Another mortal man was slowing down. This should have been expected, for Woodson was over seventy.

Some of us saw what was coming on. We wanted to put on a real show for "the old man." We wanted to let him know that the work that he had "so nobly advanced" was in good hands and would be continued if he should ever retire or ultimately pass on. We wanted to begin, at least, to "modernize" the movement.

Woodson never lived to see this. The annual meeting for that year, 1950, was scheduled for October 27-29; Woodson died April 3, 1950.

The rude shock of his death came before plans to carry on the work of the Association had been perfected. In many ways the convention in Atlanta was a hugh success, yet it failed to make the transition smoothly. Since then the organization has had its ups and downs, principally because no one has been found as yet who can afford or will afford to run the risk of making the work of the Association his full-time job. Many capable and willing hands will help with this or that part-time duty but the Association requires a full-time director.

What a wonderful opportunity for some young scholar! What a great chance to continue the work of a truly great man! What a strategic moment in history to help American culture become more democratic!

Send Materials for the
Negro History Bulletin to
ALBERT N. D. BROOKS
1538 Ninth Street, Northwest
Washington, D. C.

JESSIE H. ROY, "SOME PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF DR. WOODSON" (1965)[47]

What we enjoyed most of all were the stories of great Negroes Dr. Woodson told to us orally. Socrates in his hey-day never had two more devoted students than Mrs. Turner and I were. We would sit for hours, spellbound, while one of the greatest masters of history told us in simple, clear language, facts and dates concerning the characters about whom he wanted us to write. Such a wealth of information, we could have gotten from no other source. Dr. Woodson talked of these personages as if he had known them personally all of his life; and he described so graphically, that we should have been able to recognize any one of them if he or she had walked into the room.

For some reason or other, Dr. Woodson developed during these fact-finding sessions, the habit of calling me Julie, although he knew my real name well. This went on for a long time. Once, in fun, I asked if Julia were the name of one of his old girl friends or if she were someone he didn't like. He never answered me, but threw his head back and laughed heartily. To this day, I do not know whether to be flattered or chagrined because of my new name.

Often when the discussion of an historic figure was too interesting to leave, and lunch or dinner time came meanwhile, Mrs. Turner and I would go with Dr. Woodson to lunch or dinner at the Y.W.C.A. (Dutch treat) and continue our study as we ate. If necessary, we would return to the office and continue our study of a character even if it meant staying until late in the night. In those days, teenagers had not yet discovered that they

47 Jessie H. Roy, "Some Personal Recollections of Dr. Woodson," *NHB* 28 (Summer 1965): 186, 192.

could strike terror to the heart of anyone; so we were not afraid to go home together if no one came for us.

When the book was almost finished, Mrs. Turner and I noticed that a change had come over Dr. Woodson. He seemed less gay, and was often very quiet. We became much concerned and asked what was bothering him.

"Just getting old," he replied. "Haven't been feeling so well lately." From then on, our "history lessons" were not the same. Something had gone out of them. Instead of sending him cards for his next birthday as we had done all the birthdays before, we brought a pretty plant for his desk.

"So, you've brought me my flowers ahead of time," our teacher remarked. Although he laughed almost as heartily as ever, the two of us felt rather gloomy. At last, the book was ready for publication. Dr. Woodson, himself, had written the introduction to it. This introduction was one of the last pieces of writing the Great Historian ever did. For this reason more than for any other, Mrs. Turner and I value *Pioneers of Long Ago.* Dr. Woodson never saw the book in its finished state. He died before it could be published.

At his passing, Mrs. Turner and I felt as if we had lost a favorite relative—certainly we had lost a cherished friend. It is our sincere hope that The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History and The Associated Publishers will grow until they reach the proportions worthy of so great a founder.

ALRUTHEUS A. TAYLOR, "DR. CARTER G. WOODSON, INSPIRER AND BENEFACTOR OF YOUNG SCHOLARS" (1950)[48]

DR. Carter G. Woodson and his great contemporary, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, were the pioneer historians of Negro extraction to write in accordance with the best standards of modern historiography. Since they have achieved eminence, the majority of serious students of the Negro in American history have become indebted to Dr. Woodson for inspiration, encouragement, and, in some instances, more tangible assistance. Indeed, several competent students of other phases of Negro life have become similarly, to a degree at least, obligated to him.

In one way, especially, which some have overlooked, Dr. Woodson has given numerous students significant inspiration. He was one of the first Negroes of outstanding scholarly attainment who divorced scholarship from leadership *per se*, refusing to function either primarily or specifically as a race-leader. Thus, he thereby influenced aspiring young men who learned from his choice, or from that of a follower, the dignity and worth of scholarship as a field for distinguished and spiritually compensating effort. The earlier lag is understandable. Before Woodson's example, the Negro seemed so much to need the learned as race-leaders, that few, if any, considered the role of the scholar essentially supplemental to the other in the effort to advance Negro interests.

As teacher, as scholar, as director of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, as editor of the *Journal of Negro History* and of the NEGRO HISTORY BULLETIN, Dr. Woodson has afforded far-reaching benefactions to younger scholars. At the first Biennial Meeting of the Association,[1] held at Washington, D. C. in 1917, Dr. Woodson gave emphasis to the meaning of the movement to study Negro life and history by setting forth his plans to "save the records of the black race that the Negro may not, like the Indian, leave no written account of his thoughts, feelings, aspirations and achievements." Then he explained in detail the necessity for having "trained investigators to undertake this work immediately, before it is too late." Said he: "Many valuable documents bearing on the Negro are being destroyed for the reason that persons now possessing them do not know their value and the facilities for collection of such materials now afforded are inadequate." As one might have expected, the investigators needed to be trained, for the education of few Negro students of history then exceeded that of the college level. The causes of this condition were obvious: the colleges did not demand advanced training of its teachers; the latter were paid small salaries; many believed that graduate training should be subsidized; agencies were not then giving funds liberally to subsidize the advanced study of Negro teachers. As a consequence, Woodson had to find the funds wherewith to train his much needed investigators. This task he accomplished.

That service was an essential, but a small, part of Woodson's benefactions to young scholars. To many of whatever ethnic group, he has supplied other important advantages. In monographic studies, he has published the results of several investigations; in the *Journal*, he has produced the learned articles of many young scholars; in the BULLETIN, he has presented to the public the authoritative accounts of others. His firm, the Associated Publishers, has released important studies which might not have been published elsewhere, for reasons not related to their merit. In the *Journal*, particularly, these scholars have reached a professional public, at least, of wide dimensions.

For young scholars, the learned director has furnished other significant assistance. Not the least important have been his numerous volumes which serious students might well use as models for the publication of their researches. In the Library of Congress, he has assembled a collection of valuable manuscripts for the use of scholars, old and young. At the disposal of independent scholars and of representatives of organizations studying Negro life and history, he has placed the facilities of the Association. He has aided serious students, not investigators of the Association, to secure funds wherewith to finance advanced study; he has assisted candidates to develop doctoral dissertations; he has given scholars encouragement and support in post-doctoral investigations; he has helped scholars to edit their works; and he has secured for others the use of facilities which were otherwise closed to them. In the Annual Meetings of the Association and in the Spring Conferences, which have been long discontinued, he offered a forum for the presentation and discussion of scholarly productions. By means of Negro History Week, he has made it possible for scholars, both old and young, to enhance their own prestige while helping to popularize the life and history of the Negro in both their African and their American settings.

(*Continued on page* 189)

[1] *Journal of Negro History*, II (October, 1917), 442-448.

48 A.A. Taylor, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson, Inspirer and Benefactor of Young Scholars," *NHB* 13 (May 1950): 186.

Charles H. Thompson, "An Unusual Personal Experience with Dr. Carter G. Woodson" (1950)[49]

I FIRST met Carter G. Woodson in Chicago in 1926. The occasion was the annual award of the Spingarn Medal which Dr. Woodson received that summer; and, I might add, so unquestionably deserved. The meeting at which the award was made was held in the auditorium of the Wendell Phillips High School in Chicago. And on this particular evening it was packed almost to suffocation on a hot night in June.

I do not know which impressed me more, what Dr. Woodson said in his speech of acceptance, or the earnestness with which he said it. One thing is certain; when he spoke I was oblivious to the worse-than-uncomfortable weather. Woodson impressed me then, as he did continuously for almost twenty-five years afterward, that he was a man with a mission (maybe, cause is a better word), and that he intended to serve that cause with his life, if necessary. I could sense then as I learned afterward why his former Harvard professor, the late Edward Channing, admonished Woodson when he was dean of the West Virginia State College, that anybody could be a dean but it was only given to a few to be a stimulating and creative scholar. And Woodson as a scholar not only produced numerous manuscripts on the Negro and his history, but what may prove even more important, he was the spark which activated the interest of a dozen or more Negro and white scholars in the field of his immediate concern.

Throughout some 25 years of subsequent association with Dr. Woodson, I had an unusual opportunity to know him personally. I think probably the most interesting personal experience I ever had with him occurred in Paris in 1935. Mrs. Thompson and I were strolling in the vicinity of the Place de la Concorde one summer evening when we ran into Dr. Woodson. He was in Paris that summer as was his custom for a number of years before the War—taking a vacation.

We were very pleasantly surprised to see him, and he seemed equally pleased to see us. He joined us in our stroll, and in a very short time we reached the Place de la Concorde. Here, Dr. Woodson could not resist the temptation to give us a very interesting and informative lecture on the history of this famous spot. After a half hour or so, we started back to our hotel. But before leaving, Dr. Woodson insisted that we should have dinner with him the following Sunday. (This was Friday.) We accepted. He was to call for us at our hotel at 6:30. At that time neither my wife nor I had the slightest idea of the unique experience which was in store for us.

Dr. Woodson arrived at our hotel as promised, promptly at 6:25. We joined him in the lobby and immediately went out and took a taxi. After a 15 minute ride from our hotel on the Rue de la Madeleine, we turned into a little side street (the name of which I do not remember), and stopped in front of a little restaurant (the name of which I have also forgot). We went up to the second floor, where Dr. Woodson had reserved a table in advance, located in a corner between two large windows. Our table, large enough to seat six or eight persons, was laid for three; and to me was the most artistically arranged dinner table I have ever seen in my travels around the world. It was resplendent in the finest linen I have ever seen, with napkins as large as small table cloths; and the brilliant cut glass ware and silver reflected myriad of colors from the large floral centerpiece.

The setting and atmosphere of the entire room which contained some ten or fifteen tables left the indelible impression that this was a place where only the initiated gathered. The people ate leisurely while conversing animatedly, as is characteristic of the French. Interestingly enough, we appeared to be the only foreigners present—quite a contrast to what would have been the case either at Maxim's or the Café de la Paix. And either from necessity or design only French was spoken by both patrons and employees.

Any meal served in such a setting would have been highly unusual, but our dinner was nothing short of a revelation in many respects. Dr. Woodson, who was thought by many people to be a sort of ascetic engrossed in his scholarship and interested in food only as a means of keeping alive, had selected and planned the seven or more courses with the meticulous care and sophistication of an epicure. Each course from hors-d'oeuvres to after-dinner coffee was served with the appropriate liqueur or wine properly chilled to the exact temperature. And as each course was served the waiter, and occasionally the headwaiter, would inquire solicitiously and deferentially, as of an old and respected patron, whether the particular service was as desired.

Without going into further detail about the dinner itself, suffice it to say that Mrs. Thompson and I had had a rich experience. We had discovered a Carter G. Woodson whom we had not known before. The Woodson we had known previously was the scholar and ascetic; a man so engrossed in his work that he had little time for the human side of living. It was indeed a very great pleasure to learn that Dr. Woodson's asceticism was more apparent than real, and that he was a "regular fellow" as well as a distinguished scholar.

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49 Charles H. Thompson, "An Unusual Personal Experience with Dr. Carter G. Woodson," *NHB* 13 (May 1950): 185.

Charles H. Wesley, "Recollections of Dr. Carter G. Woodson" (1975)[50]

It was my privilege to have had a long acquaintance with him and to have had contacts in his historical endeavors from 1913 to his death in 1950 . . . Since we were in the same fields of instruction, languages and history, our paths soon crossed and our discussions began early on Black history . . . Without any doubt, Woodson enlisted me and others. I joined the ranks of those who were called "Woodson's Boys," although I was the senior of most of them . . . Woodson joined the Department of History at Howard University in 1919, while I have an Associate Professor of History. I was interested in his coming and welcomed him. We worked prior to the opening of the academic year on the preparation of the Howard University College Catalogue . . . It was my privilege to work several evenings with Woodson who worked 16-18 hours a day, preparing and assembling the entire catalogue for the printer . . .

Woodson had conflicts with Dr. J. Stanley Durkee, white President of Howard University. Dr. Woodson resented his attempt at white missionary [control]. For example, Durkee wanted Woodson to monitor attendance in Chapel. Woodson refused and Durkee became angry . . .

On one occasion, Carter G. Woodson asked me to join him in the work of the Association, but insisted that I leave Howard University. He was of the opinion that one could only do his best work or research without the heavy duties of teaching which Howard required. Obviously, I refused, because I thought that I could . . .

When Lorenzo Greene and I were chosen by Woodson to prepare a study of the Negro Church, we selected an urban center—Baltimore, and a rural center in Suffolk county, Virginia . . . The first report which we sent to Woodson was declared by him, in a telegram which he sent to both of us and also to the Institute of New York, to be worthless after page 58. Woodson then wrote to both of us terminating the project. This action was distressing to Dr. Greene AND MYSELF. It showed how at times Woodson was inconsiderate, acting without consultation . . .

I was privileges to deliver the Eulogy at the Funeral services of Carter Godwin Woodson held at Shiloh Baptist Church in 1950, in Washington. We laid his body a well-earned rest, while his soul went marking onward [sic] in his writings and his addresses, and in us the heirs of his great endeavors. I drew from his fountain of knowledge. I cherished his memory. I honor his greatness as our historian and erudite precursor.

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50 Wesley, "Documents: Recollections of Carter G. Woodson," 143-149. Written in 1975, twenty-five years after Woodson's death, this is one of the several recollections that Wesley wrote on Woodson between the 1950s and 1970s.

Carter G. Woodson, "My Recollections of Veterans of the Civil War" (1944)[51]

THE veteran of the Civil War best known to me was my father, James Henry Woodson. He was owned as a slave in Fluvanna County on the James River about sixty-five miles above Richmond, Virginia, in one of the infertile sections of worn-out hilly land and on that side of the stream which in its meandering aggravated the situation by leaving the alluvial soil on the opposite side of the river. In this infelicitous situation planters often had more slaves than could make a living on their own premises and hired out their surplus bondmen. Because of this misfortune, James Henry Woodson, although of a mechanical turn, like his father, Carter Woodson who was a cabinet maker, was debased to the level of a ditch-digger in the employ of one James Stratton. The son, making use of his mechanical knowledge, picked up mainly by contact and observation, was at this time hewing from the forest nearby some hard timber out of which he made at night rough furniture and fish traps which he sold for pocket change. Learning that the bondman was thus applying his leisure, Stratton came upon him in the ditch where he was working one morning and undertook to whip the employee for thus exploiting his opportunity. The employee, however, turned the scales, whipped Stratton, and rushed back to the plantation where he was owned by one Jack Toney.

Seeing James returning home, Toney indignantly inquired:

"What are you doing here this time of day?"

"Stratton and I fell out," was the reply.

"Fell out! That's the trouble now! All free! All free!'

"Yes, we are free," came the retort. "And if you bother me I'll kill you, another devil!"

The rebelious slave, realizing his danger, rushed to his cabin, grabbed his best suit of clothes and a clean white handkerchief, dashed toward the woods where he quickly dressed in this more becoming attire and made his way as rapidly as possible toward Richmond. He had heard that the Union Soldiers, or the Yankees, as they were called, were in that area. He hurried on and on, hoping to see some trace of the friends of freedom. Finally he began to hear the tramping of horses and on entering a wide field he saw in the distance a cavalry

51 Woodson, "My Recollections of Veterans of the Civil War," 103-104, 115-118.

detachment dressed in blue. When the Captain Marks in charge saw the fugitive he yelled out, "Halt." The fugitive had learned that, if he waved something white that would mean no offense, and he would not be mistaken for an enemy. Thereupon he waved his white handkerchief to great effect, and the officer beckoned him to come hither. With a heart leaping for joy the fugitive rushed to the invading troops.

"Who are you?" inquired the officer. "A runaway slave?"

"Yes, Sir. I had to escape for my life because to prevent my employer from beating me I had to beat him.

"Mount that horse. Fall in line and come with us. Where is this man that treated you so cruelly?"

"His name is Stratton, and he lives only a few miles up the river. I'll show you."

And they rode on to the Stratton plantation, caught the owner, tied him up and whipped him. They even made him climb a tree backwards. Then, using the fugitive as a guide, the invaders directed their raid farther into the interior of the state.

"Do you know of any stores of provisions and other materials of war?" inquired the captain.

"I do," said the fugitive, giving in detail what he knew about the supplies at the mills near Fork Union in Fluvanna County.

The troops were soon on the very spot but found the place guarded by Confederate soldiers. The invaders called on the defenders to surrender, but they indignantly refused. The order was promptly given to fire, and after the exchange of a few shots resulting in the death of a disproportionate number of the defenders the remainder took flight to the neighboring woods. The invaders loaded on their horses all the provisions they could conveniently carry and burned all the rest. This act they repeated here and there on that raid and then returned to the Richmond-Petersburg area where under Philip H. Sheridan, after his dashes east and west they participated in the final maneuvers which forced the surrender of Robert E. Lee. James Henry Woodson served the rest of the war under Captain Marks and the famous Custer who years later made his last charge among the Indians in the Far West. After emancipation, however, the freedman settled in Buckingham County, Virginia, where he married Anne Eliza Riddle in 1867.

Another member of my family enlightened me considerably on the Civil War. He was my mother's brother, Robert D. Riddle, who was born in Buckingham County across the James River from Fluvanna County. As a small child he was sold with his mother to the planter near Buchanan in what is now the western part of Virginia. The poor and indebted slaveholders had tried to show compassion in trying not to sell the mother from her little children; and my mother, Anne Eliza Riddle, then a girl of only eleven years, persuaded the owners to sell her instead and thus keep the little children and their mother together. However, although they placed Anne Eliza twice on the slave block at Buckingham Court House and once in Richmond they could not secure for her such a price as would relieve the plantation of the pressing debt. As a last resort they placed the mother of the children on the block and sold her and the two youngest of her offspring for $2,300 which brought relief to the impoverished owners. Robert D. Riddle was the older of these two children.

Not many years thereafter came the Civil War, and Union Soldiers in one of their raids into the interior of Virginia, very much like the one mentioned above, reached the plantation where they saw this interesting little mulatto running around the cabin while his mother was toiling in the fields. He so impressed these men that they took him along as a mascot. His people, however, never learned what became of him and mourned him as one destroyed by some natural force, probably devoured by the wild beasts.

On reaching mountainous West Virginia these soldiers found that they could not properly care for such a young boy and gave him to a colored family at White Sulphur Springs. They could never find out exactly what his origin was because the boy was so young when taken from his parents that he remembered only his mother's name and his own—Robert D. Riddle. In 1873, however, a solution came when his oldest sister, Anne Eliza Woodson, at that time the wife of James Henry Woodson, had moved with her husband to West Virginia, where he was engaged in the construction of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad through West Virginia and later figured as a laborer in the development of Huntington. To that new settlement came persons from afar and among them a worker who had been brought up at White Sulphur Springs. Having heard Mrs. Woodson speak frequently of her lost brother, this worker recalled that a young man at his former home had that very name and resembled Mrs. Woodson. He addressed to his home town a detailed inquiry and thereby discovered this lost brother. Great rejoicing followed in Huntington when this young man came to visit his sister and likewise in Buckingham County, Virginia, to which his mother had returned immediately after the Civil War with the younger child, John Morton Riddle. Robert D. Riddle remained in West Virginia where he was educated and later taught school at Ronceverte. He finally distinguished himself by maintaining a family of five in cultivating exceptionally fine celery on a small parcel of only one acre.

One of the most interesting veterans of the Civil War with whom I came into contact and one of the best friends I have ever had I fortunately met at Nutallburg, Fayette County, West Virginia, where I became a coal miner. (I was not born in West Virginia. My parents moved in 1874 from Huntington, West Virginia, back to their old home near New Canton in

(Continued on page 115)

My Recollections of Veterans of the Civil War

(*Continued from page* 104)

Buckingham County, Virginia. There I was born the following year. At that time, however, Virginia, like most of the worn-out South, was passing through an age of poverty, and to escape the hardships which endured in that state younger Negroes went as workers to build railroads and open the coal mines of West Virginia, Kentucky, and Ohio. My oldest brother, Robert H. Woodson, had gone in this migration, and on returning home on a visit in Virginia he gave such a glowing account of the prosperity to the west that all the children wanted to go with him to this land of promise. My mother was easily induced to go, but it was only with reluctance that my father agreed to go back to the Little Mountain State. After my brother and I spent a short time helping to build the railroad from Thurmond up Loup Creek in 1892 we found more desirable employment as coal miners at Nutallburg in Fayette County and moved the family back to Huntington in 1893.)

This veteran was Oliver Jones. He had had experience as a cook in his native Richmond before the Civil War, and in his new home in West Virginia he made himself useful as a restaurateur. After doing a day's work in the coal mine he would throw his home open as a tearoom for the miners. This was a godsend for these men. The operators who owned all the land around would never allow the establishment of

any business to compete with their commissary where they sold the essentials of life at prices from sixty to one hundred per cent higher than they were offered elsewhere. There was, however, no objection to Oliver Jones' selling ice cream, fruits, and especially watermelons which he bought by the car loads. Inasmuch as I always enjoyed nice things to eat I frequented this place, and there I made a great friend.

Jones was the very sort of man to have charge of a resort of this type. In the first place, he was a fine-looking man—a mulatto of dark-brown hair and chestnut eyes, with a well trained mustache and becoming goatee. He stood about five feet eight inches tall and was slightly bowlegged, a condition aggravated somewhat by an all but fatal accident in the mine. He looked the part of a Virginia gentleman. He never had much to say except in the case of matters of importance on which he could speak intelligently. He was a well educated man, but he could neither read nor write. He learned through others who had had opportunities for intellectual development. When I met him I had just come out of Virginia where I had had the good fortune of being well grounded in the fundamentals taught in the rural schools of my native home by my two uncles, John Morton Riddle and James Buchanan Riddle. When Oliver Jones learned that I could read he soon engaged me to inform him and his friends as to what was in the daily newspapers. My compensation was to have all the nice things I wanted to eat. Whenever a veteran of the Civil War came out as a candidate for office or achieved distinction, I had to look him up in the books, inform my friends as to what battles he had fought, victories he had won and principles which he thereafter sustained. Jones was especially anxious to hear about those veterans who, like himself, were in battle array to attack Lee's army the morning he surrendered at Appomattox Court House.

This service for a friend was decidedly educational for me. I learned so much myself because of the much more extensive reading required by him than I probably would have undertaken for my own benefit. This reading was not a new task for me, for in Virginia, as the youngest boy of the family, the last to be permitted to go into life to make an independent living, I had thus served my father. Yet, in Virginia newspapers did not circulate freely. Negroes and poor whites could not spare funds for such a purpose, and we had to depend upon stale news. In West Virginia, however, the situation was very different. Miners usually made more money than they knew what to do with, and thousands wasted their earnings in whiskey, gambling and playing the role of desperados. Oliver Jones and his circle represented the better type. He would take a social glass among friends, but never indulged himself to excess. He would never offer me anything to drink. To him it was a bad habit. Do not begin it, and you will not have to end it.

Oliver Jones' home was all but a reading room. He bought interesting books on the Negro—J. T. Wilson's *Black Phalanx*, W. J. Simmons' *Men of Mark*, G. W. Williams' *Negro Troops in the War of the Rebellion* and others giving the important achievements of the Negro. He subscribed to the Negro newspapers like *The Mountaineer* and *The Pioneer*, edited in the State by Christopher Payne; and *The Richmond Planet*, edited by John Mitchell at Richmond. When these and other distinguished Negroes came to town they visited Oliver Jones, and there I had the opportunity to learn something about the trials and battles of the Negro for freedom and equality. Jones had fought for those principles as a soldier in the Civil War, and he was still willing to do his part to further the cause. In this circle the history of the race was discussed frequently, and my interest in penetrating the past of my people was deepened and intensified.

This circle, however, was not narrowly confined to the discussion of the trials and afflictions of the race. Oliver Jones was a liberal-minded man seeking to broaden his vision by keeping up with whatever passed in this country and in remote parts of the universe. He subscribed to such papers as the Pittsburgh *Telegraph*, the Toledo *Blade*, the Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette*, the *Enquirer* and the Louisville *Courier Journal*. We knew about such outstanding editors as Murat Halstead, John R. McClean, and Henry Watterson. Occasionally we got inklings of Samuel Bowles of the Springfield *Republican*, of Charles A. Dana of the New York *Sun*, and of Whitelaw Reid of the New York *Tribune*. We learned much thereby about the issues before the American people and the measures offered to meet the demands of the times. In these newspapers which I read to Oliver Jones were speeches, lectures and essays dealing with civil service reform, reduction of taxes, tariff for protection, tariff for revenue only and free trade. We had the opportunity to learn through the press about the gold standard, bimetallism, the demonetization of silver, and the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the legal ration of 16 to 1. Along with these came the new leaders of Populist doctrines with such thoughts as those of "Sockless" Jere Simpson of Kansas, Tom Watson of Georgia, and William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska in the wave of primary elections, the recall of judges, initiative and referendum, and the curbing of monopolies by government ownership. In seeking through the press information on these questions for Oliver Jones and his friends I was learning in an effective way most important phases of history and economics.

I had the opportunity to continue this education under another Civil War veteran in Huntington to which I went in 1895 to attend the Douglass High School and of which I became principal in 1900. My father still required me to read for him just as I had done first for

him in Virginia and for Oliver Jones later in West Virginia. From this valuable experience my practical education continued.

Another veteran was a Confederate named Wysong. My father worked under him as a foreman at the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Shops in Huntington. On many occasions he and my father discussed the Civil War and other veterans joined the conversation. The discussion was especially profitable on Sunday morning when there was not much to do. Although I was a man of twenty-five and the principal of the local high school, my mother would order me to take my father a warm breakfast on Sunday morning that he might feast just as we did on the steaks, chops and fowl we usually had on Sunday morning. I was glad of the opportunity, for I soon found myself learning so much about the Civil War from the actual participants that I sought rather than neglected the opportunity to carry the dinner pail. These discussions were suddenly brought to a close when in one of the debates Wysong, the Confederate, played up unduly the Lost Cause or defended slavery too boldly. My father engaged him in a fisticuff in which the employer got the better of the boss. Wysong vehemently demanded the dismissal of the victor. The master mechanic in charge did not take any such action, but gave instruction to the effect that there should be no more discussion of the issues of the Civil War.

In Huntington I met another great veteran of the Civil War. This was George T. Prosser, who at the turn of the century was building a successful African Methodist Episcopal Church in Huntington, West Virginia. Up to that day the Negroes in this city had had only a large Baptist Church and an average size Methodist Church, controlled by the white organization of the North. Prosser came and told the people about the independent religious movement among Negroes and the dignity given their church by their own intelligent leaders. The people heeded his message; and, although he had a difficult task, he secured a following which assured the future of his work in that city.

Prosser was the man for this task. He was a native of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, where he early had the advantage of education. He was no philosopher or theologian, but he spoke good English and could exhort well from the Bible and his unusual experience. He was decidedly fortunate in being a man of striking personality. He stood about six feet in a well proportioned body—a black man with features varying between those of the African and the Arab. He had a beautiful voice, and in both preaching and singing he was a commanding figure.

As a young man Prosser volunteered from his native city because he had been sorely disappointed in love by a woman who expressed her preference for another fellow of his circle. To drown his sorrow he joined the Massachusetts Fifty-Fourth Regiment which was taking shape under the command of Colonel Robert Gould Shaw. After brief training these soldiers were sent to the front to make the charge at Fort Wagner where most of them were taken as prisoners or like their gallant leader, were mowed down under accurate fire of the Confederate cannon July 19, 1863. Prosser was made a prisoner and was thus held until the close of the war. His account of the hardships which he experienced is all but torture itself. The Negro prisoners were poorly clad, poorly fed, and sometimes all but starved. The white prisoners, who were better cared for, would occasionally give the Negro prisoners a part of their pittance in return for "cutting a shine" or some sort of antics to excite their sympathy. At times, he said, they had such little meat that they had to gnaw the leather of old shoes and were even reduced to the extremity of eating dog meat.

One of the most impressive sermons I have ever listened to was one delivered by Prosser on his experiences in the Civil War. His climax was that when he was finally delivered from prison the Federal Government gave him back pay for every day he spent in prison, for the food that he was not allowed to eat, for the shoes that he was not permitted to wear, and for the clothes that he was denied. God, he said, would thus reward the faithful Christian who served Him in this life.

In the years that followed I met hundreds of Civil War Veterans, but fortunately, or unfortunately, I had attended college where I was directed toward definitive history —away from the personal narrative and the romantic aspects of the conflict. In Washington, D. C., where I have spent most of my time during the last thirty-five years I had the opportunity to know Lewis Douglass and Charles R. Douglass, sons of Frederick Douglass, who served in the Civil War. I knew of Major Fleetwood who had the same experience and Dr. Charles B. Purvis who attained the rank of surgeon in the Union Army. With one exception it was not my opportunity to secure from more recent acquaintances stories which had an unusual human interest, although I am sure that their accounts would have been just as interesting as these herein related.

The exception to which I refer is Pinckney Benton Stewart Pinchback whom I knew well and with whom I often talked about the past. When I first met the "Governor" as we were accustomed to call him, I did not know how to take him. I had heard much about him through his enemies and had some misgivings in approaching him. By becoming acquainted with the man I learned that he had been misrepresented by his antagonists whom he had outwitted in the game of politics in Louisiana during the Reconstruction. In spite of their methods of shady and questionable order Pinchback secured election to the Constitutional convention, contrived to be chosen for both branches of the State legislature, to be Lieutenant Governor,

to serve as the Acting Governor of the State, and to be elected to the United States Senate from which the politicians of both parties barred him, although his title thereafter was conceded as valid and he drew full pay. This rapid rise made him anathema to the agents of racial minority rule who branded him as a corrupt leader. Investigation, however, shows that he was an honest man who deserved the plaudits of his countrymen.

With respect to the Civil War Pinchback's account was very enlightening. He used to relate with much feeling his experiences in Ohio where he contrived to attend Gilmore's High School but soon came to want when the heirs to his white father's estate deprived him and his mother of their share. His struggle to make a living and to assist his mother with an invalid son took him steamboating which during those ante bellum days before the rise of railroads was considerably profitable. The turning point in his career was in 1861 when his work as a steward on the steamboat was interrupted by the Civil War. Pinchback felt that in the midst of the fight in his native New Orleans he could do something to help the advance of freedom. In Yazoo, Mississippi, on May 10, 1862, therefore, Pinchback abandoned the steamer on which he was serving, ran the Confederate blockade, and reached the Crescent City. There he soon became involved in trouble with his brother-in-law who had Pinchback imprisoned for assault. From this, however, he soon emerged. He was released to enlist in the First Louisiana Volunteer Infantry. Soon thereafter he was commissioned to assist in recruiting the Louisiana Second Infantry. Next came the call of General Benjamin Butler, the commander of the department of the Gulf, urging colored men to enlist and fight to save the Union.

Thereafter Pinchback was to continue the recruiting under more favorable circumstances, but there arose difficulties of mustering these Negro troops into the service. The Second Regiment Native Guards with Pinchback commanding Company A was recognized October 12, 1862. Yet difficulty lay in the fact that the Union soldiers were about as much prejudiced against the Negro soldiers as were the Confederates. Pinchback insisted on equal treatment and equal compensation for soldiers regardless of their color, but he became so discouraged in the rising tide of race hate that he and his fellow officers resigned before the end of the first year. Later, after another conference with General N. P. Banks, Pinchback took new courage and organized a company of Negro cavalry; but, although General Banks was glad to receive the Company, he would not accept Pinchback as the officer of the unit. His excuse was that no authority then existed for the employment of Negroes in any other capacity than that of privates. Rebuffed but not yet despairing, Pinchback, accompanied by Captain H. C. Carter, came to Washington in 1865 to obtain permission from President Lincoln to raise a regiment of colored men in Ohio and Indiana, but the end of the war came before this plan could be considered by the administration.

The Fort Pillow Massacre

(*Continued from page* 102)

military precedents that where the issue has been fairly presented, and the ability displayed, fearful results are expected to follow a refusal to surrender."

To General Lee this reply was sent by General Washburn:

"The record in the case is plainly made up, and I leave it. You justify and approve it, and appeal to history for precedent.

"As I have said, history furnishes no parallel. True, there are instances where, after a long and protracted resistance resulting in heavy loss to the assailing party, the garrison has been put to the sword, but I know of no such instance that did not bring dishonor upon the commander that ordered or suffered it.

"You will seek in vain for consultation in history, pursue the inquiry as far as you may. Your desire to shift the responsibility for the Fort Pillow Massacre, or to find excuses for it, is not strange. But the responsibility still remains where it belongs, and there it will remain."[6]

The report of the casualties of Fort Pillow is revealing. At the beginning of the battle there were 262 Negro soldiers in the garrison. The total number of men in the fort was 557. War Department records show that three-fourths of this total was wiped out. Of this number 238 were Negroes reported as "killed and missing." General Forrest's report listed 20 of his men killed and 60 wounded. He was unable to tell the number of Union losses but stated that "228 were buried on the evening of the battle," and "quite a number were buried the next day by a detail from the gunboat fleet." His report continues:

"We captured 164 Federals, 73 Negro troops, and about 40 Negro women and children." The arithmetic of these two reports shows slight discrepancies, but the fact that is most outstanding is that helpless and unarmed Negroes bore the brunt of the slaughter in numbers too sickening to remember.

We leave this bloody page of history without further comment, remembering only the final words of the historian as he ends the dreadful chapter:

"History records, and the record will remain as long as the English language endures, that at Fort Pillow General Forrest and General Chalmers violated the honor of a flag of truce, the laws of civilized warfare,—outraged every sentiment of humanity and dishonored the uniform of Lee and Jackson,

[6]Correspondence between General Lee and General Washburn: *Records of the Rebellion*, vol. x, pp. 721-730.

Conclusion:

Reflections and Recommendations from the Principal Investigator; Unpacking Woodson's Personality Traits and Character

According to the "Scope of Work" for the *Carter G. Woodson Home Resource Study* (July 2, 2009), the objective of the HRS "is to synthesize cultural resource information from all cultural resource disciplines in a narrative designed to serve managers, planners, interpreters, cultural resource specialists, and the interested public as a reference for the history of the region and the resources within the park. The HRS supplies dates for resource management and interpretation, entailing both documentary research and field investigations to determine and describe the integrity, authenticity, associated values, and significance of resources." Among the various instructive elements that this HRS is required to contain include: "Identifications of continuing deficiencies in the inventory, study, evaluation, and treatment of the resources, and recommendations for correcting them" as well as "recommendations for further study." In the concluding chapter of her illuminating Historic Resource Study for the Mary McLeod Bethune Council House—*Mary McLeod Bethune and the National Council of Negro Women: Pursuing a True and Unfettered Democracy* (2003)—Elaine M. Smith observed: "Almost always, at the conclusion of a study of this nature the author sees research areas that remain unexplored either because they are beyond the scope of the study or because of time constraints for the work. . . . Hopefully this Historic Resource Study will be suggestive of other research topics." Using Smith's insightful observations as a point of departure and fulfilling to the requirements of this Historic Resource Study as articulated in the previously mentioned "Scope of Work," this conclusion is sub-divided into four brief major parts.

One, I reflect upon how doing this study enhanced my knowledge of Woodson and impacted me in other ways; I also address elements that I would have liked to have incorporated into this study if I had more time and, more importantly, if the research conditions were ideal. Two, I offer suggestions and recommendations for how the Carter G. Woodson national historic site could help visitors in my estimation best (1) understand Woodson's and the ASNLH's experiences and contributions during the period from 1922 until 1950, (2) appreciate the historical significance of Woodson's former "office home", and (3) decipher the pioneering movement to democratize and institutionalize black history, especially in Washington, D.C. Three, I offer a personality trait analysis of Woodson that I hope is useful for those who will provide the public with characterizations of the association founder's "intricate" and distinct disposition. Four, I critically reflect on dimensions of Woodson's most enduring legacy in popular culture, focusing on Black History Month, a byproduct of Negro History Week.

Provocative Research Topics and Ideal Research Scenarios

Since completing a Ph.D. dissertation on Woodson, Lorenzo J. Greene, and the early black history movement in 1999, I have published numerous articles, several book chapters,

and one book that focuses on aspects of Woodson's life, thought, and legacy. Nonetheless, for me *"Willing to Sacrifice"* represents and ultimately embodies the culmination of more than ten years of exploring and reconsidering the ideas and contributions of the "father of black history." Simply put, this is the type of biographical study that I have wanted to write for some time. In the process of conducting research for and writing this Historic Resource Study, I have discovered many new dimensions of Woodson's life and philosophy, especially pertaining to the role of Woodson's "office home" locally, nationally, and across time periods and his everyday life in the nation's capital. While I was familiar with Woodson's role as a leading black public intellectual during the era of Jim Crow segregation—or the proto–civil rights movement—in the course of writing this study I located, for the first time, many important essays that Woodson wrote in leading black newspapers during the 1930s and 1940s, more than a few of which I have never seen analyzed and/or cited. I have read every issue of the *Journal of Negro History* from 1916 until 1950 and the *Negro History Bulletin* from 1937 until 1950. Nonetheless, with a new mission and focus I re-read these vital sources and to my pleasant surprise found information that was outside of the scope of my previous research agenda. I also delved more deeply into the circumstances and events surrounding Woodson's death and funeral, Woodson's religious beliefs, his life in Washington, D.C., and the functioning of the ASNLH. I learned a great deal about the Nineteenth Street Baptist Church, its Helping Hand Club, the ASNLH's activities and annual meetings, and black Washingtonians' unparalleled support of the association. Most importantly, I learned about the role of Woodson's "office home" from 1922 until 1950 and the history of 1538 Ninth Street, NW from Woodson's death in 1950 until the present. I came to appreciate the significance of the history of buildings and space.

Between January 2, 2009 and July 2010, I received insightful feedback from National Park Service historians, a group of scholars in the Association for the Study of African American history, and a public historian from the Organization of American historians. In July 2010, I also received a detailed reader's report for the 90 percent draft of my study composed by a scholar familiar with Woodson and twentieth-century African American history and culture. I formally responded to this meticulous review in July 2010. If I had received this review in February 2010, I would have addressed some of the issues that the reviewer suggested that I explore, such as the evolution of Woodson's politics within the context of African American political thought; the history of African American historical organizations that existed before the ASNLH; Woodson's place within what scholars have in the new millennium dubbed "the long civil rights movement"; the relationship between the ASNLH and other African American self-help organizations during the first half of the twentieth century; and Woodson's and the association's influence on the Harlem Renaissance. At the same time, I do not believe that the revisions that the outside reviewer called for were necessary for the purposes of this study as clearly outlined by the "Scope of Work" (July 2008). Overall, the outside review that I received in July 2010 reads more like a reader's report for a book manuscript submitted to a university press than a review for the Historic Resource Study that I was hired to write with specific guidelines. Familiar with Woodson's life, work, and thought, the reviewer posits that a study dealing with Woodson has the potential to explore more than a dozen intriguing themes in black history. The themes that the reviewer pinpoints, while thought provoking, are not the same themes that were highlighted as being central for this particular Historic Resource Study in the "Scope

of Work" (July 2008). As the principal investigator for this study, I was given clear research guidelines. The purpose of this study is concrete and pragmatic.

While I was first intrigued with and inspired by Woodson after reading Earl E. Thorpe's pioneering *Black Historians* and Woodson's enduring classic *The Mis-Education of the Negro,* during my undergraduate years, in the course of writing this study my respect and admiration for the man who regularly worked eighteen hours per day engaged in the "life-and-death" struggle for "Negro history" grew even deeper. I tried to keep up with his herculean work ethic as I invested twelve to fifteen hours per day into this study for a sustained period of time. I felt obligated to give Woodson his due "props." In *What is History?* (1963), the seasoned historian Edward Hallet Carr posited that imagination constituted an important interpretive tool for professionally trained historians striving to make sense of the past. I have often imagined what it would have been like to have worked with Woodson and for the association during its first thirty-five years. If I was transported back into time, I like to think that I could have met Woodson's standards of commitment to black history. Though inevitably a byproduct of his times, Woodson was in many ways extraordinary, even when juxtaposed to his contemporaries. I hope that the refurbished Carter G. Woodson Home can fuel its visitors' imaginations, transporting them back in time to the pivotal days of the early black history movement. Since completing the major research for this study, I have had the time to casually yet carefully reflect on dimensions that I would have liked to have incorporated, most of which were not actually possible because of the time constraints and the unavailability of accessible sources and information. These include:

- Interviews with Woodson's relatives, those who worked closely with him during the early black history movement, black Washingtonians who heard speeches by Woodson as children in many of the local elementary and high schools, and contemporary ASALH members who were influenced by Woodson's mission, and those involved in working to restore Woodson's home since the early 1970s
- Annotations of the essays and columns that he wrote in the New York *Age*, the *Chicago Defender,* the *Pittsburgh Courier,* the *New York Amsterdam News,* the *Afro-American* (Baltimore), and other newspapers
- More photos of Woodson and his home during the period of primary significance, 1922–1950
- Comparisons of the daily operations of the ASNLH and other similar intellectual and scholarly organizations
- Copies of letters that Woodson sent to those who wrote to the Association's headquarters—he was very good at responding to people's inquiries and letters
- Assessing the impact of the Negro History Week celebrations of Woodson's times on African American youth (especially in psychological terms)
- More actual descriptions of how he used the various rooms in his "office home" from his own accounts as well as those of others
- More information on those who visited 1538 Ninth Street, NW
- Visits to the places where Woodson spent varying amounts of time throughout his life in the United States and abroad

- Detailed biographical sketches of Woodson's active ASNLH co-workers, especially those who lived in Washington, D.C.
- A comprehensive analysis of the Association's (highlighting its "national office's") relationship to Howard University and its faculty
- Phone records for 1538 Ninth Street, NW
- Names of the secretaries and stenographers who worked at the ASNLH's headquarters from 1922 until 1950
- Create a master list of ASNLH members from 1915 until 1950, noting the change over time
- Index of letters received at 1538 Ninth Street, NW (Woodson received numerous letters—often reprinted in the *Negro History Bulletin*—from teachers, children, and others mainly requesting materials and testifying about the usefulness of Negro History Week)
- Comprehensive list of the all of the ASNLH branches throughout the nation from 1922 until 1950
- Correspondences between the "national office" and ASNLH branches throughout the country
- A list of all the donors to the Association
- A list of all the Associated Publishers' publications in the press's office in the Woodson Home

Recommendations for Interpreting Woodson

In the remainder of this section, I suggest general recommendations for educating the public about the historical significance of the Carter G. Woodson Home. Since I am not familiar with the National Park Service's general management plan policies for providing clear directions for research preservation and visitor use at the Carter G. Woodson Home, I humbly offer my suggestions and observations. They are listed in no particular order.

1. Since there are many misinterpretations and legends about Woodson's life, the primary principle that should govern the interpretation of the Carter G. Woodson Home should be factual accuracy (Woodson often stated that the historical "facts" speak for themselves)
2. Produce a brief booklet on Woodson's life, work, and contributions and the history of the home that could be produced and sold to visitors
3. Reproduce Negro History Week circulars and pamphlets that Woodson routinely distributed, often for free, from the ASNLH's "national office"
4. Feature an exhibit in the home, that can be modified over time, with images and descriptions of Woodson working with school children and the youth since they were the primary recipients of much of his work
5. Provide an exhibit that highlights Woodsons' relationship with white Americans, since whites were active in the ASNLH, published in the *JNH* and were influenced

by Negro History Week and since Woodson had an intriguing relationship with white philanthropists

6. While Woodson sacrificed more than any individual for the cause of black history, other members of the ASNLH and the struggle for the legitimization of black history—his numerous co-workers, many of whom were based in the nation's capital—should be emphasized as well
7. Highlight the role of black women in the ASNLH, especially schoolteachers and reformers
8. Demonstrate the connections between Woodson and Mary McLeod Bethune, the president of the ASNLH from 1936 until 1952; Nannie Helen Burroughs, the founder of the National Training School for Women and Girls; and members of Shiloh Baptist Church, Nineteenth Street Baptist Church, and its Helping Hand Club—especially Ella Bannister
9. Install several computers with internet access that have links to the *Journal of Negro History* and the *Negro History Bulletin*
10. Reproduce a large map, as well as hand-outs, that detail Woodson's walking routes from his "office home" to the Phillis Wheatley YWCA, the post office, the Library of Congress, Union Station, Nineteenth Street Baptist Church, and other locations that he frequented
11. Develop active-learning, hands-on learning activities and perhaps educational games that deal with Woodson and the ASNLH's efforts
12. Showcase the significance of the Negro History Week celebrations of Woodson's times (reproducing the various advertisements for free resources and Woodson's routine "Suggestions for Negro History Week" from the *Negro History Bulletin*) and the event's relationship to the modern manifestations of modern Black History Month celebrations
13. Reproduce a large poster of Willie Leanna Miles' floor plan for the Woodson Home accompanied by the descriptions of the "national office" offered by W. Montague Cobb, Lorenzo J. Greene, L. D. Reddick, and others
14. Display for visitors the expenditures and profits made by the ASNLH from 1915 until 1950
15. Help initiate the completion of Woodson's *Encyclopedia Africana* as well as the reissuing of many of his classics such as *The Negro in Our History* and *Negro Makers of History*
16. Glean from the few existing photographs revealing the inside of Woodson's "office home" how he organized books, journals, manuscripts, documents, and other materials
17. Reproduce existing photos of Woodson, especially the more obscure images in the *Negro History Bulletin,* the *Pittsburgh Courier,* and the *New York Amsterdam News*
18. Advertise a call within Washington, D.C., to those who attended the local schools during Woodson's times, especially during the 1940s, who may have heard Woodson speak

19. Store some of Woodson's paper collections in 1538 Ninth Street, NW as it is the case with the Bethune Home and the papers of the NCNW and purchase copies of all of the Associated Publisher's books to display in the home
20. Acquaint the public with the realities faced by African Americans during the vast era of Jim Crow segregation (namely the period from 1922 until 1950), especially in the Washington, D.C., area; special attention should be paid to the 1920s, cultural renaissances, the Great Depression, and World War II

Deconstructing Woodson's "Intricate" Identity, Character, and Personality

i.den.ti.ty >n. the fact of being who or what a person or thing is . . . the characteristics determining this.

cha.rac.ter >n. the mental and moral qualities distinctive to an individual . . . the quality of being individual, typically in an interesting or unusual way, strength and originality in a person's nature.

per.son.al.i.ty >n. the combination of characteristics or qualities that form an individual's distinctive character . . . qualities that make someone interesting or popular.

hag.i.og.ra.phy >n. biography of a saint, biography revering its subject.

Deciphering historical figures' identities, characters, and personalities can be a challenging endeavor, especially if the particular individual did not leave behind records or was not widely and objectively written about by those who interacted with or intimately knew him or her. In the case of Woodson, we do not face the intellectual dilemmas that we would if we attempted to, for example, reconstruct the personality of his antebellum era predecessor William Cooper Nell (1816–1874). Woodson wrote a lot, more often than not speaking his mind. Borrowing from hip-hop vernacular, he epitomized the "keepin' it real" mantra. He spoke "truth to power." Equally important, more than a few of his co-workers who knew him intimately reflected on who he was or who they perceived him to be based upon what they witnessed. This is clear based upon the numerous recollections in Chapter 4. Collectively, the recollections in Chapter 4 help us reconstruct Woodson's "intricate" personality. Even though most of the descriptions that we have of Woodson's character were in the form of tributes, Lorenzo J. Greene's musings were as candid as they could be and were in part validated by those who knew Woodson, including a close cousin of Woodson's. There is enough data to reconstruct the basic features of Woodson's character. Vacillating between Type A and Type B personalities, Woodson was complex and simple.

If we were forced to characterize Woodson based on photos, we would perhaps tend to conclude that he was stern. At the same time, there are a few photos of the ASNLH founder smiling and surrounded by children—the beneficiaries of much of his work. Described as being physically fit by several of his co-workers, we only have a few physical descriptions of Woodson. Lorenzo J. Greene recalled: "he was robust, healthy-looking, light-brown in color, of somewhat more than average height, with thin tightly-pursed lips." W. Montague Cobb recollected: "His erect carriage, broad shoulders and sturdy chest, developed during his days in the coalmines of West Virginia, indicated the rugged strength that carried him through

his long career." In 1991 Willie Leanna Miles, who worked in the ASNLH's "national office" from 1943 until 1950, provided another revealing physical description of "the father of black history." Miles recounted: "Dr. Woodson had penetrating eyes, thin lips, and a very rigid posture. He was light-skinned, stood about 5 feet eight inches tall, wore a size 10 shoe, size 15 ½ x 24 shirt and weighed about 175 pounds. Bear in mind, Dr. Woodson was in his 68th year when I met him."

In 1921 the Swiss psychiatrist and founder of analytical psychology Carl Jung published his classic *Psychological Types* in which he explored, among other elements, the concept of personality types, referring to the psychological classifications of different types of individuals. At one point, Jung identified eight personality types. Major theories pertaining to personality types—including the Enneagram of Personality, the Four Tempermants, Humorism, the Keirsey Tempermant Theory, Type A and Type B Personality Theory, and the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator—were inspired by Jung's ideas. Psychologists who ascribed to these theories would have certainly come up with a host of interesting conclusions regarding Woodson's personality. In the twenty-first century, a significant group of psychologists have critiqued these limiting personality type theories, instead offering other models that focus on more diversely conceptualized and fluid personality traits. Among those popular models is the Big Five Personality Traits (Openness, Conscientiousness, Extraversion, Agreeableness, and Neuroticism). These traits could perhaps serve as useful points of departure to analyze Woodson. In describing Woodson's personality, I define personality traits as follows: people's behavioral tendencies or distinguishing qualities or characteristics, typically those belonging to a person. "In other words, this means that personality traits are the distinguishing characteristics that make you 'you.' Personality traits are the unique set of characteristics and qualities that only you possess. While a lot of people might have similar personality traits, each person combines these traits in a different way, to create one unique, irreplaceable conglomeration of traits that make up their individual personality." (For a discussion of see personality traits that I have cited from here, see "Definition of Personality Traits," http://www.yourdictionary.com/library/reference/define-personality-traits.html).

While I do not pretend to be well versed in psychology or personality trait theory, in what follows I summarize and highlight key aspects of Woodson's personality traits with a list of adjectives and descriptors (with brief descriptions in bullet form) that can help NPS managers, interpreters, and guides speak about Woodson to visitors. This is meant to serve as a quick reference guide for describing Woodson's personality.

Carter G. Woodson was_____.

- ***Afrocentric***—He placed Africa at the center of many of his analyses of world history. Not only did he visit Africa but he also wrote a collection of books and numerous book reviews and essays on African history and culture, especially for children. Woodson highlighted the Africanness and blackness of ancient Egypt and Africa; celebrated the cultural artifacts and civilizations of Ghana, Songhai, Mali, Dahomey, and Timbuktu; and declared that Ra Nehesi and Nefertari were "full blooded Negroes" and that Ethiopia was "a highly civilized Negro land." During the Harlem Renaissance, Woodson declared: "In Egypt, among Negroid people, who in this country would be hissed and jeered as blacks, it reached a

greater height than the culture of the world had experienced prior to the development of the Greek civilization. At no time did the Negroes fail to figure conspicuously in the civilization of Egypt. In 1921 Woodson also declared that scholars had not yet engaged in "intensive" studies "of the institutions of the peoples of the interior of Africa." In defending black America's African origins, much unlike Du Bois, Woodson belittled white America's European background and claimed that blacks were superior. "The earliest and lowest population of Europe were an extremely long-headed type of the stone age," Woodson noted, and "after the partial occupation of Western Europe by a dolichocephalic Africanoid type in the stone age, an invasion by a broad-headed race from Asia followed." He declared that Europeans descended from peoples of an "undeveloped state." Woodson's rhetoric is similar to the blatant critiques of European culture and intellectual though offered by outspoken modern Afrocentric, Nile Valley thinkers such as Cheikh Anta Diop, C. Tsehloane Keto, Maulana Karenga, Leonard Jeffries Jr., Marimba Ani, and Molefi Kete Asante,.

- ***ambitious***—Woodson set very high expectations for what he and the ASNLH could accomplish. Woodson possessed a strong desire and determination to succeed in legitimizing and popularizing black history. He was especially ambitious when it came to fundraising efforts. In 1934 he even requested $2 million from the Rockefeller's General Education Board to build what he called an Institute of Black Culture.
- ***an organizer (a leader)***—As the founder, director, and leader of the ASNLH and its various activities, Woodson mobilized teachers, scholars, social activists, and others into a structured movement. He coordinated the activities of the association efficiently. Followed by many, he was the principal player in the early black history movement.
- ***at times hard to get along with***—Though many of his co-workers were committed to him and his cause, he had his fair share of conflicts with his closest co-workers, including Lorenzo Johnston Greene, Charles Wesley, Rayford W. Logan, and a few others. He had especially enduring conflicts with Logan, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Benjamin Brawley. Though deemed mean-spirited by more than a few people, Woodson wanted to control how the early black history movement was carried out because he saw his mission as being imperative.
- ***"cantankerous"***—a term that has been used to describe Woodson on more than a few occasions. Indeed, Woodson probably was grouchy, as revealed by the photos that we have of him with a stoic expression on his face. There are only several existing images of Woodson smiling. His cantankerousness can be best explained by the hard life that he lived and the sacrifices that he made on a daily basis.
- ***committed***—From the founding of the ASNLH in 1915 until his death, Woodson expressed complete dedication and loyalty to the study and popularization of black history. Thus he is the sole holder of the title, "the father of black history." Woodson was recognized for his commitment to black history

during his lifetime, for during the 1940s several people called him "the father of Negro history."[1]

- ***driven***—He was driven by the desire to popularize and legitimize black history. He routinely referred to the early black history movement as a "life-and-death struggle." His drive was remarkable. He worked incessantly. His drive was contagious.
- ***family-oriented***—Woodson never married (he was married to his work), yet he was close to his relatives. He took care of several relatives during his life, left them some money in his will, owned a home in Huntington, West Virginia, that was used by his family, and visited his parents, especially his mother, until they died. Not only did he support his family who were struggling but he also regularly visited his family during the holidays. The fact that he lived in the ASNLH's headquarters and always had people in his home demonstrates that he viewed his home as being functional. His extended family was certainly the ASNLH membership and especially those on the executive council, his "boys," his neighbors, and his church brethren and sisters.
- ***focused***—He was focused on black history—morning, noon, and night. Black history was the center of his interest, activities, and life.
- ***forward-thinking***—He was always thinking about the future. He perceived his actions as being directly linked to the future, believing that his efforts were laying the foundation for the future development of the study and popularization of black history. For instance, he said that he wanted Negro History Week to develop into Negro History Year and looked forward to the day when black history would no longer need to be taught as a separate entity because it would be integrated into the American educational institutions.
- ***frugal***—Woodson was sparing and economical with regard to money. He did not waste money, as he indicated when he explained why he never married. He spent little money on himself (except when vacationing in places such as Paris, France), instead investing everything into the ASNLH and the early black history movement. Unlike many of today's black public intellectuals, Woodson did not reap profits from black history. He did most of the maintenance to his home by himself and paid his employees in cash and many of the secretaries complained about the wages they received. Nevertheless, it must have been adequate since they decided to continue to work with him under such conditions.
- ***grassroots-oriented***—Though by educational and socio-economic terms, Woodson was not part of the black masses (after graduating from Berea College and later earning advanced degrees), he hailed from a poor background and was committed to uplifting the black masses. He routinely spoke out for the rights

1 After Woodson died, in 1950 L. D. Reddick referred to Woodson as "the Father of Negro History" in an essay, "Twenty-Five Negro History Weeks," *NHB,* 13 (May 1950), 178. During the 1950s and 1960s, Woodson was routinely called "the Father of Negro History." By the black power era, Woodson was referred to as "the father of black history." Now, Woodson is universally given that label. The first references to Woodson as "the father of Negro history" were in the 1940s. See, for example, Mavis Mixon, "The Development of the Study of Negro History in Chicago," *Chicago Defender,* Feb. 7, 1942, p. 15; a letter from the Chicagoan Madeline R. Morgan in "Negro History Week," *Negro History Bulletin,* (March 1945), 142.

of his oppressed people and spoke to large audiences for very little pay. In "The Educated Negro Leaves the Masses," Woodson chastised black leaders who were not grassroots in orientation. He embraced this philosophy throughout his life.

- ***generous (especially to children)***—He may have guarded his time "like a soldier," but he often shared his expertise with, and mentored, numerous younger scholars. A professionally trained historian who could have devoted his energies to scientific historical scholarship, Woodson instead devoted a great deal of time to producing juvenile literature. He also routinely spoke at elementary and high schools and enlisted his ASNLH co-workers to do the same. He also ultimately created Negro History Week for children. Despite Woodson's seemingly permanent frown, many who knew him said that there was a soft spot for children in his heart. According to the *Washington Afro-American,* "Dr. Woodson was never happier than when surrounded by children who idolized him." Lorenzo J. Greene similarly observed: "Dr. Woodson loved children, I have seen him talk to elementary pupils and regale them with some of the beautiful and interesting African myths which he had collected and published. . . . Their little faces would light up with joy, and their evident happiness affected Dr. Woodson. As he talked to them, it seemed that the years fell away from him. His countenance lighted up; the scowl disappeared, his face broke into smiles and often he laughed heartily. . . . As I watched, my heart went out for him, for I believed that Woodson saw in these children the offspring which, he so longed for but had denied himself because of his selfless dedication to the work of the Association." The children who lived near Woodson's "office home" certainly welcomed him. He shared historical stories and African folktales with them and he "enjoyed taking little treats of candy to the neighborhood children around 9th Street, or buying them ice cream." Woodson also corresponded with children and their letters were often shared with the recipients' entire class.
- ***hard-working***—All of Woodson's close co-workers commented on Woodson's herculean work-ethic. It was widely known that he regularly worked eighteen hours per day. Charles Wesley commented that Woodson had a "Spartan-like existence." After his death, members of the executive council unanimously agreed that he did the work of four or more men. As underscored in a biographical sketch in the *Negro History Bulletin,* "The most remarkable feature of the Association is that it was pretty much of a 'one man job.'" He was indeed worldly wise. He was prepared for life's difficulties and not easily shocked or deceived. His work ethic certainly stemmed back to his early years. Through his early twenties, Woodson earned a living as a manual laborer. This labor was certainly demanding.
- ***humorous***—Woodson possessed a sarcastic, clever, and interesting sense of humor. One of his co-workers said that he had a "delightful and sardonic" sense of humor and another said that he could tell jokes "like a chain smoker." More than a few of his co-workers recalled his wittiness. When reading *The Mis-Education* and many of Woodson's newspaper essays and columns, it is hard not to smile or laugh. Woodson's persona and image is so serious that when he joked, it was probably surprising. For instance, after being robbed at gunpoint by "two colored thugs" in 1933, Woodson said: "This was the first time in my life that I have had any one to

pay me the compliment of having money. . . . The experience, too, was very illuminating; and if you have never had it you have something to look forward to."

- ***humble***—Woodson was modest in his accomplishments. He never wrote an autobiography, did not urge his understudies to do so, and, in fact, strongly discouraged his "boys" from publishing assessments of his accomplishments while he was still living. While black newspapers praised the work of Woodson, sessions at the ASNLH annual meetings were not devoted to the accomplishments of their founder. While he ran the ASNLH in the manner that he wanted, he delegated responsibility to those who were "willing to sacrifice." Woodson also credited those who contributed to the study and popularization of black history with various awards that were given out annually.
- ***iconoclastic***—Woodson was an iconoclast, one who directly challenged conventionally cherished beliefs, institutions, and ideas. This is perhaps best epitomized in *The Mis-Education of the Negro* (1933), an all out indictment of "highly-educated Negroes."
- ***independent***—According to Woodson's biographers, Woodson was fiercely independent when it came to running the association. While he had many co-workers and delegated responsibilities to them, he often acted free from outside control, not depending on another's authority. In 1916, for instance, he launched the first volume of the *Journal of Negro History* without the consent of the executive council. It was his independent spirit that in part influenced him to sever ties from white philanthropists (who funded the ASNLH's activities) during the early 1930s. In terms of his thought, he was not influenced by his contemporaries and he did not rely on other historians' ideas in framing his historical interpretations. He also encouraged independent thought in others. In terms of politics, he was as independent, critiquing both of the major political parties. While the books published for the Associated Publishers and the *JNH* and the *NHB* were printed outside of the "national office," Woodson did not pay printers to produce duplicate letters. The staff typed these letters out, as Willie Leanna Miles recalled.
- ***inspirational***—In his own way, Woodson had the ability to animate and urge others to join the early black history movement and make black history an important component in their lives and the lives of others. Woodson's role as an inspirer to his "boys" was captured by Alrutheus A. Taylor in his 1950 *Negro History Bulletin* essay, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson, Inspirer and Benefactor of Young Scholars." In 1949 a black high school teacher, Carrie E. Johnson, wrote to Woodson: "Must say that your work has been my greatest inspiration in making me want to devote all of my time to the study of my race."
- ***outspoken***—This epitomizes Woodson's thought, for he was frank—at times perhaps too much so for many—in declaring his controversial and critical opinions. His outspokenness often got him into some trouble. At the same time, Woodson also controlled his outspokenness in the early years of the ASNLH, as demonstrated by his decision not to publish "The Case of the Negro" (1921). By the 1930s, Woodson did not hold his tongue in *The Mis-Education of the Negro* and

numerous essays and columns in the *New York Age,* the *Pittsburgh Courier,* the *New York Amsterdam News,* and the *Afro-American* (Baltimore and Washington, D.C.).

- ***passionate***—Woodson was passionate about black history, driven by the fear that if he did not do his work that black history would become "a negligible factor in the thought of the world." This feeling that he had toward black history was caused by a strong and intense set of feelings that most during and after his times could not relate to.
- ***physically fit***—According to Lorenzo Johnston Greene, Woodson was a "staunch advocate of physical fitness." He routinely walked around Washington, D.C., and must have been in good physical shape to work in the way that he did. According to a biographical sketch in the *Negro History Bulletin*, "on reaching fifty-five he gave up tennis in favor of walking." Rayford W. Logan noted in 1950: "His robust health and almost Spartan-like life enabled him to continue teaching and writing." Woodson viewed health as being an important issue for the black community. For instance, in 1949, he noted: "we ought to work for better health, even if it takes a National Negro Health Week to help us achieve it."
- ***pioneering***—Dubbed "the father of black history," Woodson was a scholarly pioneer, among the first to research and develop a new area of knowledge, reform movement, and intellectual activity.
- ***practical/pragmatic***—One of Woodson's favorite black leaders was Booker T. Washington. Though Woodson obviously embraced "higher education," he was also very practical. He wanted to use history, a traditional discipline in U.S. higher academia, to uplift the masses of blacks, especially the youth. The vast majority of Woodson's publications were targeted toward the masses and black youth and he created a host of practical programs to popularize, institutionalize, and legitimize black history—namely the annual meetings, the *Negro History Bulletin*, Negro History Week, ASNLH branches, and the association's Extension Division and Home Study Department.
- ***progressive***—While influenced by "old school" southern ways, Woodson was committed to implementing social change and reform and new ideas. His gender politics for the era of Jim Crow segregation were especially progressive, as demonstrated by the central role of the women in the ASNLH's daily operations.
- ***prolific***—Between 1915 and the late 1940s, Woodson wrote and published large quantities of scholarship: more than twenty books, a collection of historically scientific journal articles, and countless book reviews and newspaper essays and columns.
- ***radical***—In 1915 Woodson dubbed himself a "radical." Not only did he interact with many black radicals and sympathize with black socialists and communists but many of his ideas, actions, rhetoric, style, or approaches were radical in nature (that is, nontraditional and nonconventional, extreme, challenging to the mainstream, counter-normative, sweeping, and/or threatening to white American political, economic, and cultural systems). Woodson often challenged the conventional racism and Eurocentrism of the U.S. academy, popular culture, and historical profession, called for drastic changes and reforms in the social order of American

society, chastised white America for its collective mistreatment of blacks, and critiqued the normative and widespread worldviews of black middle-class and elite leadership. The tone of Woodson's observations and rhetoric were often bold, iconoclastic, and unapologetic.

- ***respectable***—Though working-class to the core, Woodson embraced notions of Progressive Era black reformers notions of respectability. Like his professional black counterparts, Woodson believed that it was very important that African Americans present themselves in upstanding manners within white America and within their own communities. He wanted blacks to be regarded by the broader society as being proper. He was respectable in his appearance, clothing, and behavior, despite the fact that he challenged many in direct, uncompromising manners.
- ***rigorous***—In terms of his scholarship, Woodson was extremely thorough, exhaustive, and accurate, and he adhered to a strict format and set of beliefs and standards. His scholarship was for the most part free from errors and in a pretechnological era it is amazing to see how error-free the *Journal of Negro History* was between 1916 until 1950.
- ***serious***—Woodson was very thoughtful—at times solemn. Although he joked with his co-workers often with sarcastic humor, in public he spoke sincerely and in earnest. His seriousness carried over to his strictness. Many of his employees testified that he ran the association offices in a very organized fashion and that he had little patience with incompetence. He did not play games, he was "no-nonsense."
- ***shaped by racism***—Woodson ran the ASNLH from 1915 until 1950, during the era of Jim Crow segregation and widespread antiblack thought and behavior. He was a product of this time; his personality traits were significantly influenced by the particular period in which he existed.
- ***stubborn***—When he made decisions, Woodson was committed to them. He was not likely to bend his opinion when his mind was set. This is demonstrated with the conflicts that he had with Du Bois, the Phelps Stokes Fund, and the *Encyclopedia Africana*. Woodson possessed a sense of dogged determination not to change his attitude or position on issues of importance to him.
- ***traveled***—Woodson was experienced in traveling throughout the United States and the world. Not only did annual ASNLH meetings and lectures take Woodson throughout the United States but he also visited the Philippines, Asia, Europe, and Africa. Charles H. Thompson once met him in Paris, France and was impressed with his knowledge of French culture.
- ***unselfish***—Woodson often demanded that the "Talented Tenth" be more unselfish. As Woodson demonstrated throughout his life, he was willing to put the needs and wishes of others before their own. He respected and often celebrated the achievements and contributions of his co-workers, especially black female schoolteachers.
- ***well-read***—The second African American to earn a Ph.D. in history (at Harvard University in 1912), Woodson was very intelligent. He read incessantly, as indicated

in the hundreds of book reviews that he authored and published in the *Journal of Negro History*. He also read books published throughout Europe. He possessed reading proficiency in more than a few romance languages.

- ***working-class***—Before becoming a professional teacher and professional historian, Woodson belonged to the large group of African Americans who were employed for (low) wages in manual, agricultural, and/or industrial work. The son of former slaves who worked as a sharecropper, manual laborer, garbage collector, and coal miner, Woodson maintained his working-class identity throughout his life. He routinely reminded people that he "could do anything" because he was once a coal miner. Mary McLeod Bethune noted: "He was a man of the soil. He grew to young manhood the hard self-taught way."

Critical Reflections on Woodson's Legacy in American Popular Culture

Woodson was unquestionably one of the most influential historian-educators that this nation has produced.

—L. D. Reddick, 1953

Inevitably, the active direction of our Association, which our leader has laid down, will pass to other hands—capable and sure because of his guidance. There will be other directors and other presidents. They will build on the foundation laid and mortared, stone by stone, with his selfless sacrifice and devotion, translated now into the timeless leadership of the truly great.

May God bless him and bless us, as we move forward and carry on.

—Mary McLeod Bethune, 1950

It would be impossible for any one to carry out the multitudinous tasks that Dr. Woodson had learned, through the years, to perform with efficiency and dispatch.

—Rayford W. Logan, 1950

The sustaining pride and self assurance that he has given us and that he has inoculated in our group as a result of his authentic research is a priceless legacy for all.

—The Residence of the Phyllis Wheatley Y.W.C.A,
901 Rhode Island Avenue, Washington, D.C., 1950

leg.a.cy >n. a thing handed down by a predecessor.
leg.end >n. an extremely famous or notorious person.

Today, in African American culture Carter G. Woodson is a legend whose legacies are numerous and obvious to those familiar with black history and the black historical enterprise: the Association for the Study of African American Life and History, the association's annual meetings, culture, and traditions, the *Journal of African American History*, Black History Month, the enduring and often cited ideas he put forward *The Mis-Education of the Negro* (1933), the *Negro History Bulletin,* Associated Publishers, Inc. (now The ASALH Press), and of course the Carter G. Woodson Home. Though many do not realize it, Woodson's name is also evoked on a daily basis today. His name is used in the titles of

awards, fellowships, foundations, libraries and archive collections, organizations, black history clubs, institutes, and especially in naming elementary, junior high, and high schools. In 1953 the association member and Shaw Junior High School teacher Albert N. D. Brooks predicted: "It is natural to expect that many schools having a majority of Negro pupils will take the name of Carter G. Woodson." Brooks proceeded to discuss the "first school named after this great benefactor of his race." On March 1, 1953, "in the auditorium of the shining new building in the Cherry Hill section of Baltimore, Maryland, Public School Number 160 was dedicated as the Carter Godwin Woodson School." Brooks praised this elementary school named after Woodson, declaring: "Readers of the BULLETIN might compare elementary schools in their areas with the Carter G. Woodson School in Baltimore, to see how their schools measure up to standards of adequacy. The Carter G. Woodson School has a principal and assistant principal to supervise the work of thirty-odd teachers. . . . Communities that do not provide schools like the Carter G. Woodson School will probably spend greater sums for hospitals, jails and relief."[2]

A year before Baltimore's Carter G. Woodson School was dedicated, educational reformers in Washington, D.C., initiated a Carter G. Woodson Memorial Fund in hopes of improving the educational opportunities for young Washingtonians attending high, vocational, junior high, and elementary public schools.[3] While Woodson was still living, at least one organization was named in his honor. In 1945, a group of young blacks in New York organized "the Carter G. Woodson Negro History Club." Under the guidance of the New York branch of the ASNLH, this organization sought to stimulate interest in black history among the youth, in hopes of instigating a "new program" that "would appeal to and interest a larger group." They held meetings monthly, raised money for the association, and Woodson addressed the group and a larger interracial audience on April 24, 1949.[4] Schoolteachers and schoolchildren celebrated Woodson during his lifetime. Woodson was, in many ways, a living legend. He frequently spoke at public African American elementary, junior high, and high schools throughout the District of Columbia. In the late 1920s, the *Washington Post* reported on speeches that Woodson delivered at Randall Junior High School, Shaw Junior High School, and Armstrong Technical School.[5] Beyond the Spingarn Medal that he received in 1926, Woodson was given many honors by the people who benefitted from his "mass education movement." For instance, in 1946 in Washington, D.C., the 1,080 students at Charles Young School, who were taught black history from Woodson's books, signed a scroll that they presented to Woodson pledging their committed to the association's cause. They then performed a one-act "play sketching Dr. Woodson's career." The event was "acclaimed by the local press," including the *Washington Post,* and was quite a celebration.[6] "The Parent-Teacher Association arranged a display of Dr. Woodson's books and of the two magazines he edits."[7] During Woodson's times, the *Negro History Bulletin*

2 Albert N.D. Brooks, "Carter Godwin Woodson School," *Negro History Bulletin,* 16 (June 1953), 215, 216.

3 "Carter G. Woodson Fund Report: Columbian Education Association Gives Help," *ibid*., 15 (Feb. 1952), 93, 103.

4 "The Carter G. Woodson History Club," *ibid*., 12 (June 1949), 201, 215.

5 See "Negro History Week To Begin Tomorrow," *Washington Post,* Feb. 7, 1926, p. R10; "Woodson Addresses Armstrong Students," *ibid*., Oct. 9, 1927, p. R10; "Negro Chance Seen By Tuskegee Head," *ibid*., Oct. 31, 1929, p.10

6 See, for instance, "Students Honor Carter Woodson," *Washington Post,* Feb. 16, 1946, p. 5.

7 "Negro History Week," *Negro History Bulletin,* 9 (March 1946), 134–36.

also reprinted countless letters from schoolteachers, children, and others that eloquently revealed how much Woodson was revered. One black schoolteacher from Chicago, Madeline R. Morgan (who was among the first to dub Woodson "the father of Negro history"), wrote to Woodson in 1945: "I just telephoned with a friend of mine, Grace Markwell, who is doing a most unusual and successful educational program in Negro achievements in her all-white community. I mentioned to her that if you should come to Chicago I wanted her to meet you. In the course of our conversation she mentioned that she might be too awed but I assured her that you were most affable and easy with whom to converse."[8]

After hearing him speak to a crowd of 2,000 in Chicago in 1940, a local attorney, Edward A. Simmons, wrote to Woodson:

> It was my never-to-be-forgotten privilege to hear you Sunday evening and to feel the pride of African ancestry well up within me like it never has been aroused before. My feelings seemed to have been typical of all within the hearing of your voice—that sincere voice of yours that at that time seemed to have been the agency of the Spirit.
>
> Sometime in the far distant future you will be justly recognized by posterity as the preserver of a great race—by preserving the record of the great deed of that race. Your fame is assured.[9]

Woodson was aware of his celebrity status in the black community and responded with humility. In 1938, Woodson shared the following with *NHB* readers:

> To the office of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History at 1538 Ninth Street, Northwest, Washington, D.C., have come suggestions for the celebration of Negro History Week beginning February 6, 1938. Some of the suggestions are mainly personal. One of the many coworkers desires to set aside a special day as Douglass Day. Another would do similar honor to Booker T. Washington, and still another would stretch the plan far enough to devote special attention to the Director of the Association. Neither the Association nor its Director believes that he has done anything to merit his being ranked with the great, and it would be a sad disappointment to the staff to have such exercises assume any such insane turn as to give special attention to one of its officers. The Association combats all efforts of this sort.[10]

At the same time, several years before he died, Woodson did use images of himself as an educational and promotional device for Negro History Week. By 1948 the association had more than 200 pictures (8 x 10 inches) of famous African Americans and important moments in black history that they sold for Negro History Week celebrations. Of the sixteen new pictures that they introduced in January 1948 was one described as follows: "Carter Godwin Woodson, founder of Negro History Week, conducts children through a special exhibit at the Peale Museum in Baltimore."[11]

After his death, Woodson would indeed be "ranked with the great." In recognition

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8 "Negro History Week," *ibid*., 8 (March 1945), 142.

9 "The Fifteenth Celebration of Negro History Week," *ibid*., 3 (March 1940), 88.

10 "Timely Suggestions for Negro History Week," *ibid*., 1 (Feb. 1938), 11.

11 "Negro History Week in Pictures," *ibid*., 11 (Jan. 1948), 85.

of Woodson's contributions and lasting ties to Huntington, West Virginia, in 1986 Mayor Robert Nelson created the Carter G. Woodson Foundation and in 1994 erected a life-size statue of Woodson on Hal Greer Boulevard in 1994. Following this, the foundation and the West Virginia Department of Culture and History placed a highway historical marker in honor of Woodson.[12] There is even a public housing apartment complex named in honor of Woodson in Huntington, West Virginia. The Carter G. Woodson Apartments (Project WV 4-12), located on Eighth Avenue and Hal Greer Boulevard, Huntington, has twenty three-bedroom units, and was built and leased in 1995.

Recently, the popularity of Woodson entered hip-hop culture in an interesting manner. In February 2008 Nike commemorated and capitalized on Woodson's contributions and *The Mis-Education of the Negro* by releasing at special events in New York and Los Angeles "Dr. Carter G. Woodson Black History Month Air Force Ones." An online shoe company called Nice Kicks asserted that "The shoes have such incredible details and touches that represent African American history and culture. The canvas panel was chosen and treated to represent mud cloth that is unique to each pair. The shoes also have special wooden laces debays engraved with BHM 08 as well as wooden lace tip. Inspirational words from Dr. Carter G. Woodson can be found on the insole and special packaging." Indeed, in the insole of these Black History Month Air Force Ones reads, in all capital letters, a citation from *The Mis-Education of the Negro*: "The easiest way to control a people is to deny them a history. Another is to falsify history that demeans one's past. Therefore minimizing present achievement." On the inside of the box, there is a brief tribute to Woodson. Though not made available to the public at large, these kicks were reviewed well by many in the hip-hop generation.[13] The appearance of custom-made Air Force Ones named after Woodson and ritualistic references to him during Black History Month celebrations should not be confused with black or white America's knowledge of "the father of black history." Black historical figures such as Martin Luther King Jr., Rosa Parks, and Harriet Tubman are still much more widely known by American youth and popular culture.

Today, we could benefit from revisiting how Woodson implemented the Negro History Weeks of his times, celebrations that were much more practical and effective than the Black History Months of more recent times. Reembracing aspects of the Woodsonian vision, we could more effectively transform black history into something practical, accessible, and truly interesting and valuable to the masses of black people, especially to the black youth and hip-hop generation, and U.S. culture in general. We could achieve great things by meshing Woodson's vision with our current knowledge and advanced state of technology. During the last decade or so, Black History Month (February), very much like Kwanzaa (December 26 through January 1) and Martin Luther King Jr. Day (the third Monday of January), has become commercialized and in many ways coopted by the materialistic and capitalistic ethos of American culture. In many regards our annual Black History Month celebrations have been transformed into something that Woodson was vehemently opposed to during his times. Routinely in the pages of the *Negro History Bulletin,* Woodson chastised those who sought to exploit Negro History Week. In the first volume of the *Bulletin,* he jestingly

12 Ancella R. Bickley, "Carter G. Woodson: The West Virginia Collection," *Appalachian Heritage,* 36 (Summer 2008), available at http://muse.jhu.edu.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/journals/appalachian_heritage/v036/36.3.bickley.html.

13 See http://www.images.nicekicks.com/images/black-history-month-air-force-ones-dr-woodson-3.jpg.

proclaimed:

> This [Negro History Week] cannot be done in the usual style of having a few speeches or essays centered around a great character, or by having a big dinner at which some spell-binder will set forth the virtues of the great, but before he begins to speak the convivial group has become so surfeited with food and drink that neither he nor his hearers know what he has said. Many of our Lincoln-Douglass celebrations are a disgrace to communities in which they are held. Celebrations of this type have become too frequent, and great men thus supposedly honored would rise in condemnation of such conviviality, if they could look down over the battlements form above and observe such performances.[14]

What Woodson described more than seventy years ago could be applicable to many of the Black History Month celebrations of the twenty-first century. Since 1976, every February millions of Americans have routinely celebrated what we now call Black History Month. During America's bicentennial celebration in 1976, the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History (now the Association for the Study of African American Life and History or the ASALH) expanded Woodson's annual week-long celebration to incorporate the entire month of February. The U.S. government supported Black History Month in the form of annual presidential proclamations and the celebration caught on and continued to grow. The exact point at which Black History Month became linked with American capitalism and commercial life is unknown, but is was an inevitable transition. Profit seekers exploited the Negro History Weeks of Woodson's era and during the immediate post–black power era many U.S. corporations capitalized on Black History Month and the vestiges of black cultural pride leftover from the black power era.

During the 1990s, black historians and scholars voiced some of their concerns about the commercialization of Black History Month in a manner similar to how Woodson lamented the exploitation of Negro History Week. In a mild critique of how Black History Month was losing its Woodsonian flavor, in a 1995 issue of *Ebony* John Hope Franklin, Robert L. Harris Jr., Bettye J. Gardner, and Darlene Clark Hine declared that studying and celebrating black history needed to be spread throughout the year and not simply relegated to February.[15] In 1997 the *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* (*JBHE*)_initiated a scholarly forum on the meaning and usefulness of Black History Month. They asked a "group of distinguished African-American historians" whether Black History Month was still needed. The *JBHE* was openly opposed to Black History Month not because they were conservatives but because they believed that it had been "usurped by large corporations" and greedy book publishers.[16] They argued that Black History Month aided and abetted the marginalization of blacks' monumental contributions to U.S. history and should be substituted with the true integration of black history into the overall American experience. John Hope Franklin chastised marketers and lecturers for capitalizing on the celebration: "The commercialization of the 'month' provides the hucksters with a longer period in which to sell their trinkets and souvenirs, corporations a greater opportunity to display their special

14 "Timely Suggestions for Negro History Week," *NHB* 1 (February 1938): 11.

15 "How to Celebrate Black History Month 12 Months of the Year," *Ebony,* 50 (Feb. 1995), 62–66.

16 "Black History Month: Education or Tokenism?," *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education,* (no. 3, spring 1994), 30–31; "Black History Month: Serious Truth Telling or a Triumph in Tokenism?," *ibid*., (no. 18, Winter 1997–1998), 87.

brand of 'civic awareness,' and lecturers the golden chance to show off their knowledge of black history."[17] At the same time, Franklin still perceived some value in the celebration's educational underpinnings. Harold Cruse attested that the Negro History Weeks of Woodson's times profoundly impacted him, but he openly critiqued contemporary black historians for offering "very little, if anything, in the way of new interpretations of the 'celebratory' factor already known at the black high school or college level." Cruse challenged black historians to innovate new ways of conceptualizing Black History Month to suit the times: "The bulk of the new bunch of black historians has little to say that is really new, inventive, or revealing." [18]

During the black power era, Robert Bonner shared with *Negro History Bulletin* readers an insightful poem on Negro History Week, "Requiem for Negro History Week":

> Without a cry
> Without a prayer
> in despair were some people
> brought to this nation—
>
> Betrayed by their own
> Were they sold to for gratitude's
> or esthetic values—
>
> Over one hundred years did
> they contribute to a nation
> That took no notice of their wares.
>
> With no betrayal of despair
> another history will commence.
>
> With a cry
> With a prayer
> They enter their plea—
> Not for a special time of
> exhibition, but that
> their contributions be incorporated
> into this nation's history.[19]

Ten years ago, the activist-columnist Earl Ofari Hutchinson echoed Bonner, offering a refreshing interpretation of the meaning of Black History Month that synthesized many of the critical aforementioned opinions and that is equally applicable to the new millennium. "Seventy-four years ago, pioneer black historian Carter G. Woodson initiated what Woodson called Negro History Week. He wanted to rescue black people's accomplishments from the netherworld of American history and make them a source of pride for blacks and all Americans," Hutchinson declared, "Today Black History Month is an established tradition. Politicians designate special days, issue proclamations and sponsor tributes to African

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17 "Black History Month: Serious Truth Telling or a Triumph in Tokenism?," 88.

18 "Black History Month," 90.

19 Robert Bonner, "Requiem for Negro History Week," *Negro History Bulletin,* 35 (March 1972), 67.

American notables. TV networks shove in most of their specials, documentaries and features on blacks. Then February ends, and it's back to business as usual. Black achievements vanish from the screen, the concert halls and the speeches of politicians." He concluded his critique by declaring: "It's time to end this annual disappearing act. Black contributions to society should be celebrated every month.... When the experience of blacks is accepted as central to the American story, black history will be what it always should have been—American history."[20]

Woodson never wanted Negro History Week to simply be a week-long celebration during his times and in the future. Simply put, he wanted Negro History Week to become what he called "Negro History Year." Preceding Hutchinson's pleas by six decades, in 1940 Woodson proclaimed:

> The important and encouraging result is the gradual elimination of Negro History Week, that is, rendering the effort unnecessary in schools where the Negro is studied so thoroughly that special exercises are no longer exceptional . . . Before all persons concerned with the study of the Negro must be set this goal of studying the Negro throughout the school year, for thirty-six weeks rather than one week . . . Readers of this periodical [THE NEGRO HISTORY BULLETIN] who follow the course of study outlined will understand how to make Negro History Week develop into Negro History Year . . . There is a growing demand for workbooks and syllabi with which to facilitate the study of the Negro and thus make Negro History Week Negro History Year.

Conclusion

During the oppressive era of Jim Crow segregation, Carter G. Woodson embraced a philosophy that refashioned the traditional U.S. historical profession and conventional role of the historian by working closely with and for the rank and file of his people. An "intellectual-activist" or "liberated intellectual" to his core, he belonged to a group of black scholar-activists who made "a career of uplifting the African-American race," believed that the "liberation of their people as a priority," and strove to "utilize most of their talents and resources in this mission."[21] Building on a postemancipation scholar-activist tradition, Woodson modified his vocation as a professionally trained historian "by being critically and actively engaged in the social worlds" of his time and standing "on the outer shells of many different spheres—political, academic, and racial—at a time when these spheres were shifting and intersecting in new ways."[22]

A member of the early and mid-twentieth century black professional class, he advocated a "service ethic" that "emphasized extraordinary work for the community far beyond the narrow scope of their training and occupations." He introduced black history to the black masses, members of the working class, and youth throughout the nation—"to hundreds of thousands" according to the *Chicago Defender*. From 1922 until 1950, this mission was orchestrated from his "office home" at 1538 Ninth Street , NW, Washington D.C. Like many of his black professional contemporaries, Woodson was believed in providing a "service to people whom the

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20 Earl Ofari Hutchinson, "Black History is U.S. History: It's Time to Put the Role of Blacks on Center Stage," *San Francisco Chronicle,* February 8, 1999.

21 Dia N.R. Sekayi, *African American Intellectual-Activists: Legacies in the Struggle* (New York, 1997), 4,7; Zak Kondo, *The Black Student's Guide to Positive Education* (Washington, 1987), 65.

22 Jonathan Scott Holloway, *Confronting the Veil: Abram Harris, Jr., E. Franklin Frazier, and Ralph Bunche, 1919-1941* (Chapel Hill, 2002), 32.

larger American society perceived to be marginal and peripheral by virtue of their race and subordination in socioeconomic and political status." The historian Darlene Clark Hine has suggested that "individual accomplishment, in order to render service, became the guiding credo of the black professional class and the meaning of a worthwhile life."[23] Woodson and other twentieth-century black professionals forged symbiotic reciprocal relationships with nonblack professional classes and developed nuanced strategies for black advancement. At bottom, Woodson was committed to the promotion of black history, wholeheartedly accepting as a truth that black history was an essential vehicle of social reform, multiculturalism, and black identity formation and psychological liberation. He affirmed that practical, effective black leadership could and should emanate from the ranks of professional historians, a concept that appears to have declined following the classic civil rights movement and continues to challenge black historians. Born the son of former slaves during the tumultuous era of Reconstruction, Woodson's accomplishments, especially from 1922 until 1950 from his "office home," are truly remarkable and the Carter G. Woodson Home will certainly play a leading role in reinstating and memorializing his vital contributions to American civilization.

Carter G. Woodson and movers and shakers in the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History knew that it was important to have a headquarters for the association and a movement center for the study and popularization of black history. For Woodson and his co-workers, this important place was Woodson's "office home" and the ASNLH's "national office" on Ninth Street, now named the Carter G. Woodson Home. Founded in 1915 in Chicago—an important city for black culture and activism during the era of Jim Crow segregation that hosted the annual meetings of the ASNLH in 1935 and 1940, two important anniversary years for the Association—Woodson believed that the District of Columbia would be the best home for his "national office" for a variety of reasons. The city was: the nation's capital, had a large and influential black population, was intimately familiar to Woodson, was home to Howard University (intellectually the leading HBCU in the nation), desegregated the Library of Congress, and numerous important national archives, and was, in Woodson's words in 1917, "located mid-way between the North and the South." Though the ASNLH no longer used the building as its headquarters after November 1971, a decade later the association announced that it had restored the home close to its original state. However, during the remainder of the 1980s and 1990s, the historical record suggests a lack of sustained interest in maintaining and restoring this national historic landmark. Sparked by a renewed interest in Woodson's legacy in the late 1990s, during the new millennium restoring and investing in Woodson home has been taken on by political figures, local Washington, D.C., activists, the ASALH, the Organization of American Historians, and most importantly the U.S Department of the Interior and the National Park Service. In December 2003, Congress passed H.R. 1012—the Carter G. Woodson Home National Historic Site Establishment Act of 2003—and the Carter G. Woodson Home was formally designated a national historic site. After purchasing the Woodson Home from the ASALH in June 2005, the National Park Service has committed, in some manner, to "preserve, protect and interpret for the benefit, education and inspiration of present and future generations" Woodson's "office home." According to the "Park Planning" link of the National Park Service's website for the Woodson Home, "The completed site will provide a unique opportunity for visitors to experience the very

23 Darlene Clark Hine, *Speak Truth to Power: Black Professional Class in United States History* (New York, 1996), xiii, xvii, xxiii.

place where Woodson lived and worked as he and ASALH brought African American history to life. Completion of the Carter G. Woodson Home National Historic Site will include a restoration and renovation of historic buildings; development, fabrication, and installation of interpretative exhibits; production and distribution of educational and interpretative materials and other site improvement such as parking, way-finding signs, wayside exhibits and much more." One of Woodson's original purposes for the ASNLH's "national office" still lingers today, more than eighty years after Woodson purchased his home. This quest was to promote and celebrate African American history and culture.

During the black power era, the National Park Service in collaboration with the Afro-American Bicentennial Corporation initiated efforts to designate black historical landmarks throughout the United States. By 1974, there were thirteen black landmarks approved by the NPS and by 1977 there were sixty-one. In Washington, D.C., in the same year that Woodson's Home was designated a national historic landmark, the Mary Ann Shadd Cary House and the Charlotte Forten Grimké Home were also designated as historic landmarks. Hence, the Woodson home becoming a landmark was part of a broader movement to institutionally memorialize black contributions to U.S. history and culture. More than a decade after the first historic landmarks were named, the NPS was directly challenged by black activists and the climate of the civil rights and black power movements to confront the nonexistence of black NPS national landmarks. As revealed in reference books like the exhaustive *African American Historic Places* (1994), there are seemingly countless significant African American historic sites throughout the nation. According to the NPS's National Register of Historic Places, including the Woodson Home, there are twenty-seven NPS Units featuring African American history. Those focusing on famous black individuals include the Booker T. Washington National Monument, the Woodson Home, the Paul Laurence Dunbar State Memorial, the Frederick Douglass, NHS, the George Washington Carver National Monument, the Maggie Lee Walker NHS, and the Mary McLeod Bethune Council House, NHS. When completed, the Woodson Home will play a leading role in acknowledging the living black historical repositories and spaces that we have before us and teaching about Carter G. Woodson, the meaning of black history, and the black formative years of the black historical profession.

As the NPS indicates in "Teaching with Historic Places," "historic places have powerful and provocative stories to tell. As witnesses to the past, they recall the events that shaped history and the people who faced those situations and issues. Places make connections across time that give them a special ability to create an empathetic understanding of what happened and why . . . Ultimately, teaching with and about historic places benefits everyone. Educators have one more means with which to engage and excite students, students acquire knowledge for and an appreciation for cultural resources, and society gains a better-educated citizen."[24]

24 "Teaching with Historic Places," http://www.nps.gov/history/NR/twhp/whyplaces.htm.

Glossary[1]

African American Experience: as I theorize in *African American History Reconsidered* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010), this represents African Americans' lives in the formal United States, has lasted from 1789 until the present, 2010. This experience of 221 years can be subdivided into the three broad, major phases: phase 1, Enslavement and Quasi Freedom, 1789–1865, presently represents 34.4 percent of the total African American experience; phase 2, The Struggle for Citizenship and Fundamental Civil and Human Rights, 1865–1965, 45.2 percent; and phase 3, Post–Civil Rights Developments, 1965–2010, 20.4 percent. During phase 1 of the African American experience, from the ratification of the U.S. Constitution in 1789 until 1865 when the 13th Amendment was ratified and slavery abolished, the vast majority of African Americans were slaves. The first federal census of 1790 indicated that there were 697,897 enslaved blacks and 59,557 free blacks. In 1820, there were 1,538,125 enslaved blacks and 233,504 free blacks; and in 1860 there were 3,953,760 enslaved blacks and about 488,000 free blacks. As a significant group of scholars has demonstrated, free blacks in the North and South often lived their lives as "quasi free" peoples and "slaves without masters." During phase 1, the African American experience was shaped most profoundly by slavery. Not only was slavery arguably the most important, defining characteristic of pre-Reconstruction U.S. history, but surviving, resisting, and abolishing slavery comprised the main themes of black life during phase 1. The one hundred years from emancipation in 1865 until the Voting Rights Act of 1965—phase 2 of the African American experience and close to half of he total African American experience—was marked by African Americans' struggles for basic civil and human rights. Though slavery was formally abolished at the outset of phase 2, for the next one hundred years the vast majority of African Americans lived their lives as second-class citizens whose freedoms were limited by de jure and de facto segregation. Despite the continuing oppression of African Americans, the permanence of institutional racism, and the continued economic, political, and social underdevelopment of many African Americans nationwide, during phase 3 of the African American experience (1965 until the present or whatever the present is in the future), African Americans have attained and been granted most, but by no means all, of their basic civil rights. At this point, the vast majority of the African American experience in the United States, about 80 percent of the total experience, has been lived in some form of overt struggle for basic equal rights and justice. The African American historical experience that I have outlined here must be revised every year, reflecting the increase in time elapsed from the passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965 marking the end of the second legislative Reconstruction and phase 2. The fate of African Americans in the future is unsure. Nonetheless, it will not be until about 2140, more than a century hence, that at least 50 percent of the total African American experience will have been spent in a post–civil rights era—theoretically, a period devoid of the widespread and overt denial of African Americans' fundamental civil and human rights. Students should be challenged to view each phase of the African American experience as it relates to the other phases and the broader experience as a whole.

1 According to the NPS-28: CULTURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT GUIDELINE (effective June 11, 1998), "terms are defined for the purpose of cultural resource management in the national park system. National Park Service usage does not always follow standard dictionary definitions." Drawing from this definition, the glossary for this Historic Resource Study includes terms that general readers may not be familiar with.

Amateur, self-trained black historians: dubbed "historians without portfolio" by Earl E. Thorpe, a "group of non-professional persons . . . who have a fondness for the discipline of history, feeling that their life experiences peculiarly fit them for chronicling some historical events." The writings of these individuals who were most active from the antebellum era through the dawning of the twentieth-century represent "the historical understanding of literate persons outside the academy." Woodson welcomed these historians into the ranks of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History.

Archival collection: an accumulation of manuscripts, archival documents, or papers having a shared origin or provenance, or having been assembled around a common topic, format of record, or association (e.g., presidential autographs). The term also refers to the total archival and manuscript holdings of a park.

Archives: the non-current records of an organization or institution preserved for their historic value. Official records of the NPS are managed according to the *Records Management Guideline* (NPS-19) and National Archives and Records Administration standards and are outside the scope of this guideline. The term "archives" is often used to refer to the repository where archives and other historic documents are maintained.

Black Historical Enterprise: refers in the context of this Historic Resource Study to those professionally-trained and amateur or self-taught historians who were active in the study, popularization, and dissemination of black history. The major institution of the black historical profession is the Association for the Study of African American Life and History, formerly known as the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History founded by Woodson in 1915.

Black History: notwithstanding the numerous philosophical interpretations of black history that have been offered by intellectuals for more than one century, as a field of study black history—also known as African American history—is the interpretation, application, and rigorous study of the black past with all its complexity. The knowledge of African American history evolves and changes as new historical interpretations, paradigms, and ideas are generated. Since its earliest phases, the history of African Americans has been characterized by an enduring struggle for fundamental civil and human rights, justice, equality, and liberation.

Black Power era: In the aftermath of the assassination of Malcolm X, or El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz, on February 21, 1965, the creation of the Lowndes County (Mississippi) Freedom Organization, James Meredith's 1966 "March Against Fear," the popularization of the "Black Power" slogan by Stokely Carmichael and others, and the founding of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense in Oakland, California in October of 1966, the black struggle for liberation and advancement underwent significant changes. These transformations have resulted in scholars calling the period from roughly 1966 until 1975 the Black Power era. "In the face of a white backlash against the gains of the civil rights movement, many leaders and scholars . . . argued for black power and black separation. Black power, which challenged both the interracialism for the civil rights movement and Johnson's democratic liberalism, became the dominant ideology for many younger activists . . . These opposing ideologies represent a generational shift, and the tensions between them frame many of the key events of the post-civil rights movement years." "At its core, this movement attempted to radically

redefine the relationship between blacks and American society. Black Power activists trumpeted a militant new race consciousness that placed black identity as the soul of a new radicalism." The Black Power movement, in essence, offered an alternative way to approach the long struggle for African Americans' civil and human rights. The Black Power era can be perhaps best viewed within a cultural and psychological context. The Black Power movement represented a sort of cultural war between black and white culture, issued by radical young blacks. During the Black Power era from the mid 1960s until the mid 1970s, blacks sought to define themselves as being uniquely black and descended from Africans. They drew upon a host of African cultural markers and Africanisms to shape their new identity, including language, attire, hairstyles, music, food, and other cultural elements. Since the goal of these young blacks was not integration, they sought to highlight the cultural differences between themselves and their white counterparts. Black Power issued a psychological transformation of African Americans from being "Negroes" to being black and proud. African Americans adopted a new positive self image of being black, rejected Eurocentrism and white cultural domination, created a new positive self-image, accepted blackness and the "black is beautiful" mantra, and prescribed to a new collective identity of blackness. While culture was at the core of this movement, the Black Power movement was decentralized, manifesting itself in a variety of places and spaces, including college and university campuses (at both predominantly white colleges and universities and HBCUs), sports, organized labor, the arts, politics, and many organizations, such as the Black Panther Party, the Republic of New Africa, and Malauna Karenga's US.

Black Studies Movement: defined in many ways by different scholars; the multidisciplinary study of African Americans and peoples of African origin both in Africa and in the vast African Diaspora that emerged in concrete forms at predominantly white college and universities in the U.S. during the Black Power era. This movement represented a manifestation of Black Power in the ivory towers of the American academy. Since the Black Studies Movement that emerged in the late 1960s, Black Studies, also known as African American Studies, Africana Studies, and other names, has undergone a host of transformations and stages.

Contraband: During the Civil War, enslaved African Americans who ran away from their owners and sought protection behind Union forces, and worked behind Union lines, were considered contrabands.

Cultural resource management: the range of activities aimed at understanding, preserving, and providing for the enjoyment of cultural resources. It includes research related to cultural resources, planning for actions affecting them, and stewardship of them in the context of overall park operations. It also includes support for the appreciation and perpetuation of related cultural practices, as appropriate.

Cultural resource specialist: a person professionally trained in one of the cultural resource fields. Included are anthropologists (applied cultural anthropologists, archeologists, ethnographers, and ethno historians), architectural historians, architectural conservators, archivists, curators, historians, historical architects, historical landscape architects, landscape historians, and object conservators.

Cultural resource: an aspect of a cultural system that is valued by or significantly representative of a culture or that contains significant information about a culture. A cultural resource may be a tangible entity or a cultural practice. Tangible cultural resources are categorized as districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects for the National Register of Historic Places and as archeological resources, cultural landscapes, structures, museum objects, and ethnographic resources for NPS management purposes.

Culture: a system of behaviors (including economic, religious, and social), beliefs (values, ideologies), and social arrangements.

Democratize: in the context of black history, to make the study and learning of black history more democratic in nature, more accessible for the common people of a community as distinguished from any privileged class.

Documentation: drawings, photographs, writings, and other media that depict cultural and natural resources.

Early black history movement: this term is used to describe those who participated in the study and popularization of black history from the founding of the ASNLH in 1915 until the death of Carter G. Woodson in 1950.

Ethnic: a group or category of people who share or believe they share similar characteristics based on, for example, ancestry, language, and religion.

Harlem Renaissance: a literary, cultural, and intellectual movement from the immediate post-World War I era through the mid-1930s. This movement created a state of mind among black writers and critics that led to believe that they were the founders and participants in a new era of black literature. Though diverse, these creative intellectuals called themselves "New Negroes" and viewed themselves as being different from the early generations of black leaders born during slavery and reconstruction. The activists in this movement advocated race pride, self-help, social justice, and racial solidarity.

Hip hop generation: Theorized by more than a few scholars, in the *Hip Hop Generation*, Bakari Kitwana has dubbed this generation those African Americans born between the mid 1960s and the mid 1980s. The millennium hip hop generation includes those born since the mid to late 1980s.

Historian: specialist with advanced training in the research, interpretation, and writing of history. There are many types of historians based upon expertise, time period, genre, topic, etc.

Historic character: the sum of all visual aspects, features, materials, and spaces associated with a property's history.

Historic document: any recorded information in any medium–paper, magnetic tape, film, etc.–that has a direct, physical association with past human event, activity, observation, experience, or idea.

Historic property: a district, site, structure, or landscape significant in American history, architecture, engineering, archeology, or culture; an umbrella term for all entries in the National Register of Historic Places.

Historic scene: the overall appearance of all cultural resources and their surroundings as they were in the historic period; the cultural resources and their interrelationships that provide the context for understanding and interpreting the events, ideas, or persons associated with a park.

Historic site: a landscape significant for its association with a historic event, activity, or person; the site of a significant event, prehistoric or historic occupation or activity, or structure or landscape whether extant or vanished, where the site itself possesses historical, cultural, or archeological value apart from the value of any existing structure or landscape.

Historical context: the circumstances that form the setting for an event; something within which events, personalities, etc. can be best understood; an organizing structure created for planning purposes that groups information about historic properties based on common themes, time periods, and geographical areas.

Historical significance: the meaning or value ascribed to a structure, landscape, object, or site based on the National Register criteria for evaluation. It normally stems from a combination of association and integrity.

Historiography: the study of historical writings; the historical scholarship on a topic; writings of history.

History: study of the past through written records, oral history, and material culture. Evidence from these is compared, judged for veracity, placed in chronological or topical sequence, and interpreted in light of preceding, contemporary, and subsequent events.

Jim Crow Segregation: a national U.S. phenomenon, but largely practiced in the South. An elaborate process of separating blacks and whites, designed by whites, using social customs and legal means. De facto segregation is by custom, habit, and practice and de jure is segregation enforced by the legal system. Between *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) and *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954), the United States Supreme Court upheld segregation. Segregation existed in the United States before 1896 and after 1954.

Manuscript collection: a group of textual, electronic, sound, or visual documents assembled most commonly for its historical or literary value.

"Nadir": a term that appears throughout this study and is important to understand when examining and contextualizing Woodson's life and accomplishments. In *The Negro in American Life and Thought: The Nadir, 1877-1901* (New York: Dial Press, 1954), historian Rayford W. Logan argued that the "the nadir" (low-point) of the African American historical experience was not slavery, but instead spanned from the immediate aftermath of Reconstruction and the Compromise of 1877 through the early 20th century. He concluded this based upon the harsh realities faced by blacks from 1877 until 1901: the racist decisions of the Supreme Court, American society's bolstering of Jim Crow segregation, the media's negative portrayal of black America, the ascendancy of Booker T. Washington's conciliatory political approach, the systematic removal of black from political offices, and the anti-black violence in American culture, epitomized by lynching. In a revised version of his 1954 study, *The Betrayal of the Negro, from Rutherford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson* (New York: Collier,

1965), Logan extended "the nadir" to 1923. The term that Logan first introduced in 1954 has been universally accepted. While Americanists refer to the period beginning in the immediate aftermath of Reconstruction until the 1920s as the Progressive Era in U.S. history, African Americanists tend to call this period, for black people, "the nadir."

National historic landmark: a district, site, building, structure, or object of national historical significance, designated by the Secretary of the Interior under authority of the Historic Sites Act of 1935 and entered in the National Register of Historic Places.

National Register of Historic Places: the comprehensive list of districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects of national, regional, state, and local significance in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture kept by the NPS under authority of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966.

New millennium: since 2000; the 21st century. An era of unprecedented multi-media technology.

Objectivity: not influenced by personal feelings or opinions (one's upbringing or background) in considering and representing "facts," information, or representations of history.

"Parallel institution": a theory developed by Darlene Clark Hine for exploring black uplift strategies for black women and men during the era of Jim Crow Segregation. In "Black Professionals and Race Consciousness: Origins of the Civil Rights Movement, 1890-1950" published in *The Journal of American History* in 2003, stressed the fact that during the interwar period black professional women and men created autonomous "parallel institutions" within black communities that existed side by side with the broader white dominated institutions that refused to open their doors to blacks: "Without the parallel institutions that the black professional class created, successful challenges to white supremacy would not have been possible." This concept of "parallelism" was first introduced by Hine in her 1989 study on black female nurses, *Black Women in White*.

Period of significance: the span of time in which a property attained the significance for which it meets the National Register criteria.

Prehistory: the course of events in the period before recorded history.

Preservation: the act or process of applying measures to sustain the existing form, integrity, and material of a historic structure, landscape or object. Work may include preliminary measures to protect and stabilize the property, but generally focuses upon the ongoing preservation maintenance and repair of historic materials and features rather than extensive replacement and new work. For historic structures exterior additions are not within the scope of this treatment; however, the limited and sensitive upgrading of mechanical, electrical, and plumbing systems and other code-required work to make properties functional is appropriate within a preservation project.

Primary sources: are historical sources created by direct observation. The writers were participants in or observers of the events they describe. Examples include autobiographies, diaries, eyewitness accounts, interviews, historical records and documents, journals, letters, logs, oral histories, maps prepared by direct observation, photos taken at a scene, statistics, surveys.

Professionally-trained historian: the products of the system of university graduate education that began maturing by the beginning of the twentieth century, these scholars are Ph.D. holders who employ the methods of the American historical profession and adhere the to standards of being a professional historian. During Woodson's times, professionally-trained historians embraced "scientific" history.

Proto-Black Studies Movement: the efforts to study the history, culture, and contemporary status of African Americans and Africans throughout the Diaspora before the emergence of the (modern) Black Studies Movement. Carter G. Woodson was a forerunner in this movement along with W.E.B. Du Bois and many others.

Scientific history: refers to history to a brand of history that Woodson subscribed to and was popular during the early 20th century; a body of techniques for investigating phenomena, acquiring new knowledge, or correcting and integrating previous knowledge. To be termed scientific, a method of inquiry must be based on gathering observable, empirical and measurable evidence subject to specific principles of reasoning. A scientific method consists of the collection of data through observation and experimentation, and the formulation and testing of hypotheses. Although procedures vary from one field of inquiry to another, identifiable features distinguish scientific inquiry from other methodologies of knowledge. Among other facets shared by the various fields of inquiry is the conviction that the process be objective to reduce biased interpretations of the results. Another basic expectation is to document, archive and share all data and methodology so they are available for careful scrutiny by other scientists, thereby allowing other researchers the opportunity to verify results by attempting to reproduce them. This practice, called full disclosure, also allows statistical measures of the reliability of these data to be established.

Secondary sources: are sources written by people, scholarship, with indirect knowledge. They rely on primary sources and other secondary sources for their information. Examples include abstracts, almanacs, anthologies, biographies, book reviews, critical analyses, encyclopedias, explanations, government documents, indexes, interpretations, journal articles, literary criticism, monographs, textbooks.

Setting: the physical environment of a historic property; the character of the place in which the property played its historical role.

Bibliography[1]

Cobb, W. Montague. "Carter Godwin Woodson." *The Negro History Bulletin* 36 (November 1973): 151–155.

- In this article, Cobb shares his experiences with Woodson. While he assesses Woodson's contributions as a leading scholar and popularizer of the African American experience, the value of this essay lies in the first-hand accounts that Cobb provides. He paraphrases conversations that he had with his elder, recalls how Woodson was as a teacher, and provides a fairly detailed description of Woodson's home and the ASNLH's headquarters at 1538 Ninth Street, NW, Washington, D.C. Cobb's overall conclusion is fitting in situating Woodson's importance in connection with the Black Power era: "Every proponent of 'black awareness' and every contributor to a 'black studies program' stands squarely on the shoulders of his work."

Dagbovie, Pero Gaglo. "'Among the vitalizing tools of the radical intelligentsia, of course the most crucial was words': Carter G. Woodson's 'The Case of the Negro' (1921)." *The Journal for the Study of Radicalism* 3 (2009): 81–112.

- In this article, Dagbovie chronologically explore how a multi-generational, insightful group of scholars and black leaders has defined what being a black radical and black radicalism means. Couching "The Case," an unpublished manuscript by Woodson that was re-discovered in 2005, within a broad framework of what black radical thought can possibly entail, Dagbovie then discusses "The Case" as an expression of Woodson's early radicalism; a byproduct of the dawning of the Harlem Renaissance; and as a part of the vindicationist tradition of African American intellectual thought or "heretical" black radical thought. He also compares the ideas articulated in "The Case" with those in *The Mis-Education of the Negro*. Using Woodson's "The Case of the Negro" as a case study, the ultimate goal of this essay is to broaden and problematize conventional notions of what scholars have implied that it means to be a radical black intellectual and professionally trained scholar.
- Dagbovie, Pero Gaglo. *The Early Black History Movement, Carter G. Woodson, and Lorenzo Johnston Greene*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007.
- The most recent book-length publication on Woodson by a major university press since 1993, this book offers an overview of the early black history and the first

1 This bibliography is annotated and contains three dozen sources, published and in a few cases unpublished, that the author of this Historic Resource Study considers important and significant scholarship and writings pertaining to Carter G. Woodson. They are strongly recommended for further reading. For the most comprehensive examination of the evolution of the scholarship and writings on Woodson, see "Representations of 'The Father of Negro History,' in Pero Gaglo Dagbovie, *The Early Black History Movement, Carter G. Woodson, and Lorenzo Johnston Greene* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 15-43. For a detailed bibliography of scholarship and writings about and by Woodson, see Sister Anthony Scally, *Carter G. Woodson: A Bio-Bibliography* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1985). This study is truly comprehensive, containing more than 800 entries of various sorts. Woodson's books, pamphlets, journal articles, book reviews, and articles in periodicals and magazines will be featured in a bibliography of Woodson's publications. Only one of Woodson's writings, the only autobiographical statement that he published, is included in this bibliography, Carter G. Woodson, "My Recollections of Veterans of the Civil War," *The Negro History Bulletin* 7 (February 1944): 103-104, 115-118.

major examination of Greene's life, while addressing a variety of issues pertaining to Woodson that other scholars have either overlooked or ignored, specifically his image in popular and scholarly writings and memory, the democratic approach of the ASNLH, and the pivotal role of women in the Association. In this study, Dagbovie expands upon his assessments of Woodson offered in articles in *The Western Journal of Black Studies* and *The Journal of African American History*.

Du Bois, W.E.B. "A Portrait of Carter G. Woodson." *Masses and Mainstream* 3 (June 1950): 19-26.

- This is a scathing critique of Woodson. After reading this article, William M. Brewer wrote to Lorenzo Johnston Greene: "Dr. Du Bois has a nasty article on Dr. Woodson in *Masses and Mainstream* for June 1950 which does Du Bois no credit." While Du Bois credited Woodson for initiating Negro History Week, he belittled his scholarship and personality. Perhaps more than anything else, this essay serves as evidence of the conflicts that existed between Du Bois and Woodson.

Franklin, John Hope. "The Place of Carter G. Woodson in American Historiography." *The Negro History Bulletin* 13 (May 1950): 174–176.

- As suggested by the title of this brief essay, Franklin situates Woodson within the broader context of the American historical profession and historiography. Franklin highlights how Woodson as a scientifically trained Ph.D.-holding historian was able to revise and challenge the master narratives of American history. As he did in other instances, Franklin credits Woodson with creating a movement that had far-reaching implications. Franklin expanded upon the ideas presented in this brief essay in "The New Negro History" first published in *The Crisis* in 1957. Franklin credited Woodson with "launching" the era of "New Negro History."

Goggin, Jacqueline. "Carter G. Woodson and the Movement to Promote Black History." PhD diss., University of Rochester, 1983.

- This is one of the most informative studies on Woodson that Meier and Rudwick drew extensively from in writing *Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915–1980* (1986). In certain ways this dissertation is more thorough than Goggin's 1993 biography. Goggin sought to explore how Woodson used black history to uplift the black community, while also probing into how the American historical profession responded to Woodson's work. She interviewed many who knew Woodson, incorporated correspondences from more than a dozen paper collections, analyzed the significance of the *Journal of Negro History*, probed into Woodson's rocky relationships with many people, and highlighted his efforts to popularize black history.

Goggin, Jacqueline. *Carter G. Woodson: A Life in Black History*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993.

- The first widely-reviewed biography of Woodson by a major university press, this study is sub-divided chronologically and thematically into six chapters. Though a by-product of her dissertation, this study differs greatly from her previous research. She probes into the details of Woodson's life from 1875 until 1950 and explores his relationships with other black scholars and white philanthropists, his efforts to popularize black history, and his varied political and social philosophy.

Greene, Lorenzo Johnston. "Dr. Carter G. Woodson: The Man as I Knew Him." Unpublished paper. The Papers of Lorenzo Johnston Greene, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

- Greene delivered this paper at various venues from the mid-1960s until the early 1980s. Greene's essay is one of the most detailed, candid, and revealing assessments of Woodson's character written by one of Woodson's "Boys" and by one who *really* knew Woodson. Greene's assessments of Woodson's character were largely taken from his experiences working with him closely from 1928 until 1933 as a field investigator and an office employee. Greene never published this paper, perhaps because he did not want to reveal Woodson's shortcomings to the broader public. This paper is very important, for it unearths Woodson's character in all its complexity. Those who knew Woodson like Greene probably felt what Greene was saying. After hearing a version of Greene's paper, one of Woodson's cousins told him that indeed "that was Carter G. Woodson." Greene's unpublished essay went far beyond simply honoring Woodson. Greene's critique angered at least one of Woodson's contemporaries. William Brewer, long-time editor of *The Journal of Negro History* after Woodson's death and an outspoken Woodson advocate, "became irate" when Greene once read a "shorter version" of this paper in Atlanta in 1965.

Hall, Stephen. *A Faithful Account of the Race: African American Historical Writing in Nineteenth Century America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009.

- In this study, Hall explores the origins of the modern black historical profession from the era of the Early Republic until the dawning of the twentieth century. Hall argues that these various African American writers of history—intellectuals, ministers, novelists, and abolitionists—borrowed from mainstream intellectual movements in creating a distinctive phase of black historical scholarship. This study has been dubbed the "definitive study of nineteenth-century African American historical writing." He explores the contributions of Woodson and the Association in chapter 6, "To Smite the Rock of Knowledge: The Black Academy and the Professionalization of History."

Hine, Darlene Clark, ed. *The State of Afro-American History: Past, Present, and Future*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986.

- The by-product of an important conference on the study and teaching of black history at Purdue University under the auspices of the American Historical Association in the early 1980s, several essays in this edited volume mentions Woodson. Of particular importance is John Hope Franklin's essay, "On the Evolution of Scholarship in Afro-American History." Franklin highlights the significance of Woodson to the four major phases of scholarship in black history that he identifies.

Hine, Darlene Clark. "Carter G. Woodson: White Philanthropy and Negro Historiography." In Darlene Clark Hine, *Hinesight: Black Women and the Re-Construction of American History*. New York: Carlson Publishing, 1994.

- Originally published as an article in 1986, in this essay Hine documented in great detail Woodson's relationship with major white philanthropists and officers of the Carnegie Fund, the Julius Rosenwald Fund, and the three Rockefeller trusts. This essay not only explores the challenges that Woodson faced in terms of funding the ASNLH, buy also delves into Woodson's "three-tiered operation" that included Association members, professional historians, and Woodson himself.

Janken, Robert Kenneth. *Rayford W. Logan and the Dilemma of the African-American Intellectua*l. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993.

- Though a biography on Logan, Janken provides arguably the most detailed analysis of the intriguing relationship between Logan and Woodson, highlighting the controversy surrounding the Phelps-Stokes *Encyclopedia Africana* Project that polarized Logan and Du Bois and Woodson beyond reconciliation.

Lee, Ulysees. "The ASNLH, the *Journal of Negro History*, and American Scholarly Interest in Africa." In Africa Seen by *American Negroes: Africa from the Point of View of American Negro Scholars*, ed. John A. Davis. Paris: Presence Africaine, 1958.

- Lee's article represents the first piece of scholarship on Woodson's scholarly treatment of Africa. For Lee, the *Journal of Negro History* during Woodson's lifetime served as an important scholarly vehicle for revising dominant, Eurocentric interpretations of Africa and the Association developed a range of activities and projects related to Africa. Lee credited Woodson with being one of the first black American scholars to systematically refashion the black American public's perceptions of Africa. Lee's article is also noteworthy because it is the first article to carefully comb through the articles in the *Journal of Negro History* and to conduct a focused thematic study of a facet of Woodson's scholarship.

Logan, Rayford W. "Carter G. Woodson: Mirror and Molder of His Times, 1875–1950." *The Journal of Negro History* 58 (1973): 1-17.

- This article was originally delivered as a lecture on October 21, 1972. As suggested by the title, Logan highlights how Woodson changed and changed with the times in which he existed. While providing an overview of Woodson's life, Logan also places the ASNLH within the context of other black historical organizations that preceded it. This is Logan's most in-depth assessment of Woodson.

Logan, Rayford W. "Personal: Carter Godwin Woodson." *The Journal of Negro History* 35 (1950): 344-348.

- In this brief account, Logan comments on Woodson's publications, the progress made by the ASNLH, and the conflict that divided him, Woodson, Thomas Jesse Jones, and Anson Phelps Stokes. Logan also addresses the need to follow in the Woodsonian tradition of revising text books to address the contributions of African Americans.

Logan, Rayford W. "Phylon Profile VI: Carter G. Woodson." *Phylon* 6 (4th Quarter, 1945): 315-321.

- This was the first of several important articles that Logan published on Woodson. Logan called upon the public to acknowledge Woodson's contributions that he viewed as being marginalized. Though Logan ranked Woodson among the top leading five influential contemporary African American public figures, he critiqued his elder for his so-called lack of mentoring skills, his peculiar personality traits, and his response to the Phelps-Stokes *Encyclopedia Africana* project. Logan concluded his essay: "Perhaps the one quality lacking in Dr. Woodson to make him great is his failure to attach himself to a young scholar who loves the work as much as Dr. Woodson does." Woodson, according to one of his friends, was "furious" by Logan's assessments.

Logan, Rayford W. "Report of the Director." *The Journal of Negro History* 35 (1950): 359-367.

- In this report, Logan, as the newly appointed Director of the ASNLH, talks about the death of Woodson and, like others, underscores the void that existed within the ranks of the Association leadership because of his death. The report also summarizes Woodson's will and Logan's plan for directing the Association and its activities in the immediate post-Woodson era.

Martin, Tony. "Carter G. Woodson and Marcus Garvey." *The Negro History Bulletin* 40 (November-December 1977): 774-777.

- In this brief essay, Martin makes connections between Woodson and Garvey. Not only did Garvey and Woodson share certain beliefs in Martin's estimation, but Woodson had a weekly column in the *Negro World* and joined ranks with Garvey during the "Garvey Must Go" campaign. Martin credits Woodson with being among the few African American intellectuals to provide an objective assessment of Garvey's work.

Meier, August and Elliott Rudwick. "J. Franklin Jameson, Carter G. Woodson, and the Foundations of Black Historiography." *The American Historical Review* 89 (October 1984): 1005–1015.

- Meier and Rudwick highlight the amicable relationship between J. Franklin Jameson and Woodson. They argue that Jameson played a vital role in helping Woodson secure funding from the Carnegie Institution of Washington, D.C. As the Director of the Department of Historical Research at the Carnegie Institution, Jameson supported and sponsored Woodson's request for funding. In 1921, Woodson in turn received his first grant from the Carnegie Institution.

Miller, Kelly. *An Estimate of Carter G. Woodson and His Work in Connection with the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc*. Washington, D.C.: ASNLH, 1926.

- In this rare pamphlet, Miller overviews many important dimensions of Woodson's life. According to Sister Anthony Scally, the "value of this account lies in Miller's analysis of Woodson's philosophy and the rationale of his sacrifices." Since this book was published during Woodson's lifetime by the ASNLH, one wonders why it was not more comprehensive in nature. Woodson could have certainly provided Miller with more accurate information regarding his life.

Negro History Bulletin. Volume 13, May 1950.

- This issue of the *Bulletin* is dedicated to Woodson. Included in this revealing volume are essays by and recollections from those who knew Woodson, such as Mary McLeod Bethune, John Hope Franklin, L.D. Reddick, Arnett G. Lindsay, A.A. Taylor, and Langston Hughes. Included in this issue are also rare photos of Woodson and Woodson memorabilia.

Negro History Bulletin. Volume 28, Summer 1965.

- Celebrating the 50th anniversary of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, this issue of the *Bulletin* features important reminiscences and assessments of Woodson by Lorenzo Johnston Greene, Charles H. Wesley, Jesse Roy, and others.

Reddick, L.D. "Carter G. Woodson (1875–1950): An Appreciation. *Phylon* 11 (1950): 177-179.

- In 1950, Reddick wrote several essays in the *Negro History Bulletin*, "As I Remember Woodson" and "Twenty-Five Negro History Weeks," in which he shared with readers how Woodson impacted his appreciation of black history. Challenging what Logan wrote in *Phylon* five years earlier, Reddick's account portrays a much more compassionate Woodson who truly mentored and listened to his understudies.

Romero, Patricia. "Carter G. Woodson: A Biography." PhD diss., Ohio State University, 1971.

- The first major Ph.D. dissertation on Woodson, this study by an active ASNLH member and researcher for the Negro History Bulletin involved painstaking research. Based upon writings by and about Woodson as well as interviews with many who knew Woodson, Romero reconstructed the life, work, and contributions of Woodson. Why she did not publish this study remains to be answered. This study can still serve as an important starting point for those interested in "The Father of Black History" and the ASNLH.

Scally, M.A. *Walking Proud: The Story of Dr. Carter G. Woodson*. Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, 1983.

- The first published biography on Woodson that was endorsed by the ASALH, this book is a basic biography of Woodson aimed at younger readers. At the same time, Scally incorporates a range of important sources in constructing her narrative. This study is reminiscent of the juvenile historical literature published by Shirley Graham Du Bois during the 1940s and 1950s. Before this book appeared, Scally published one article on Woodson in *Community* and four essays on Woodson in the *Negro History Bulletin*. Born in Baltimore, MD in 1905 and trained as a librarian, from 1973 through the 1980s she was an active in the ASNLH, later renamed the ASALH. She remains a very significant figure in Woodsonian historiography.

Scally, Sister Anthony. *Carter G. Woodson: A Bio-Bibliography*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1985.

- An exhaustive bio-bibliography, this study contains more than 800 entries pertaining to Woodson. Included in this study is a brief biography sketch of Woodson, a chronology, as well as a listing of books, journal articles, periodicals, theses and dissertations, newspaper and magazine articles by and about Woodson. This study can still serve as an important reference for those studying Woodson.

Scruggs, Ottey M. "Carter G. Woodson, the Negro History Movement, and Africa." *Pan African Journal* 7 (Spring 1974): 39-50.

- Building upon the arguments posed by Lee, Stuckey, and Scruggs addressed how Woodson attempted to re-write African history, argued that cultural continuity between Africa and Africans throughout the African Diaspora existed, and was opposed to the colonialism in Africa.

Strickland, Arvarh E. , ed. *Working with Carter G. Woodson, the Father of Black History: A Diary, 1928–1930, Lorenzo J. Greene*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989.

- This book includes entries from Greene's diary that he kept from March 1928 until February 1930 after he began working with Woodson. Even though an entry from Greene's diary from 1930 was reprinted in an issue of the *Negro History Bulletin* in 1965, this book provides one of the few glimpses into the formative years of the ASNLH and Woodson's character. Though we learn much about Greene's approach

to the study and popularization of black history, Greene also sheds some important light on Woodson's personality. Greene's candid portrayal of Woodson is invaluable to those seeking to more fully understand Woodson's intricate disposition. It becomes clear that Greene became an unselfish worker for the ASNLH's and Woodson's cause. In one of the last entries in the diary in this volume, for instance, Greene wrote: "Negro history shall be my life's work . . . It is my cause and shall transcend everything else . . . I knew I had found my life's vocation and that Dr. Woodson was my historical idol."

Strickland, Arvarh E., ed. *Selling Black History for Carter G. Woodson: A Diary, 1930–1933, by Lorenzo J. Greene*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1996.

- In the summer of 1930, Greene became a self-appointed book agent for Woodson. With little more than determination, Greene, along with four Howard University students, traveled throughout the South and Southeast selling books published by Woodson's Associated Publishers. Their dual purpose was to provide needed funds for the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History and to promote the study of African American history. Greene returned east by way of Chicago, and, for a time, he settled in Philadelphia, selling books there and in the nearby cities of Delaware and New Jersey. He left Philadelphia in 1931 to conduct a survey in Washington, D.C., of firms employing and not employing black workers. From 1930 until 1933, when Greene began teaching at Lincoln University in Jefferson City, Missouri, this book provides an insightful firsthand account of Greene's experiences and interaction with Woodson.

Stuckey, Sterling. "Du Bois, Woodson, and the Spell of Africa." *Negro Digest* 16 (February 1967): 20-24, 60-73.

- Stuckey argues that Woodson devoted a significant amount of his scholarship to revising Eurocentric interpretations of African history and that the creator of Negro History Week was unique because he popularized not only African American history but African history.

Thorpe, Earl E. *Black Historians: A Critique*. New York: Morrow, 1971.

- This study is a revised and more updated version of *Negro Historians in the United Sates*. This book is more fluid and comprehensive than his 1958 study.

Thorpe, Earl E. *Negro Historians in the United States*. Baton Rouge: Fraternal, 1958.

- In this first major book on the black historical profession, Thorpe contextualizes and portrays black historians in a broad manner, breaking this large group down into various sub-groups based upon training, era of productivity, and contributions. He asserts that Woodson and Du Bois arguably made the most contributions to the profession. Though critical of Woodson, he outlined three major "Woodsonian convictions," overviewed some of his scholarship and credited him with popularizing black history. At the same time, Thorpe only provided cursory reviews of less than ten of Woodson's more than twenty books.

Wesley, Charles H. "Carter G. Woodson—As a Scholar." *The Journal of Negro History* 36 (1951): 12-24.

- This article represents the most in-depth essay on Woodson in the immediate aftermath of his death and Wesley's most important assessment of the ASNLH founder. The third African American to earn a Ph.D. in history from Harvard in 1925, Wesley introduced Greene to Woodson and worked closely with Woodson from the late 1920s until 1950. According to Wesley, who had his fair share of drama with Woodson, there were five major characteristics that made his elder a scholar to emulate and praise. For Wesley, Woodson was: "a Discoverer of the Truth," "a Contributor to Truth," "an Organizer of Truth," "a Disseminator of Truth," and "a Fighter for Truth." In later years, Wesley would write other essays on Woodson in the *Journal of Negro History* and the *Negro History Bulletin*, such as "Creating and Maintaining an Historical Tradition" (*JNH* 49 1964), "The Association and the Public" (*NHB* 17 1954), and "Our Fiftieth Year" (*NHB* 28 1965).

Winston, Michael R. "Carter Godwin Woodson: Prophet of a Black Tradition." *The Journal of Negro History* 60 (1975): 459-463.

- Celebrating the life and work of Woodson, Winston highlights the struggles that Woodson overcame to become "The Father of Negro History" and a "prophet" of black history. Certainly impacted by the Black Power era, Winston stresses that Woodson's movement is relevant to the here and now. For Winston, Woodson's accomplishments laid the foundation for the popularization of black history twenty-five years after his death.

Woodson, Carter G. "My Recollections of Veterans of the Civil War." *The Negro History Bulletin* 7 (February 1944): 103-104, 115-118.

- Unlike W.E.B. Du Bois, who published three major autobiographies, Woodson never wrote an autobiography. Besides Du Bois, who wore many scholarly hats and is often described as being more a sociologist than a historian, John Hope Franklin is the only black historian to write an autobiography. When told by Lorenzo Johnston Greene that he should write an autobiography, Woodson retorted that such a project was not necessary. In 1940, he also told his "Boys" in no uncertain terms that he did not want them to publish an account of his life and work. Nonetheless, in this article in the *Negro History Bulletin* Woodson provides some important details of his early life, his parents, and relatives that he mentioned in a brief 1932 essay in the *New York Age*. He specifically talks about his parents and the experiences in his life that influenced him to pursue the study and popularization of black history. The only other details that Woodson shared about his life were in conversations with his "Boys" and letters to friends.

Appendix A

National Park Service and ASALH Oral History Project

The National Park Service and the Association for the Study of African American Life and History collaborated in conducting an oral history project which started in March and ended in June of 2011. This project was headed by Dr. Deborah Newman Ham Professor of History at Morgan State University. Together with interns Ms. Shelia Ashley Jordan (from Howard University) and Mr. Enimini Ekong (from Morgan State University), they interviewed over 15 people with connections to the Shaw community, ASALH organization, Woodson Home preservation efforts, and rare first accounts of interactions with Dr. Woodson. Although all of the oral histories tell a comprehensive story relative to the life and legacy of Dr. Woodson and the historic home, there were only three interviews that provide first person knowledge and were selected to be included in the appendix of this Historic Resource Study. Those individuals are Dr. Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, Ms. Constance Tate, and Mr. Robert Vest. Their unique illustration of Dr. Woodson as a part of their community growing up in Washington, D.C. was valuable, insightful, and clearly significant. Their unique reminiscences of the era and Woodson as a man give insight that compliments the scholarship in this Historic Resource Study.

Dr. Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham captures a rare account growing up in Washington, D.C. around the influential "Woodson Apostles". Her father Mr. Albert N.D. Brooks was a longtime educator, friend, supporter and member of ASALH. He also made significant contributions to the survival of ASALH after Dr. Woodson's death in 1950. The work of Woodson and many others influenced her to become a historian. Dr. Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham is currently a professor of History at Harvard University and has written extensively about African American History with special interest in the impact of African American Women in America and abroad. She was taught by her father to take pride in her culture and history and has fallen into the footsteps of extraordinary historians like Woodson, DuBois, and Franklin which is also shared in her testimonial.

Ms. Constance Tate reveals a remarkable experience growing up in segregated Washington, D.C. She captures a historical period rich with extraordinary anecdotes of the era, and random interactions with Carter G. Woodson as a young girl growing up as Woodson's neighbor. She shares the taught respect of giving to the less fortunate in the Shaw community, the use of Rock Creek Park by African Americans, and feelings of growing up in a segregated era in a neighborhood that provided a wide range of exposure and opportunities because of the varied skills and abilities of her prominent neighbors like Woodson. Her description of Logan Circle as a popular weekend outing site provided a testimonial that was indicative of the segregated period that was experienced throughout the nation.

Mr. Robert Vest also uncovers his experience growing up in Washington, D.C. as a teenager, who actually worked at the Phyllis Wheatley YWCA and for Carter G. Woodson at 1538 9th Street. Vest's exceptional memory helps to capture untold

experiences about habits and daily regiments Woodson practiced that have never been documented. Vest shares the role he played as an employee of the Associated Publisher Inc. In addition, he shared his experiences meeting the renowned leader Mary McLeod Bethune. From Vest's interview we see how his interactions assisted him in unknowingly gaining advisement and lessons learned from successful leaders. As an employee of Woodson, he had access to Woodson's office and home and moved about the area regularly, observing Woodson's love of prunes, and storing away advice shared by Woodson passed down from Woodson's older sister. He shared how Woodson always cleared his throat before he spoke, and observed how dusty his room was when he worked at the site.

This project would not have been the same without the time, effort and willingness of each of our selected interviewees. We want to take this opportunity to thank all of the participants of this project: 1)Reverend Calbert, Friends of the Woodson Home; 2) Mrs. Calbert, Friends of the Woodson Home;3) Dr. Jeanette H. Harris, Past National President of ASALH; 4) Reverend Jerry Moore, Shaw Community Leader; 5) Mr. William Simons, Friends of the Woodson Home 6)Mrs. Judy Williams, Historian of Shiloh Baptist Church; 7) Mr. Vince Deforest, African American Preservation Activist and Special Assistant to the (Robert G. Stanton) Director of the National Park Service; 8)Mr. Robert G. Stanton, First African American Director of the National Park Service; 9) Mr. John W. Franklin, son of historian Dr. John Hope Franklin; 10) Ms. Constance Tate, neighbor of Dr. Woodson and member of Shiloh Baptist Church; 11) Ms. Kimberly Seamons, Grand Niece of Dr. Woodson, 12) Dr. Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, daughter of historian Mr. Albert N.D. Brooks a personal friend of Dr. Woodson; 13) Mr. Paul Wells, Grand Nephew of Dr. Woodson; 14) Mr. Robert Vest, Employee of Associated Publisher Inc.; and 15) Mr. Charles White, member of ASALH Branch in West Virginia. Thanks for your time, coordination, and invaluable contribution to this project. It would not have been the same without your stories. We also want to thank the President of ASALH Dr. James Stewart for his support of this project; ASALH Executive Director Ms. Sylvia Cyrus; Dr. Elizabeth Clark — Lewis and Dr. Bettye Gardner of the ASALH Woodson Home Committee for your encouragement and the ASALH Executive Board for your assistance in making this project a success. We also want to thank, Mr. Alex Romero, current NACE Superintendant for his leadership and directive to get this project completed by the site. We must also thank Ms. Gayle Hazelwood for her efforts as the past NACE Superintendant; Mr. Robert T. Parker for his service to the Woodson Home and the Oral History Project as the first Park Manager of the Woodson Home; Ms. Eola Dance, NACE Cultural Resource Specialist for her support of this project; NCR Regional Historian Dr. Gary Scott for his support of this effort; and, Susan Ferrinteno and Aidan Smith from the Organization of American Historians for their work in moving this project forward. Last but not least thank you to my Central District staff for transcribing all the oral histories, Dr. Deborah Newman Ham, Mr. Enimini Ekong, and Ms. Shelia Ashley Jordan for conducting this oral history project and to Dr. Pero Dagbovie for this study which effortlessly makes Woodson an exceptional subject for further exploration.

We plan to use the oral histories to support interpretive theme development, exhibit planning, creating publications, and other media projects which will be on display at the Carter G. Woodson Home in the near future. Currently the video and audio tapes documenting this will be held for posterity in the National Archives of Black Women's History. Researchers who are interested in examining the data gathered during this project are able to see all transcriptions, tapes, and other donated materials.

Respectfully Submitted,
Joy G. Kinard, Ph.D.

NACE — Central District Manager
Mary McLeod Bethune Council House,
Carter G. Woodson Home,
Langston Golf Course,
The Capitol Hill Parks,
James Creek Marina,
and Buzzard Point Marina

National Park Service
Carter G. Woodson Home National Historic Site
Evelyn Brook Higginbotham
Interviewed by Enimini Ekong/transcribed by Ashley Robertson
Date of Interview: June 16th, 2011

INTERVIEWER: It's a pleasure to have you with us. If you would please introduce yourself and let us know what you do for a profession.

EVELYN BROOKS HIGGINBOTHAM: My name is Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham and I'm a professor at Harvard University. I'm a history professor, uh, I have um most recently co-written ah the co-authored the latest edition of From Slavery To Freedom, the classic survey of African American History by John Hope Franklin.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Thank you. I understand that your father worked with Dr. Carter G. Woodson during his adult life. Please tell me the perspective your father had of Carter G. Woodson, ah, the person and then Dr. Carter G. Woodson the scholar.

EVELYN BROOKS HIGGINBOTHAM: Mhmm. Well my father worked with Carter G. Woodson, ah, I think beginning around 1937. My father was very active with the Negro History Bulletin. In fact many people have written that he was the person primarily in charge of getting out the Negro History Bulletin. My father certainly was the editor of the bulletin after Woodson died. He was ah, teacher in the public schools. He was a junior high high school teacher. He later became a Vice-Principal and a Principal of uh public schools. So my father was really interested in the idea that ah Negro History as Carter G. Woodson understood it could be taught to young people, not just to scholars, not just to college people, but to um young people. And that carried on the idea of Woodson. Um, my father would have thought of himself as a mentee or as an advisee so to speak of Woodson. Woodson was his mentor. When my father died in 1964, ah my father was described; I believe it was by Charles Wesley, as uh an apostle of Woodson. So this tells you a little bit about what my father thought of Woodson. He like the many others who worked with him, saw Woodson as a visionary. They saw him as a stalwart defender of the race. They saw him as a man, who ah was out to write all the lies and wrongs ah, that had um been claimed about Black people. One of my best memories of my father was sitting at a table, the kitchen table with him, that's where we ate. And ah, he'd say, he would say like yeah, I don't know if he was exactly quoting Woodson. But he would always say ah like Mr. Woodson, Dr. Woodson, we um we work to disprove the lie that the Negro has no history or none worthy of respect. If I heard that one time I heard that a thousand times. And it was my father's devotion to Woodson as a man and his devotion to Woodson as a scholar that led me into history. What kind of man was Woodson? My father portrayed Woodson as a man completely dedicated to the association. He used to say Woodson was married to the association. Um, he saw Woodson, I know that in my readings about Woodson, Um and I've read several biographies. Some talk of him as very stern and very businesslike and he didn't have a lot of sense of humor but my father did not describe him that way to me. Um, as a child and all my entire life that my father was alive, my father described Woodson as a man completely committed to the cause. He was like a general in an army. He was like a soldier on the battlefield for truth. Um my father

recognized the great sacrifices this man made. I would go with my father to Woodson's home which was his office as a little girl, and all the way up until my father died. So Woodson had turned his own home into the office, his library became available to scholars and to other people who needed to use um some of the sources. Ah one of the, the people who used Woodson's library was Charles Hamilton Houston. Charles Houston, he was a great strategist for civil rights. He is considered the man who laid the groundwork for the Brown decision. Houston was a mentor of Thurgood Marshall. But in 1927 when um, when um, Houston was writing a report on Black lawyers, uh he used the office of Charles, um of Carter Woodson. In fact, ah he, Houston served as a researcher for Woodson when Woodson did the Negro Professional Man. Ah so uh these people my father included really adored uh Woodson. They saw him as a figure to follow and it's not common where men who are very strong minded and strong willed. When I think of my father, I think of men like Rayford W. Logan, who was also a professor of mine and who grew up with my father. He was my father's boyhood um playmate and they were in school together. Then like um William Brewer who was one of the editors of the uh Journal of Negro History for many years under Woodson. Benjamin Quarels, John Hope Franklin, these are strong independent men and yet they saw something in Woodson to follow. I think it was just his passion for history and for the truth. One of the great things about Woodson and I've come to appreciate this more as a historian um, is what he had to deal with trying to create an Association for the Study of Negro Life and History as he called it then. At that time in the early 20th century Black people were vilified in history. We were either defined as um you know below the traditional levels of civilization. Ah we were defined as people who made no contribution to American history. The scientific studies of history and you have to understand that in the early 20th century history as a discipline was in transformation. Uh in the late 19th and earlier part of the 19th century history was seen almost as a romantic kind of st-story. It was a kind of linear, progression, God's hand was directing it or some kind of providential destiny but by the late 19th early 20th century scholars begin to define history differently. We were in the midst of by the turn of the century what's called the progressive era and there was a big emphasis on statistical information. And on scientific method that was the bio word, scientific method. And so ah, the scientific study of history and the giants in this were people like William Dunning who wrote about reconstruction and made Black people look like they were completely incompetent to vote or be equal citizens. And these were the last words in scholarship during that time period. These were the people who were defined as scientific in their studies. Here's another one Ulrich Phillips perceived as a man who transformed the study of slavery brought it into the 20th century kind of understanding. And in his book American Negro Slavery, which was hailed I mean absolutely seen as a landmark study, so much so that Ulrich Phillips's perspective gained a following such that you could talk about the Phillips school of slavery. This was also true of Dunning, that Dunning's school of reconstruction history or the Phillips school of slavery studies, um to be defined as having a school of thought means that your work was so absolutely influential that people didn't even question it they just started with your premises and then you know looked at it at a more um local level or drew upon it in different ways. Well Phillips is the one who wrote that slavery was a training school for civilization for Black people, a training school. Uh so this is what Woodson has to fight against. And so he starts to,uh he graduates from uh an integrated college, called Berea College in Kentucky, and he is the last class before that school is commanded to be segregated. That's a story within itself

which we can get back to. Then he goes um to University of Chicago he gets a Master's Degree then he comes to Harvard. He's the 2nd Ph.D. at Harvard in the History Department. And he gets his Ph.D. in 1912. The first of course was Dubois. And so Woodson gets this Ph.D. in history, he goes back to Chicago and he decides that he is going to uh work on the scientific study of the Negro, or the Black or the African American. And so what he has to do is completely re-write what these other giants in the historical profession are writing. Now not only does he have to combat that but he has to combat a different type of history. And even more influential insidious history than these great scholars in academia and that is this popular history that was seen in the birth of a nation. Do you know that when the Birth of a Nation was first um released it was considered history. Uh it had a far greater influence than the books these scholars were writing. The everyday person thought this was history. What uh D.W. Griffith, the director of this, did was to take a book "The Klansmen", and it was this really racist book by Dixon and then take, because this was a silent movie he'd take um these statements historical statements some of them from the writings of the then president Woodrow Wilson and he put that into the uh the narration of the the film. So as the film shows these scenes and its all white people in the film even though they were Black faced in some cases. And then there would be these historical statements and then the year 1868 white people lost their rights in South Carolina, you know this kind of stuff. So everybody's watching this, the president at the time Woodrow Wilson wrote that this was history written by the white man. People deemed this to be history. So here is Woodson coming on the scene in 1915 same year this movie is coming out, saying we've gotta form an organization that will bring a professional perspective to the study of history. History must be professionalized for Black people just as it is for American history in general. But he said we also have to popularize it. We also have to make sure that history filters them to all of these Black people who go to schools and segregated schools in the south or where ever they are. This has to be made available. Our story has to be made available. What made it scientific was the search for fact. See a lot of these studies by these racists weren't based on facts they were based on prejudice. And so what science meant to a man like Woodson, and if you look at the early journal, and if you look at the minutes the word science is there over and over. And even my father when he's writing in the 1950's and 1960's as the editor of the um Negro History Bulletin the word science is still being used over and over because the emphasis is on truth. Uh the emphasis is on filling in these gaps in history not only all this missing information but also information that was just alive. Just this knowledge that was um deemed as truth. Slaves were happy. Black people made no contribution to the Civil War. They just shot through all of that in their in the Journal of Negro History and in the Negro History Bulletin and then Negro History Week which was founded in 1926 was really important. Now we it's a month Black History Month but when I was growing up it was still a week. And um it was a time when you learned about your history. Now I will tell you for people like my father and for many black people growing up in the south Negro History Week was an all year event. Black people studied their history. I remember talking about this recently at Duke; I was the John Franklin professor of American Legal History at Duke this past academic year. And I gave a talk about the role of the association in this struggle for equal right. And the Association of the Study of African American Life and History and the struggle for equal rights. And as I talked about uh how um Black people learned their history, people older people in the audience came up to me and said "We had to take Black history". So if you lived in Alabama or North Carolina

you were taught Black history um as a little kid in the 1920's and 30's and 40's and 50's. Um and so my father who was uh first the Vice Principal at Banneker and then he became the Principal at Garnet Patterson he taught Black History. Now the way they taught it they didn't teach it as it was distinct from American history they taught American history from a Black perspective. Somebody like the scholar John Bracey, John Bracey is a historian who teaches at the University of Massachusetts. He went to Garnet Patterson when my father was there. And he used to always say "Mr. Brooks had you know we had Black history at Garnet Patterson". He's a good example of a person who understood um what it meant to know your history. I was a good person like that because I grew up in a household devoted to Black history. By the time Black Studies and all that came on the scene I knew I knew all that stuff. My contribution would be that for all the amazing groundwork that these great scholars did they didn't do a good job on African American women so I had to come in with that perspective and I was of a generation of women at Howard and other places who began to focus on women. But as far as being proud of my heritage of knowing that there were about 200,000 Black people who served in the Union Army and you know combined navy that we Black people won the Congressional Medal of Honor during the civil war that there were all kinds of forms of slave resistance. Especially reconstruction, I think my father was particularly concerned with that um and that all comes out of the Woodson mentality it has fascinated me to read uh the writings of Woodson himself uh and also the kind of association that he tried to build from there. In getting back to Woodson the man I do want to emphasize this um I got to know who Woodson was first through the lens of my father. Um I got to know him more as I studied history. And as I read. So for example his Miseducation of the Negro. I think that typified the commitment people like my father and others had. Just to give you an example of my father, he worked a full-time job; he was a principal of a school you know. He had to do all kinds of serious work with that school and yet he when he left work he would go to the headquarters which was Woodson's home. Uh he worked there for absolutely nothing; he got no stipend for doing this. When Woodson died in 1950 my father had already been the um head of the finance committee he started that in 48. So when Woodson died in 1950 my father had to really help get the um Association for the Study of African American Life and History on firmer footing because there was a big decline. People were demoralized it was a very sad time. The association, I keep calling it the association because that's what it was called then but everybody calls it ASALH so now forgive me for going back and forth. But the ASALH at that time uh after uh Woodson died and this is written about in the tribute to my father. Uh, Charles Wesley says it was demoralized, people were saddened. Ah there was a tremendous debt with regard to the press, the loans out. And so it was for my father to strategize this, to help bring um it back to solvency. By 1953 the Association had no more debt. So this was amazing. Um and to do all this without pay it is to say something about my father yes but it is to say something about Woodson. Because again he was married to the association. His whole life was the association. He lived in it. HIs office was his home. Uh his, obsession was this idea that Black people had to be equal in the United States. And part of that equality was yes rights but it was also just knowing about your heritage. It was also making this larger public of these people who had kept us down because they didn't believe we had any particular role or anything to be proud of it was to teach them as well that there was something really really important about our presence in this nation and that this nation wouldn't be America had it not been for all the things. That's why it's called the Study for

Negro Life and Culture it's not just about the past in the abstract history way but it's about a past that tells us about our present and helps us to move into the future and it's rich, if you look at the many writings that are in the journal and in the bulletin it's about politics, it's about culture, people like Zora Neale Hurston were writing in there, people um just, Sterling Brown. It's a variety, it's not just the historians, and it's not just Black people who were writing in there. And one of the really important things that Woodson does from the very beginning, when he establishes the association, it is not an all Black organization. We think of it as an all Black organization, it's a Black organization, it's a predominantly Black organization but it was not an All Black organization. So the first president of the Association was Robert Park, the sociologist in Chicago. Um you know there would always be white people who wrote articles in the Journal of Negro History. In fact one of the things that is so important to have The Journal of Negro History as Woodson um developed it, is that he won the support of really important uh influential whites, lawyers, like uh Moorfield Storey. Moorfield Storey was an amazing man who was on the board of the NAACP was one of the great um lawyers to fight uh housing cases at the early century, early part of the century. Well he was on the board of uh the ASALH, the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. Uh Woodson was just always very clear that it had to be predominantly Black, it had to be our group but it wasn't a group that was narrowly and we don't want white people involved. And for anyone who argues that position I tell them look at whose writing. Lots of white people who write in there and it was wonderful because the early writings about Black people didn't have a venue in the traditional white uh historical organizations. If you think about the American Historical Association which was the premier historical meeting, you know every year all these historians from who did work all over the world would meet in a different city. What would become the um Organization of American Historians, that group uh they didn't, as a general rule, invite Black people to their sessions to give papers. Nor did they have their writings published in the American Historical Review, which belonged to the American Historical Association or their Journal of American History which belonged to the Organization of American Historians. Not only did Black people, as a general rule Black scholars did not find an easy way to write in those journals. Topics about Black people weren't published in those journals. So you think about white people who wrote about Blacks um they wrote in the Journal of Negro History. Black people who wrote about Blacks wrote in the Journal of Negro History. I think what Woodson did though that was so important and I know is that he mentored Blacks. If you look at his, the people who wrote like Logan and like Lorenzo Green, Luther Porter Jackson these people were mentored by Woodson. Some would have fallen out later. Logan and Woodson would fall out later. Um but even when Logan and Woodson fell out, when Woodson died Logan came, stepped up to the plate and always spoke in a tradition of great respect for Woodson. Um he was a giant, he was just absolutely a giant and there are very few people, I cannot think of any scholar who has had that kind of long reach over generations. Um I was reading Pero Dagbovie, and he said something like "if" I don't know if he was saying "If I were dead, even if I am now, he considered himself, I would be a Woodson". — And I think um many of us would.

INTERVIEWER: Can you give your father's full name and the years that he worked for Carter G. Woodson?

EVELYN BROOKS HIGGINBOTHAM: So my father was Albert N.D. Brooks. His middle initials stood for Neel Down. Albert Neel Down Brooks. And he as I said started in the 30's, looked like the 30's, it might have been the 20's. But definitely by 1937 he was with the founding of the Negro History Bulletin. Right there with it. Um, in 1948 again he was the head of the finance committee. In 1950 he became a member of the executive council and from 50 to his own death in 1964 he ran that office on 9th street. He uh was the person in charge. Uh he had working with him two wonderful women I will never forget them. One was a woman named Willie Miles and another was Nerissa Milton. I remember Ms. Miles because she had all these bracelets; she used to wear all these silver bangles. Um but my father was the one who was the head honcho in that office. He was the secretary treasurer of the association. Um from the time of Woodson's death until he died like after my father died Charles Wesley came back from Ohio to run it. But had my father had been living he would have stayed in Ohio. But um my father worked with um Woodson and my grandfather was a very important person to Woodson. My grandfather now would have been senior to Woodson in age. My grandfather was born a slave in 1851. My grandfather went to um Lincoln University where he got his degree in 1873. When my grandfather went to Lincoln it was initially for him almost like a grade school and then you know you would kind of go through with it to graduate. I actually have a copy of an 1868 petition where my grandfather's signature is there. His brother Robert Peal Brooks, his brother died early. He was I think the first Black person to take the bar and pass the bar in Richmond. Uh, also in that class uh was um was the 1868 class was Archibald Grimke, who was a great civil rights leader and his brother Francis. In fact my grandfather, who could, who officiated the wedding of Frances Grimke and Charlotte Forton Grimke. And he officiated the burial of their mother. So he was really close in with them. Well Woodson liked my grandfather a great deal and he wrote the introduction to my grandfather's poetry, uh there's is a book of poetry called the Pastor's Notes, Voice, The Pastor's Voice. And my grandfather pastored the 19th Street Baptist Church. From 1882 can you believe this? 1882 to 1945. He was 63 years in that position. So um Woodson knew my grandfather, he liked my grandfather, he respected my grandfather. And uh I always felt indebted to Woodson for writing that introduction of the Pastor's Voice because I learned about my grandfather from Woodson. The other thing about Woodson that I have will always come to appreciate is that um, in the 1980's, I forget the exact year now 88 or something like that Shiloh Baptist Church celebrated its I wanna say it's 125th anniversary and I wrote the history of Shiloh. And in my writing the history of Shiloh I wanted to find voices for . . . of people of every uh pastoral generation so the first pastor the church was founded like 1863 or something like that. So it was the.. this very early period. So it's hard to find somebody from that very early period uh whose voice could still be remembered. In the 1930's Woodson had started a uh, I guess its part of the federal writers project. But it was an interview. And I just happen to be going through an old desk and there was Woodson's interview of a woman who was a part of that first group. She tells the story to him of going to the um Rock Creek Park and breaking the ice and being baptized in February. Uh but that was Woodson's uh, he could just see the value of local stories. These local institutions, Black institutions uh as well as the larger political stories that we've come to know so

well. Uh and his writings show it. I mean he writes about the Negro church, that's one of his books he writes about the Negro Professional Man, you know about lawyers and doctors. He has uh written about African proverbs, he wrote the Negro and Our History which was the forerunner to "From Slavery to Freedom" and it had as many editions as if not more right now than slavery to freedom. Uh and then he wrote these polemical books like the Miseducation of the Negro. And I digressed on that because the point about The Miseducation of the Negro is that you are trained for a purpose. You are trained no matter what your field is; you are trained to do something to help others. You are trained to lift um that uplift attitude ugh for Black people was really important to Woodson. If you got your education as a Black person, especially those who went off to white schools, well it wouldn't even just need to be a white schools you could go to Howard and have this happen and all you were interested in was a life of comfort and materialism and this is before E. Franklin Frazier's Black Bourgeoisie, but if that's what your life was about then he called you miseducated. He said that you didn't understand the value, and the utility of your education, your education was to better not only yourself but those around you. Well I think that's the sacrifice, we talk about the type of sacrificial attitude of people like my father and Logan and John Hope Franklin that was it. And you were a scholar not because you just like the idea of sitting in some ivory tower and smoking a pipe and reading books. You were a scholar because history mattered and history had a lesson to the present. And so it was really important. I as a child growing up, uh I had such a rich sense of history because of him. Uh, because of my father's uh as a man who was influenced by Woodson. So after my father died for example, he would in the basement of our house that I he use to live in, I saw them in the basement he would um you'd see the copy edits and you know it was pages of Negro History Bulletin and I'd come down there and try to help. Or he'd take me over to the association, which was Woodson's home. So I saw it, you know I felt Woodson's presence right in that home. Ah, it was busy, it was a busy place, I thought everything was going on about history there and you knew Woodson had set the tone. Ugh, I remember in my own home, people coming to my house. I met John Hope Franklin when I was 5 years old. 5 years old because these scholars, Dr. Logan, Benjamin Quarles, there was a man named William Brewer. William Brewer looked like a white man but he was a Black man, very race conscious. And he was the editor of the Journal of Negro History for many years very, um, how can I describe, he would in some ways be described as, people have described, um Woodson a very stern man. Very, he used to call me a brat because I was mischievous, but he was amazing you know. And I didn't get my feelings hurt, especially now I appreciate him, when I read his review and coming here I looked over the bulletin dedicated to my father and one of the things I liked and it just takes me back to the point I made about this is not an all Black organization but it had a clear sense of what it's solution was. My father, after integration, he writes this wonderful piece on Negroes in the Negro History Bulletin where he says "now that we have integration, some people think that you know there's no need for Black institutions but that's wrong you know. Some people think that they can just go into these white organizations and teachers organizations and historical organizations. He said and that's fine to go into them but the study, our particular issues can sometimes be submerged in those organizations. Sometimes they're not addressed at all in those organizations and so that's why we need an association for the study of Negro life and history. And I think that was the way I know that was the way Woodson developed the um association. It was a way to bring people on our board for the

mission of Negro history. If it wasn't to transform that mission but it was to bring people of any race on board for that mission. And he was very clear about the purpose of history. So I feel indebted to Woodson's legacy and to those who came after. In fact I do want to say this; I do think um it important uh to understanding who Woodson was. To say that there are very few organizations who have giant like figures and when those giant life figures die those organizations still survive you know. I would never call what he did a cult or anything like that but it is still unusual when there is such a dominant singular force. You know some organizations where there are a cluster of people, therefore it keeps going. It gets incorporated, it moves on. But when you have an organization that was so much under the guidance of one man. Um his uh, if you look at the writings they call him the director. The director says, so he's clearly the boss, he is clearly uh the man in charge, uh, people didn't argue with him. Uh He is the force behind it and he leads it for so many decades and then he dies in April 1950 and that was just a cataclysmic man. You know I shuddered when I think about that month when he died because his protégé to have taken that spot was a man named Luther Porter Jackson. I don't know if you've ever done any work on him but he is a person who needs to be just brought up to the stature of his greatness because he was such a great man. Uh to the public but Luther Porter Jackson lived in Virginia and he was an ardent um Woodson supporter. And uh he was active he was the type of educator he taught at Virginia State University. He uh was probably the biggest uh, voice for Negro History Week. Organizing you know, not only people in Virginia but around the country. He was just a force and so everyone thinks this man he's handsome, they think he's gonna come and take over after Woodson dies. And people are horrified to think that this giant the founder, that's the other word they called him, the founder died. You don't even think about like that people dying. You don't even think that the man with boundless energy, like Woodson had, he had boundless energy could die and he dies. And when he dies uh the only um the only kind of hopefulness at one point was that you had somebody like Luther Porter Jackson who could step in and he dies like a couple weeks later. And Charles Hamilton Houston dies within days of Woodson, Charles Drew the great doctor dies within a week of Woodson and you're just like they're giants. All of a sudden God says come home, all of them in this one month in April of 1950 I mean I could see how many people could be demoralized by a lot of things happened.

Part II

Woodson dies and all these other giants in medicine Charles Drew, blood plasma, Charles Houston who is the strategist and the person who lays the groundwork and the dean of Howard Law School for many years. And works with the NAACP legal defense fund, he dies. And then Luther Porter Jackson whom people think is gonna be the successor and they just think this. So um you know the Rayford Logan steps in to do this and he will become the person who takes over for a while. Uh but I think the really important issue and I think it's a crucial issue about Woodson's leadership. You often hear people who are Woodson's boys you know Woodson has these men who are great men but they are the apostles so to speak of Woodson. The thing about it is that and I really want to emphasize this, that no matter how stern people say he was no matter how um the boss he was he obviously instilled in all of these other historians a commitment not only to him but to his mission you know, not only to his organization but to his organizations mission. And this to me is really crucial because

when you have a singular figure like this and he dies often not long after that organization dies. And yet that organization has continued and it's about to celebrate its one hundredth anniversary we're coming up on that moment. And so this uh idea that it could still survive and it could still push forward is because of these people in whom Woodson instilled his passion for truth and the truth about the Black past; the truth about this nation uh the good and the bad about this nation; the ability to instill pride in African Americans and also pride being American. Um, because you wanna see America transformed. My father when he took over um he begins certain campaigns and one of his campaigns was I am a proud American. Now he would wear a button and the button had Woodson's face on it, it had Mary McLeod Bethune's face on it, it had Frederick Douglass' face on it it had Abraham Lincoln's face on it. And this button was the February for you know black history and he would wear this. And I would be a little girl going to New Jersey to some place like Howard Johnson's with my father and he would wear this button. I was telling you I was chagrinned I was so embarrassed like why are you advertising you know all this Black stuff and in my mind in my world I was like 8 or 9 years old you're self conscious about everything. And he was so proud of this and I couldn't understand why because what he was saying was that America was changing at that time in the 50's America was changing. And he wanted to show that being a proud American meant that you could be a Frederick Douglass because Frederick Douglass transformed America or you could be a Mary McLeod Bethune because she helped transform America (see what I'm saying). Or you could be a Carter G. Woodson because Carter G. Woodson transformed the way this nations past was told. I it was to me a great thing. I could it was a voice of patriotism in a new way. It was a way to say we are not ashamed of being Black but more important we are laying hold to all of our rights as citizens all of our claims to equality. All the things this nation speaks of as its ideals. Not just simply because we want a nation to be consistent but because the nation wouldn't be where it was if it hadn't been for our efforts. And so you know I see with this torch that's being carried by other people. Um, something that Woodson did to make sure that we still carry that torch. We still carry it and we never forget Woodson. We just never forget Woodson. As great as John Hope Franklin, was, and John Hope Franklin was such a good man and he um I always say that what John Hope Franklin did even Woodson didn't do this, was to mainstream African American history. He opened those doors. Uh in those organizations by his own presence, being present, president of seven of them, by writing a book that was clearly um going to be you know a moment of social change. Almost like a historical bible. It told history at a time when America was literally in the throws of the civil rights movement. So that was important. But as great, and I never take that from John Hope Franklin, but there wouldn't have been a way for John Hope Franklin to have written from slavery to freedom if it hadn't been for Woodson's work. There just wouldn't. He couldn't have done it, at least not the way that he did it in the time that he did it. And all of those other people who see them, the CM Woodward, the whites and blacks who wrote they they had a way to articulate their ideas because of this association his conferences. Its journal, its um its Negro History Bulletin. It became legitimate and Woodson you know is the force behind that. The point I also want to make about my grandfather, my grandfather's name was Walter Henderson Brooks, Walter H. Brooks and Walter Brooks was born a slave in Virginia, in 1851. And Walter Brooks um becomes a minister he goes to ah Louisiana for a while in the 1870's he gets to Washington D.C. in 1882 and he pastor's as I said 19th Street Baptist Church for 63 years. But one of the things that my

grandfather does uh and ah I wanna say in either in the 19 teens or early 1920's is he writes a couple of articles for the Journal of Negro History and I'm sure Woodson got him to do it. and he writes about the founding of the Black Baptist church in South Carolina. It's called the Priority of the Silver Bluff Convention and he talks about this um Baptist churches are autonomous local churches. So he shows how in the 1770's there are black churches in South Carolina and that area around there. Um that was very important for me as a historian because I write on women in the black Baptist church and for me to look in the — of Negro history and to see that my grandfather had written on the black Baptist church history — and he was my predecessor it was amazing. I felt like I had understood my roots in a completely different way. It's my uh my venture into um writing about the black Baptist church was through the perspective of women. And there was this great woman Nannie Helen Burroughs and Nannie Helen Burroughs was a member of my grandfather's church and he was the pastor there. This great woman oriented uh in pushing their rights. A very good man a very upright kind of figure. um and so my mother told me once she said there is a uh, now that you're interested in women's history, there was a woman who went to your grandfather's church named Nannie Helen Burroughs and um she'd be interesting to write about. So I begin to write about Nannie Helen Burroughs and played a role in getting her papers to the Library of Congress. But I say that to say that I discovered Nannie Helen Burroughs uh as a way ah to get me into the history of the black Baptist church. I didn't realize my grandfather had done it until going into that history. I saw his articles and that was just. It was so transformative to me to know that I was standing on his shoulders. Nannie Burroughs but um it was very transformative to know that I was kinda walking in the footsteps and so um I am thankful for Woodson because had Woodson not had that journal he did my grandfather published that in a kind of little booklet but that booklet is long since unknown. You can find it in the Library of Congress but you can always find that article and digitize it and — and you can find that article and other articles by him in the Journal of Negro History. So that's another thing that he did was to capture for posterity. You know a documentation ah one of the things he did was to have a section on documents. So not only did scholars write their own um contributions it call his writing a contributionists in a way of writing history. Filling in the gaps which was very important. But not only did they do that but in the Negro history in the Journal of Negro History Woodson always made sure there were documents. So these were just actual primary sources you know. Nobody else's writing about this is a letter that one finds from someone who's writing. I remember reading one and I included it in From Slavery to Freedom. Marian Wright had found a document from the ah turn of the ah 19th century might of even been the late 18th century of trying to found a um colony a black town in Florida it was written in Spanish but it was for the um black people who were coming to Florida so this is before um actually the revolutionary war. So it would have been early in the uh 1780's. It was before the 1770's so it was even before then. These kind of documents who would know you know these things but these were the facts of history. These can't be denied because they are sources from the time. So Woodson would have those included. The other thing that Woodson had was book reviews and they reviewed everything the Journal of Negro history. He had such a sense of what was important. He wanted to make the association as reputable as any of these white groups. And they were. I mean these leaders of some of these groups would say I'm going to the meeting and the boss couldn't believe what I saw. And Woodson has created a first rate organization. So he gave dignity to us and making

dignity to us for those of us who are scholars um we recognize the dignity that he brought. But just to everyday children black history month all the pageants. One of the things that Woodson did and my father emulated was for Negro History Week to have a broad community of people as it wasn't just um as it was sometimes done in schools today where you study a black inventor for the month or you know you just have a few black people that you bring in as historical objects of study for a month. They had pageants, historical pageants and they had all kinds of activities for whole communities were brought into it. It was written up in the newspaper it was just amazing, just amazing. Um, politicians.

INTERVIEWER: Now you mentioned early in your life being able to actually walk in um Carter G. Woodson's house. Did you ever have an opportunity to actually meet Carter G. Woodson?

EVELYN BROOKS HIGGINBOTHAM: I don't remember. You know I am absolutely sure I met him but I am not I wasn't old enough to continue that memory. I can tell you what I do remember though. I remember very distinctly going with my father when he made speeches right after Woodson died. I can remember that so clearly. Um going into Virginia with him and he was giving a speech about the death of the founder but how we had to continue. And this is when he's trying to raise money. Between that 1950 53 period. And he's saying we have to keep the we have to raise money. And um they do. And I can really remember that that's one of my earliest memories of him and one of the reasons when I would go make speeches I would take my daughter along. It didn't have the same effect with my daughter because she's not a historian. But with my father he was such a great figure to me and so I do remember that.

INTERVIEWER: Do you remember how old you were?

EVELYN BROOKS HIGGINBOTHAM: I am now 66 so I would have been in 50 5 6 years old 7 5 6 7 8 years old born in 45. Uh I remember uh you know what I can really remember so vividly is walking into that office. I can just still see the office in my mind. I can see Mrs. Milton and Mrs. Miles sitting in the front as you first walk and then you go that first floor. I don't know what it must have looked like when he was alive. You know when he was loaning, um like he must have lived above and I never went upstairs but I can just remember that whole first floor and where my father was um with that. I remember when my father died they had his um viewing at McGuire's and McGuire's was like next door or something to the um association in those days was on 9th street and I remember thinking for a long time this is honestly. And thinking for a long time that the viewing was at the association you know but it wasn't I think it was just next door but it was just right there you know. And I remember thinking it was at the association and how um appropriate you know that it was right there because that's where he gave so much of his life and my father in all candor was dying. He was diagnosed with Leukemia and he just never quit. He just worked himself you would have never known. When you read those testimonies people are shocked that he died. When you look at him I mean he looks fabulous. Um but he just you know after a while he just couldn't continue. But every, but right to the end, one thing he could continue was that. You know he would go to that office. I remember so clearly when um Council Trenthome died. Uhh

INTERVIEWER: Council?

EVELYN BROOKS HIGGINBOTHAM: I think, what's his name? It's Trenholm t-r-e-n-h-o-l-m. I think that's not Trenholm, Council or Council Trenholm. You'll have to look it up.

INTERVIEWER: Oh Ok.

EVELYN HIGGINBOTHAM: But he was another giant. See these people who when people really study Woodson this is my belief they really need to study all the people around him. Because they were so vital to keeping this thing going. Woodson was the founder, Woodson was the boss he was all the but he couldn't have done it by himself. He needed these tributaries. Why my father was so important to be candid, with the Negro History Bulletin. Because my father was in the school system. See he was the very person to whom those bulletins would go and be sent around the world around the nation. To children, and to um teachers. And oh that was a great aspect about I don't I don't even know if this was Woodson's idea but it was certainly in the Journal of Negro history. Teachers would talk about how they taught Negro history to high school students or to elementary school students. It was a pedagogy um that was explained. Well when the Negro History Bulletin, when you would actually see these stories because you're not gonna ask these little kids or high school kids to read or junior high school kids to read one of the journal articles necessarily but they can easily read these short pieces in the Negro History Bulletin and they're historical. They're very fully historical fact but they're shorter and they're more accessible in their language. I don't believe there are footnotes, there may be in some cases. But they are broad and they talk about people who have gone overseas and they introduce young people and the community in general to what's happening in the black world of you know historical importance. So um when Council Trentholm died it was I remember it was something like fallen. You know they use this language of a fallen solder and you get that sense of it. And really just a few months later my father died. So I can just picture that and I remember seeing this man's face on the um cover and then who would know that just a few months my father, my mother just kept this from us so we didn't know. My father didn't die until the end because he didn't act like he was dying. And I would go with him to the association you know just to do all that he had to do. But he was just using that last bit of energy for something he loved. But I think, isn't this the same way with Woodson. Woodson just worked till he dropped and that's what happened to Luther Porter Jackson. I remember reading the obituary for Luther Porter Jackson and one was so poignant it just said that he did not know how to slow down and he you know did this uh for the association and for its mission. And I don't say that as a criticism I say this cause to some degree I live like this but I say this because when you have the passion for something that is noble that is willing to die for. You know is just willing to stand, it's not that you are suicidal but it's just important enough to just give all that you have and just give it until you can't give it and that's what Woodson stood for. And everybody I think about Logan, I think of uh Quarles I think of John Hope Franklin they were all that way. I'm sure that Woodson was the model for them he was definitely the model.

INTERVIEWER: And in that regard um are you apart of Dr. Carter G. Woodson's association?

EVELYN BROOKS HIGGINBOTHAM: Oh I am a life member of course

INTERVIEWER: (laughs)

EVELYN BROOKS HIGGINBOTHAM: Definitely a life member

INTERVIEWER: And how long have you been a member?

EVELYN HIGGINBOTHAM: Well I've been a life member now I mean I like in the 70's I was giving talks so at the association so I was a member but I became a life member in 1988.

INTERVIEWER: Ok

EVELYN BROOKS HIGGINBOTHAM: That's when I yep paid a little more. That's when I had enough money to pay more. (laughs)

INTERVIEWER:(laughs)

EVELYN BROOKS HIGGINBOTHAM: (laughs) So I did.

INTERVIEWER: Can you tell me in your time being a member of the association how it's evolved?

EVELYN BROOKS HIGGINBOTHAM: It has evolved. I mean in um I think one of the the great um well let me put it a different way. It's had its ups and downs and it has a wonderful leader. But it's had leaders that have created more problematic issues for it. I mean I remember um, I guess I should not name names. I can't remember whose. But I mean the one thing I remember my mother was so upset about and there was irony here that my father had worked for the association for so many years without any pay um matter of a fact one of the contributions when you read the Negro History Bulletin. It said that one of the ways; I think Charles Wesley wrote this. That he was able to really get this financial situation better is by really introducing this uncompensated as it's called volunteer workers. These are people again who are committed, Almost like a church missionaries alright, well ah after my father died and well into the 70' and black history is far more popular, the ford foundations of the groups started to give money so it was richer than it had ever been before, I mean really richer. And people had salaries and people had you know all kinds of money and that what you have to be really careful about because sometimes and I'm very thankful that the — foundation did this but sometimes foundation money can cripple you. because you create a style that goes with all that money that you never had before and then when that pulls back you don't have the where with all to to just keep going like you were going. Um and so to some degree that happened and I think there were some were there loans on Woodson's house. I mean these weren't good and so that was a problem. And why would there been a loan on Woodson's house when that house was paid for, you know what I'm saying. It was very difficult for some of the old guard to understand that kind of thing. Which you now you just kept supporting and then when leadership changed um you had people who were going about it differently. So you had different types of leaders who came and Charles Wesley was a very good one after my father died. But there were different people who came in as the head of it. The woman Sylvia Cyrus who's the head of it now is amazing. She has truly taken it to new levels. Uh and it is um back to I think its glory days to be candid with you. People of all races doing this work and the large numbers of people who come to the sessions still very much a community event and this year it's gonna be in Richmond which is gonna be exciting. But last year it was in Raleigh which was amazing. It just, I spoke for the Woodson luncheon and

it was like 1500 people in that room it was just amazing. So it, she has done a great job but it has had its moments of real worry. I remember when we were trying to save the Woodson house. I remember periods when um we were trying to do that. The other thing is um at Shiloh Baptist Church, and I'm sure it's true in other churches especially around the country. There are uh committees local you know churches have the so and so society the helping aid society, well they had a branch, those little branches of the association. So they played a really important role in saving the Woodson house and making it a historical landmark. I think at one time really in Washington there was some talk about like leveling some of those houses on 9th street. What a shame this would have been and it's just scary. And then see my father never made it to 14th street; it'd gotten bigger and bigger. So then it moved to 14th and it was on like I want to say 14th and R or Rhode Island or something like that. That's probably during the period that it where suffering from some problems. I think it's where it's in Maryland now I think? Where is it now?

INTERVIEWER: No it's it's currently um off of the P and Q by Shiloh Baptist

EVELYN BROOKS HIGGINBOTHAM: No that's his house, that's the landmark.

INTERVIEWER: Right.

EVELYN BROOKS HIGGINBOTHAM: But the business the office. See the his office was the his home which you call a landmark was the office ok. And that was the office when my father was there. But afterwards the office moved out of there. So the first place the office moved was on 14th and Rhode Island or something like that. See I can still see this white building. Then it moved someplace else. So the office the day to day activity is not where's that now?

INTERVIEWER: Yeah I believe that yeah I believe it was on 9th if I'm not mistaken

EVELYN BROOKS HIGGINBOTHAM: Oh still on 9th?

INTERVIEWER: Well cause I know whichever house before this one it was demolition. Um cause we talked about that with someone in another interview if I'm not mistaken.

EVELYN BROOKS HIGGINBOTHAM: The house near Shiloh though is the landmark house

INTERVIEWER: Yes that that is the landmark house

EVELYN BROOKS HIGGINBOTHAM: Well that's the house my father worked so I don't know what other house there was. I've never heard of another house. You should check on that to make sure. Because the only other house that I know that they had was this house on 9th street which was his home, ok, but this business center this place office and secretaries you know people who run it. Um that was um.

INTERVIEWER: Ok I believe they moved to Howard.

(Audience) they moved to another location but you're correct

EVELYN BROOKS HIGGINBOTHAM: Now Howard has the uh they had also they had the Journal. That's another good question I'm glad you said that. The Journal of Negro History that suffered. So for a while it wasn't even being published and V. P. Franklin I think is the

uh, there were other people before V. P. but V.P. Franklin in the one I believe most responsible for bringing it back to what it was before. Um at one point it was being published at Howard it still might be published at Howard. I think Alton Hornsby may have also been early on bringing it up to speed. But it was missing years, It was I think now it's doing what it's suppose to do and its getting good articles that it use to get. That's another way it suffered, I guess beginning in the 70's or so. One was just the location, the place of business so to speak. The place where office work took place uh the moves I think created a sense of instability. Not only for the group itself but for the home that landmark home. Because it came less vital and I think that's one of the reasons why um I mean as a used as a used facility it became less vital. And I think that's one of the reasons why people could even entertain ideas of demolition or taking you know. if they demolition , I have to go i'mma drive up as soon as I leave here to see what what the home is or what's the landmark but I would pray that landmark is the home that he lived in I mean the office where I was. You know from the 20's 30's 40's 50's 60's alright. Then um the Journal of Negro History suffered. So it did you know problems the fight over the name. That was a big issue. Because as we moved more into the black power realm um the association suffered for two reasons. One because um there was dissension in the ranks over the nature of the organization. White people who'd been active were — that was going on. And what the name of the group would be, we couldn't use the word Negro. There were people like Rayford Logan who could not use that word Black at all. So there was a fight over the name so that created dissension. Another issue was integration; this is the thing that my father talked about. For a period of time black people begin to these historians began to move into these organizations that they had never been really members of. Really hadn't been valued people in them, their articles certainly weren't dominant in journals and nor were they at conferences. Now all of these groups um AHA OAH American Studies all of these largely white groups they can go to their annual conferences. You see the black presence you see black topics especially white and black people writing about these topics but for a period of time there had been some Attrition so to speak away from ASALH. And into these groups. So what has happened now is there is this buildup back again we're still members of these other groups but we won't miss ASALH. So when people talk about oh this like the old times that's what they're referring too. They're referring to that interlude where there was you know just a kind of downward movement. But again I will say that the legacy of a great leader is to be able to make sure that dream stays alive and sufficient in enough people's minds and they don't ever let it die and they didn't. And now I think it's as strong as its been in a very long time.

INTERVIEWER: And that is an excellent point you bring which uh brings me to my final question. uh which is uh what would you like to see the Carter G. Woodson legacy become in terms of his home opening potentially around his centennial in 2015 and how we celebrate black history?

EVELYN BROOKS HIGGINBOTHAM: Well the home obviously would become like a museum I suppose people would walk through it so that's really important. I certainly would love to see um community people and others get a real sense of the the world that Carter G. Woodson was up against. Because see we live in a time now where people like Henry Louis Gates has all kinds of television you know you got all kinds of video

documentaries. People just take for granted I think how difficult his job was. No one no intelligent person would say black people don't have a history in America. People do this but they're not intelligent people. But this was taught in universities. This was actually taught. How can you study black history when there's nothing for you to find. That's what they were saying. So I would like for students to kind of get a sense of what, have some language from some of these giants of the field and counterpoise it against people like Carter G. Woodson did you know, said. Then I'd like for them to see um in a place like that, I don't know what's still there, like is his desk is still there, or those kind of things. But I'd like for them to just see the kind of day this man put in you know. So that when we complain about how hard we work maybe we'd have a better sense of, you might even have some kind of reenactment of the times of what a day in the life of Carter G. Woodson. Have an actor pretend to be him and do this. Um, I'd love to see um now carter Woodson was funny and there are all kinds of stories. I mean I remember he he was not a man with a small ego and when um they found that you may have heard the story but I've heard the story so many times I think the first person to tell me was Rayford Logan. But um when they were looking for a president for the West Virginia State University and then it was a black school now it's a state school it was predominately white but they asked Carter G. Woodson to head it up. And he told them find yourself a lesser man. (laughs) So they found John Wesley Davis who was a great man. But uh he was he was. Who knows how frustrated he was at the time that he said it or how joking he was. One thing about it he knew where he belonged. And the other thing about him I think it would be good to capture his passion. I mean he felt betrayed and he felt betrayed yes because he thought that um you know he was going to do this study of black history this kind of panoramic um endowment foundation supported study. Now so did Dubois. Dubois thought he was gonna do one too his Encyclopedia Africana. Both of them got rejected both of them. You can see the letters where certain white writers were saying Woodson is too much about black he's too black focused or too you know I don't wanna use the word nationalist but they would say he's too you know black focused. And then um they'd say for Dubois similarly he's not objective. His work is propaganda you know. So they wouldn't get those funds the funds went to somebody like of Melvin Herschovitz. And Herschovitz was you know good but. You know there's that embittered embittered both men. So that's an interesting story. Another interesting story is that Woodson and Dubois had a serious tension. A serious tension. And when you read Dubois' statement about Woodson when he dies his eulogy its ugly. Just downright ugly. He starts off something like Woodson is a bitter man or something like that. Just not sympathetic to his death and is not kind to his history his legacy because the man was a great man. I mean they had and Dubois um you know they had their differences and Woodson could be harsh Woodson talked about um Horace M. Bond in the most negative way when he reviewed his book. So I think it would be good to I know being a historian I like to capture complexity. Now I wouldn't overdo the negative because people wouldn't get the right idea about him and they won't understand how he could be such a force for good. But I do think you need to capture some of that um controversial spirit of Woodson in a docudrama that people could just come and watch for 15 minutes or something and then maybe have those who knew, well so many of them are gone now, who actually worked with him. Like Franklin is gone and Logan is gone. Perhaps you could get some of their voices after Woodson died so many of them wrote and they wrote beautifully. Woodson was furious with Logan when Logan went to Atlanta University and did his own

thing there. He was very negative to Logan. They had a tension but when Woodson died Logan wrote so beautiful so capturing someone's beautiful words. Mary McLeod Bethune wrote I believe in Carter G. Woodson I believed in him because and she just kept repeating that I believed in him and that's that apostle thing. You know I believed in Woodson you know it wasn't just that he was a great man there was something about him that you had to believe in because believing in him you believed in the better part of yourself the part of yourself that was never going to give into racial stereotypes — and so he didn't — that in these people. Just amazing. He was a complex man just an amazing man. He'd go out and eat dinner at the YWCA, Julia West Hamilton west town and he'd go there and eat dinner. He just didn't look like what we think was most scholars would like today. He taught at Howard he was at Howard for a while. He left Howard. He was just fascinating. I love his face his photographs of him he's got this wonderful image when he's a young man. All the same kind of had a love you know have you ever seen him smile? (laughs)

INTERVIEWER: We actually got one picture

EVELYN BROOKS HIGGINBOTHAM: I would love to see it. Now it's gotta be a big smile.

INTERVIEWER: No big smile. It was just a crack of a smile. But (laughs)

EVELYN HIGGINBOTHAM: No I've seen that one probably. It's a younger picture of him?

INTERVIEWER: Mmhmm

EVELYN BROOKS HIGGINBOTHAM: I mean a teeth showing smile. No he meant business. Uh but just a fascinating man. I think in the house though one of the themes I would always emphasize is transforming history. He transformed history he transformed the writing of history. He transformed the discipline of history. He transformed the understanding of the American past. He transformed this nation's story. He just transformed it you know. And nobody else can, not even Dubois, can take credit for all the ways he transformed history. Not even John Hope Franklin. Um, cause he was right there at the ground. I'm a Woodson fan.

INTERVIEWER: Thank You

EVELYN BROOKS HIGGINBOTHAM: Your Welcome.

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Transcription for the CAWO Project:
Mrs. Constance Tate
Interviewed by: Ashley Jordan and Enimini Ekong

March 24, 2011

CONSTANCE TATE: My name is Constance E. Tate. I have been a member of Shiloh all of my life and presently I'm on the Deacon board. I have been a part of almost everything in Shiloh. I have held a number of official positions . . . [inaudible] . . . a deaconess for 25 years. I belong to the Scholarship Committee. I also belong to the Carter G. Woodson chapter of A-S-A-L-H, ASALH. I forget about the new pronunciation. I have been a Sunday school teacher for over thirty, thirty-five years. I don't know. I'm not presently teaching, but I started a Senior Class which later became a young Adult Class. And that class is still going on, but I am no longer a teacher for it. When we talk about the various parts of the church, going on in the church, then maybe I can tell you things I belonged to because I've belonged to almost anything and everything. I am not a part of the present . . . um . . . hierarchy of the planning for the church . . . previously I was a part of the planning group, so therefore my role has changed through the years. Perhaps the most important thing that I can do is paint a picture of what Shaw was like. First of all, it was not "shameful Shaw." It was a very outstanding community, one that was diverse and rich. It was the focus for life for us. So that when we talk about the parameters of Shaw, it could go as far as U Street, which was a very important part of our lives. Howard Theater, which no longer exists, was definitely a part of our lives because it was there that we saw and heard all of the Great black musicians like Duke Ellington and others. Northward the Shaw community went as far as Florida Ave, including U Street. Then if we start going in other directions . . . If we started going . . . um . . . well let's go up to Howard University. Because between U Street and Howard University ummm the community was really Howard University and that went all the way over to LeDroit Park where we ummm used the grounds of Howard University as extension of our community. And people lived closer to Howard and what was called LeDriot Park. It's still called LeDroit Park. If we go Southward, I would say the influential thing was the library — at Mt. Vernon Square. You know the large white marble building? That was the public library. The Library was important part of your life because you went to the library almost every day. We were within walking distance of course and that made it very good . . . So if you can kind of see it in your mind of the area I'm talking about, you can see that it's really wide.

There were other influences in our lives, of course, from other environments. We participated with people from far in Northeast. Not much in South East. I don't know what it was about.

We had contacts with people in the Southwest, because that was a large black community that was also a very diverse community and had a lot of prominent people in it. And Black people lived in Georgetown. That's where they started before Georgetown became exclusive. Not too many black people survived that period of time — The churches of Georgetown were our friends. But we weren't with them every day. But when there were large occasions we met with the churches in the South West. And they came to meet with us. — You wanted to know more about the daily life in Shaw . . . Well let me describe something close. Where the Kennedy Center . . . [shoot] Kennedy Playground is that was the housing for three schools,

but they were white schools. There was an elementary school. There was a technical training school and there was a regular academic school. Most of the students who went to the technical school were white. There were a large number of white males in the community just coming into it riding the streetcars because there were streetcars on Georgia Ave and that was the connecting point from wherever they came from. So we were used to seeing white males. The elementary school was a regular elementary school. I can remember as a child because I lived across the street from the elementary school watching the young people, especially the girls take physical education. Back then they wore those white sailor shirts and bloomers . . . so bloomin . . . All of that disappeared, of course. There were some remnants of those schools . . . I shouldn't say remnants, but there were some of those schools within the neighborhood after the 1954 decision . . . after that of course other things happened and the neighborhood changed.

I went to an elementary school that was at 1st [first] and P streets. It was the Slater Langston School. It is still there, but it does not house children. I think it is a warehouse or something of that sort. Persons who were in this neighborhood went to Slater Langston, or if they were closer to LeDroit Park, they went to schools up 2nd [second] Street, elementary schools up near where the new St Luke's church or what have you. Well in the neighborhood, they went neighborhoods schools just as we went to neighborhood schools. Now, P Street was interesting because it was the border line . . . I shouldn't say borderline. It was the demarcation for school attendance. Where I lived on P Street is two blocks from here. I was not suppose to go to Shaw School because I was out of the zone. The this business of zoning is not anything new.

One of the physical things I wanted to talk about was really an extension of the Shaw area and was near my school, what is now North Capitol, Florida Ave and see that intersection in your mind . . . There was a huge circle there, not as large as Logan Circle. But it was a circle. It was called Truckston Circle and the interesting thing to me as a child was it had horse troughs where the horses came to drink water and these were on the sidewalk and they filled it with water and when people had horses, the horses came to those troughs to drink.

Our school would not sanction our really leaving the premises, but we had some teachers who took us around to see them. And, of course, at recess time, we would walk around to Truckston Circle because it was just around the corner. But that impressed me. I'm trying to give you things that . . . And to me it was exciting to see the horses drink from the troughs. We had a lot of horses in the neighborhood, but you didn't have watering places for them, but at Truckston Circle you did.

In the immediate neighborhood there are many things that have changed. What is now the Giant store at 8th [eighth] and P, that area was a huge market. It was not as large as the Eastern Market is, but it was a large market that served the community. The offerings inside the structure . . . it had both outside and inside. Inside, there were specialty — I guess I don't know what to call them, counters or whatever so that you had places where there was nothing but matte plaster. You had all kinds of beef. You had some people that specialized in lamb and beef. I learned how to tell the difference in meats by going with my parents to O street market and as my mother would buy — and my father went the market a lot too — in fact, the main market that we did on the weekends my father did it. But I went enough with my mother that I knew that there were special people who were her butcher, so to speak, her fish person and so forth. So as we got older she could send us up to the market and there was

someone who catered enough to her to know what she wanted and would give us whatever it was that she would have bought anyhow. So it was that kind of support in the community. So that gives you some idea of the level of living.

That is not to say we didn't have people in the community who were poor, we did, but it's not the kind of poverty you see now. I guess it was contained. Yet we had a very sad situation right here near Shiloh. We had what you called "alley dwellings." These were houses behind regular houses that you could see because they were in the alley . . . and only a few of them still exist. There is one I believe, at least it was a few years ago, off of 10th [tenth] street and people lived in the alley dwellings as well as on the streets itself, so there were people who were poor.

I know the things that most mothers did, and Reverend Harris had talked about it at my mother's funeral. She always had baskets of things that she would send to people in the neighborhood. Why we were going to take these baskets? I have no idea. I just know that there were times where mama said take this to Mrs. Smith [words unidentifiable]. I think all of the children who grew up in Shaw did that . . . and you don't ever see this kind of basket anymore . . . grapes came in the huge basket. And so those large baskets were kept and when it was time to take somebody a donation of food, my mother filled up that basket. And you didn't just send it helter skelter. It was properly put together. You lined it with linen. You set napkins, which you went back and got later. The people who received it did not abuse it. You got your basket and your linens back.

On the corner — I was talking about the market. I wanted to paint you the picture that on the outside, not in the large market structure, were people who came in from the countryside who brought fresh vegetables and and so forth. Again, you had your favorite people, or your parents had their favorite people they bought from. And so as we got older my mother could send us up to the market and whatever it was that she wanted — greens or whatever, vegetables and so forth — we would go to her person, so to speak, and that person always knew exactly what she wanted and there was no cheating about that food. They didn't take advantage of you and you didn't take advantage of them. But it was a source for us to be in contact with people who were farmers. But we only saw them as vendors. We didn't see them in the farming process. Also at seventh, outside of the market structure, there was a building and that building housed the post office. So we had our own post office in this area and the United States Postal Service supplied a person who was the post mistress. I can only remember her name as Ms. Irene — I can't, maybe we didn't call her anything else, maybe we didn't know anything else — except Ms. Irene.

ASHLEY JORDAN: So was she black?

CONSTANCE TATE: No, she was white

In that same building was a drugstore. And on the second floor in that drugstore was a doctor's office.

Dr. Greene was very famous in Washington — had his office overtop of the drugstore. So that there was this continuous something going on because people were coming to the doctor, they were going to the . . . The building that housed the post office and the drugstore was hubbub of activity.

In front of the drugstore young boys sold their papers. My brothers were vitally

involved in selling the Afro and other papers of the sort. The papers were delivered by the Afro to my brothers and other boys in the community and they stood in front of this drugstore and sold them because that's where everybody came especially on Friday and Saturday, which were their big days. And people bought their papers going into the market, or going into the drugstore, or coming to see the doctor. Now, on another corner at Seventh & P — that would be southeast corner — was a large salvation army. It was huge building that housed people and it conducted church services on the street so that, especially on Sunday evenings, the persons who were running the Salvation Army — they were employed by the Salvation Army — to have church outdoors so that people who not a part of a church and, or even those of us who were a part of a church would stop and listen to the service. And this particular army had a family with two young girls...and those girls were the same ages as we. And so we became very friendly with them and learned their lifestyle, which was different, because they had to do more religious things than we did.

That whole block from Seventh and P to Seventh & Q was commercial. There was a theater, the Broadway Theater. Not all the little stores like you see now — but Broadway Theatre. There were some other stores, but the main thing that people went to that block for was the theater. When I was growing up, girls went one kind of movie and boys went to another. On Saturdays, boys went to "Shoot Em' Ups" — Tom Nixon and all these people you read about in ancient history [laughs] — those were the ones playing in the films.

My mother, and other mothers, didn't let the girls go to the shoot 'em ups. That's what they would call them — shoot 'ups. We used to call them shoot 'em ups. I guess it was a cultural thing. Girls were protected. You were expected to be a lady and I guess you couldn't very well be a lady if you were going to see these movies with all this shooting and so forth in it.

Somehow — I don't know how I did it, or how I got, or maybe it was because of my brothers even though they were not older than I — eventually I got to see Tom Nix and Buck Jones, but not when I was growing up. I think I was about grown when I got to a place where I was bold enough and they would allow, and not only that but the people who ran the theater did not let girls in! So that cut you off from getting to see some of . . . I guess you could have sneaked in on a Saturday afternoon. No one would've known. And speaking of Saturday — Saturday in the black community was a traditional day of preparation for church and Sunday activities. So that it was a time for getting your clothes ready. Oh and hair dressers were along that block so there were several shops. And hair dresser shops were not run as they are today on 9-5 basis. You came in the morning and they was open all day long 'cause people were coming and some of those persons worked until ten and eleven o'clock at night, and even midnight, to accommodate people because they worked, they had to come to the hairdresser later on.

The area on P Street itself was very diverse. From Ninth street up 'til Logan Circle, music teachers lived in there, dance teachers. So all of us took music lessons from the people who were in our community. Those were our music teachers.

ASHLEY JORDAN: So when you say Logan Circle was diverse, not so much because of ethnic background, but because of profession, or . . . how you would describe Logan Circle?

CONSTANCE TATE: Logan Circle was entity in itself because one did not live in Logan Circle if one did not have the means. You can tell that by the structures that are there. Those same houses were there — they've just been renovated. One family. It wasn't that rooming house situation. There were families that were rich enough to be able to afford that so you had that right in your doorstep so everybody — you know — went to Logan Circle for one thing or another. And then, on top of that Logan Circle was very large . . . they cut up Logan Circle for traffic so that's why 13th Street and all those streets cut across. When I was growing up Logan Circle was one area and the [inaudible] came to the circle and went around the circle. They didn't go through the circle. Then when — I guess — prosperity overtook the city they had to have a way to get people downtown. So Thirteenth Street became a thoroughfare. And around where you are housed all of those large streets became thoroughfares and therefore Logan Circle got split and there was a statue in the middle. And Logan's Circle was a recreational area for us. Families went to Logan Circle. I can't remember — we weren't doing anything strenuous, not on Sundays anyhow — I can't remember exactly what people were did in Logan Circle in the week time. But by Sunday afternoon, it was a family gathering kind of place.

The other place that served recreationally for this area is a long ways from us and that is The Zoo and Rock Creek Park. In the zoo — well I have to talk about something kind of quaint that was special — a streetcar and bus that left from 16th and Harvard Street that took you down to the zoo. That's all it did. It went from down in the zoo up to 16th and Harvard. It was a commuter kind of thing and all families went to Rock Creek Park. That's how you had outside education and activities and that was one of the areas that was really a segregated area. We did not go to the White House for the Easter Egg Roll. We went to Rock Creek Park and had Easter egg rolls and we also had picnics and all of that in Rock Creek Park which was free, and was open, and it was not segregated. But more Black people went to the part of Rock Creek Park that is nearest the inner city — borders on the city and so you didn't feel the degradation of a recreational area, because you had one. We didn't necessarily, in fact I'm sure, we didn't connect why it was we went to Rock Creek Park. I don't think it ever crossed our minds until we were older — teenage years or what have you — I'm sure it began to dawn on you some things were different.

Now what was very different also in segregation situation was the theaters. The white theaters were downtown. Our theaters were on U Street. We had three main theatres. The Lincoln, The Republic, and the Booker T. Black people went to those three movies. White folks went downtown to movies like the Lowes and others. Some are still down [there] and others are not anymore. We knew we did not go to those theaters. But because we had theaters of our own, you really didn't get the feeling that you were being cut off from movies. I found out later that the same movie that showed downtown, showed at the Lincoln at the same time, which meant that we kept up with whatever the movies were we got to see them just the same.

The library was a very open situation and one in which we really participated. There was a certain time in my life in elementary school I went to the library every day. You could get three books — but that was true for all parts of the library system that catered to children.

I can remember an experience I had with one of the librarians, all of whom were white. She didn't believe that I had read the books that I had gotten yesterday. How could I have read them by tomorrow? But I had read them. And she queried me on what the books

were about and when I was able to tell her what the books were [inaudible]. I can still see the expression on her face as if to say "Well, she's telling the truth!" I'm sure she was familiar enough with the book. It was a subtle thing, and didn't particularly worry me except I didn't like the idea that she asked me if I had read them. I just figured why would anybody come to the library and get books if you weren't going to read them? That's the only reason you came [laughs]. But so far as getting the books out of the library and so forth, you didn't . . . There was an accommodation made by the schools in elementary grades . . . teachers — and I'm sure they had some kind of cooperative workings with the library system — which they brought large numbers of books into the classroom. So our teachers got boxes of books and so you had a lot of your reading experiences in school but they were the books from the public library so you didn't really get the feeling of not having reading material.

Another good thing about Washington was all of the museums –just like they are now — were free. I can remember going to the Medical Museum and I didn't have any idea of what I was looking at — I just went because you could. Then in junior high and high school, your teachers gave you assignments that forced you into the museums. They would always gave you questions you couldn't answer unless you were there because they would direct your attention to what was in the third case, top shelf, that kind of thing[laughs]. If you didn't go there you would know what it was. The other thing that was a part of our lives was whatever was happening, on what we now call the Mall, we did not call it a mall then. We went to . . . everybody in this neighborhood went to hear Marian Anderson when she sang in front of the Lincoln Memorial — you know about that. We knew that the D-A-R . . . We didn't try to go in constitution hall because that was not some place where Black folk went. And that is why Marian Anderson gave the concert outdoors. I can remember my father took everybody on our block. We didn't have an automobile, we walked. Everybody walked to the Lincoln Memorial that Sunday. It was just hoards of people, all walking in our Sunday best of course, to hear Marian Anderson. So we have that as a part of our experience that no one had to tell us about, because we actually lived it. And there are other similar things. Here at Shiloh we had tremendous concerts [provides examples . . . inaudible] and other prominent musicians would give there concerts at Shiloh. Shiloh was always big and so it could accommodate a number of people . . . and so concerts were given here. Then at Shiloh, they had a very wonderful children's emphasis, I would say, so that special projects were brought in for us . . . and it was just a part of what you were about . . . where else were you going to go on a Sunday afternoon? Except for to BYT, what I told you about, the Baptist Training Youth . . . Baptist Youth Training Sessions.

ENIMINI EKONG: Can you go back and talk about the literature that you received in school? Did you ever come across the Negro Bulletin and what Woodson gave and can you kind of speak to that?

CONSTANCE TATE: Yes, we celebrated Black History Month and we knew all about Carter Woodson and there was a special little booklet — you probably have it there among the archives at your place — that was for school children. It was really two pages folded together but they were large notebook size and it was all about Negro history. So you learned. We didn't just learn about Booker T. Washington or Fredrick Douglass or whatever. You learned anything Mr. Woodson printed. That is what you got. If I remember correctly, there was some

way that I got something that I got regularly that was a Black History bulletin. And I can't imagine that it was printed by anybody else except Mr. Woodson. I don't know who else would have printed it. Now the finding out about blacks, that was done in the schools, but because we had segregated schools you had teachers who were pushing the idea of blacks and so you were always in contact with whatever books were available to find out about Black history. And so I think we got a very good education about black people and I have friends that say they grew up in other places in the United States and they didn't know anybody but Booker T. Washington, Frederick Douglass. They never heard of any of these other people. But we had that as a part of our schooling and but I think it was — now that I am knowledgeable about it — I think it was what was pushed in Black schools. So we, you were going to know your Black history. There were no two ways about it.

ASHLEY JORDAN: Also going back to your formal childhood education, you had a chance to visit the house of Carter G. Woodson. What was that like?

CONSTANCE TATE: Yes, well, it was fleeting. It wasn't a long visit.

Mr. Woodson was a kind . . . I can remember that about him. He was kind. And it was sort of "come on children . . . come on in". . . . because you know we'd be lurking down there by the door and he would say, "Come on in." And so you looked at his books. You didn't touch, but you looked. You didn't bother anything in his office. That was his office and you knew better than to bother anything. But he was friendly and would talk to you about various things that he was working on so that sometimes you got firsthand information about something — we didn't know who it was — but he would tell you who it was and some of the things he was involved in. And that's how we came into contact with him. In fact, I have a personal experience that I can still remember. It must have been among one of the first times I went to his office and he was a person who just kept stuff. You've probably seen that picture of him in that library — and that's exactly how it looked-exactly. But he knew where everything was. But what amazed me, I guess as a child, I didn't know that any adult person would have a library that looked like that or a desk that looked like that because I thought that all adults had everything neatly stacked in place and what have you. And it was in Mr. Woodson's office that I found out that prominent people didn't necessarily have everything categorized. When we went to Howard University, usually, we were not seeing behind the scenes. You were in the library or something that had been set up for you so you didn't see everything. But at Mr. Woodson's house you saw the whole thing even though you didn't know what it was. But you knew that this was a prominent man who did a lot of writing and he had set up Black History Month and that was very important to us, so we appreciated his inviting us in. I think I had mentioned to you someone who you may want to speak with — Deacon Grigsby — here at Shiloh, James Grigsby III and his brother Alonso because Mr. Woodson — as everybody did — they talked more to the boys than they did to the girls. I don't have any idea what they talked about or whatever, but perhaps Mr. Grigsby — he has a wonderful memory — would be able to tell you all kinds of things 'cause sometimes the boys were allowed to go in there — they were in the back or somewhere or another — and the girls stayed out front and looked at the books, read the materials and so forth.

ASHLEY JORDAN: Did he ever hold any programs here at the church that you ever attended [inaudible . . . like Black History Month at the church]?

CONSTANCE TATE: No, not to my knowledge. That kind of thing occurred in later years but I was grown at that time. Because when we help put on that kind of thing we would set up times for reading and that sort of thing. And that was another thing about Shiloh. Because we had a lot of people at our church who were educated and some of them were teachers at Howard and what have you, so they would invite us to Howard University to hear whomever they were working with at the time or they would bring someone to Shiloh. But I don't personally remember Mr. Woodson as one of those persons who brought someone in . . . but that is not to say that it didn't happen, but if it happened I was not aware. I'll put it that way. Shiloh was community center, so you got all your poets in. They came in and they gave programs. And Shiloh allowed these people to come, I guess, for free. So you went to everything—because it was going on at church. It was good for you your parent thought, and so you went to it [laughs]. So you got to hear poets and musicians . . . just about everybody you can name who was prominent in the let's say 30s, 40s, 50s would somehow come into Shiloh. I can remember Martin Luther King came to Shiloh when he was on his way up to becoming what he became and the church was packed. People were hanging from the rafters because they knew about Martin Luther King and that was a way to get to see him and to hear him personally. And it was at Shiloh Church that they came. Our pastor, Reverend Harrison, was a very . . . well he was the kind of person that really took care of the community. And the community, as I said, was diverse because you had these people who were well off and you had some folks who weren't so well off and you had some who definitely were not well off. But it didn't keep people from doing things together.

ASHLEY JORDAN: It sounds like Shaw-Howard was a community that cared about each other . . . the fact that your mother took the time to make these baskets and put her linens in it . . . giving your good stuff out and trust that someone would give it back to you the same way you gave it them. Was that very common?

CONSTANCE TATE: Yes. I think so. Of course, you know, you're limited . . . I'm limited by the experiences that I had but they weren't unusual. Other children had the same experiences. I can't talk about what happened in their house particularly but I know, in general, that's what we were doing. I'll tell you another thing that I hadn't mentioned in this that was very very vital in the community and that's YWCA and the YMCA. You know we had the YWCA right here at 9th and Rhode Island Avenue and lots of programs took place there. I learned how to dance the ballet at the Y

ENIMINI EKONG: Now many others whom we have interviewed have mentioned Carter G Woodson would take his lunch to the YMCA and then go to the park. Do you know of any experiences where you either encountered him at the YMCA or at the Park?

CONSTANCE TATE: No, I never saw him at the Y. But remember we didn't have all that many eating places where you went to buy your dinner and so forth like you go out to dinner now. That was a home activity. People invited people in their homes to have dinner, and there was a very nice restaurant on Florida Avenue . . .

ASHLEY JORDAN: Is that Florida Avenue Grill?

CONSTANCE TATE: No but the Florida Avenue Grill has been there, but this was a home in which...it was called Harris' Restaurant — I believe it was — it was near Fourth & Florida Avenue. It was on Florida Avenue. And people when out to dinner to Harris'. That was considered a real nice experience and there were other restaurants too, but I remember that one because that's one that I had experience with going to it. Restaurants like that survived until segregation stopped. So we had restaurants that survived up to the 50s that were black restaurants. And that was another experience in the black community.

CONSTANCE TATE: First of all, I must say that it would be a museum of as many . . . I understand a lot of Carter G. Woodson's materials are elsewhere scattered. And I think I went to Emory University not too long ago and a lot of his stuff was housed at Emory, which I don't understand how . . . Anyhow, I know that's true because I went there. But I feel that his legacy should be that he was a beginning person who had the vision and the talent to launch this crusade for blacks because prior to Woodson there wasn't much written about blacks who wrote or what have you, not unless you were in Howard University. Now Howard University was just . . . out of sight on everything . . . they were head and shoulders . . . but if you really wanted to find a publishing house you had to come to Carter G. Woodson. There was no other Black publishing house of Black literature and . . . What am I trying to say?. . . Intellectual levels . . . I think his legacy ought to be as a founding person who insisted that Blacks were important in the history of the United States. Even though he had to have it separate it still was his desire, I believe, that everybody in the United States would eventually know about blacks but he had to work within a medium where he was. So he made sure that the Black community had a place to publish and I think that's the outstanding thing about him and the fact that he knew all these people and he made it possible for the rest of us to read stuff . . . stuff that he published. by Langston Hughes for instance, no one else published it and I think that's what his legacy really ought to be about. Because he really did that almost single handedly, being the spearhead of it and interesting enough people and — he interested whites and had white supporters — and he spoke to the black community that we ought to know this and here it is in this house or here I am doing this. He was not a person who was hanging around all the time because he was doing a lot of prominent things . . . in Chicago, New York, or someplace else . . . but everyone knew it was place where the publishing started. I think that's really what he should be known for. I think the museum that they set up ought to reflect the beginning of Publishers and the kinds of work that they did. If had not have been for Cater Woodson, I don't believe that we would have ever had Black History Week like we have now 'cause Black History Month — for years, it was just that — February, March April and every other month [inaudible]. So he really established the necessity for the work of Black people to be known and made it possible. And when I think about the fact — you know he wasn't rich to begin with — I don't think he was ever rich, but he was the one who was out there ringing the bell, so to speak, and making it possible for black people to put it together what they had because he collected it and published it. And I would hope that there would be a place where black literature would be on display — not only on display, but usable so that younger people could come in and find black literature that they couldn't find anyplace else, or even if they could find it someplace else it would be accessible to them

so that they can come and study at the museum. I think it ought to be an active place, not just a museum up on the shelf. If we aren't using what he did, I just think we lost the whole thing. Now a lot of his of work has been preserved through A-S-A-L-H, in their journals and all that. All that they do as publishers, he was the one that started it, so that now, they have a publishing house of their own housed in several universities. But Carter Woodson was all by himself. Nobody else was doing it. So I think that's the kind of thing that I would like to see come to the forefront about him. He must have been an extremely bright person. I guess he was a genius really, intellectually . . . because how did he create all this interest and get people to follow him? He had something that the rest of us don't have, definitely. Didn't have then, don't have now. When I think about how many things are open to us — and we've done extremely well — it still would not have been if it hadn't been for Carter Woodson. I just have tremendous respect for his legacy as a part of black history. I think that, publishing, and getting journals, and getting black literature into the hands of the ordinary person ought to be celebrated.

One thing I did not mention and I really want to mention is the Scurlock Photography Enterprise. That was very important and anybody who was anybody had their picture taken by Scurlock at the time. That was an ambition of most people to get their picture taken by Scurlock. He was really outstanding, but I think it was people like Woodson who probably inspired Scurlock to make sure that he got a lot of the record down.

ASHLEY JORDAN: And that symbolizes the visual culture of DC . . .

CONSTANCE TATE: That's right, that's right. It is difficult to explain culture. It's difficult. I can't really make you understand what it was like. I can tell you things, but I can't really give you that feel — because you weren't there — anymore than what you are living now, but you'll be able to really convey it to the next generation, or the next two or three generations because there is no way for you to describe your feelings and how it all intermeshed. But I am just grateful, because I surely can see God working in our lives and preserving all these things.

National Park Service
Carter G. Woodson Home National Historic Site
Interviewed By Enimini Ekong
June 3,2011

Oral History Interview of Robert Vest

[Beginning of audio recording 1 of 1. Duration: 00:44:59.7

INTERVIEWER: Ok so if you would please introduce yourself.

ROBERT VEST: I'm uh — Robert Vest — uh — I'm a native Washingtonian I lived approximately well just about across the street — from Dr. Carter G. Woodson's. I lived on Q Street — eight thirteen Q Street [clears throat] northwest. And uh — Mr. Jenkins who was the janitor at uh — the YWCA down on Phyllis Wheatley YWCA. And I was 15 years old at the time and he say he can get me a job with Carter G. Woodson. Cause Carter G. Woodson used to go to the Y everyday to eat. At Mrs. Lazybird's — uh — restaurant in the basement of the Y [clears throat] so I went there and he — uh — told me what he wanted me to do was to — uh — wrap his books and ship them to the post office. So I became his — uh — well I say — uh — well whatever it was I was I did a little bit of everything for him. I washed his windows I cleaned his place where (pause) he uh lived and I wrapped his books and took them to the post office every day.

INTERVIEWER: For how long did you do that?

ROBERT VEST: [clears throat] Well I guess about a year because I was 15 at the time going to Armstrong High School and I didn't wanna drill so I worked at Carter G. Woodson that's just to get me out of drilling and he told me that it was very good for me[laughs]. It taught discipline [clears throat] so that's when we parted — uh — ways I decided I wouldn't work for him anymore. But I didn't know what I was doing I was young and foolish and uh — he was quite an inspirational person to me. I met Mrs. Bethune there. He had quite a few people come to his office. And Mrs. Bethune came to visit him and I was wrapping the books at the time and he introduced her. And she — he had a lithograph machine that was collecting dust.

INTERVIEWER: Can you tell us what a lithograph is?

ROBERT VEST: It's a machine that prints and he could print books if he could use it but I don't think he ever used it. Not while I was there and not before I got there either [laughs]. And [clears throat] and uh — so she asked that — he said — she said that would be a very good idea for her school. And so he told her not for sale — but uh — she was very interesting person to — to — to — talk to. You forgot what Mrs. Bethune looked like when you talked to her.

INTERVIEWER: What do you mean by that —

ROBERT VEST: [interposing] Very interesting person — very interesting person. Well she wasn't a good looking lady — at all — but uh — she was a very intelligent woman — and uh — you forgot all about what she looked like she was a very interesting person just to hear her speak — was interesting to me as a young person.

INTERVIEWER: Do you remember any of your conversations with her?

ROBERT VEST: No No I don't remember anything else she was — uh — telling me what a nice person I was and she didn't even know me but uh — [laughs] [clears throat] and I thanked her — and — uh — we didn't have too much conversation because — uh — he [Carter G. Woodson] was doing the talking to her explaining what he was doing — and really except for reading some of his books or trying to read his books I really didn't know what he was doing and didn't care too much at that age had I — uh-been interested I think I would have kept a lot of his books.

INTERVIEWER: Do you remember what year that was?

ROBERT VEST: Oh I — I — I was 15 years old. I'm — I'll — I'll be ninety — uh — ninety two July the third one month from now [laughs]. So that's been about 77 years.

INTERVIEWER: Wow

ROBERT VEST: But — uh — Dr. Woodson was uh — a very businesslike man very [inaudible] — very — uh — well you would think he was a member of the army or military some form of military very erect walked very erect and — uh — was always — [inaudible] attired. Uh — I never saw him go anyplace but to walk to the Y. Otherwise I never knew anything about what his personal life was except for the fact that [clears throat] he had a vacation every year and the post man that used to be on that route used to take care of his place while he was gone. He had a key to it. But uh — [clears throat] he found a hair pin in his bed one time [laughs]. That was the end of the post man so I took care of his place from then on [laughs]. [Clears throat] Um — he had two uh — two uh — secretaries there. Ms. Forest I remember her very very distinctly.

INTERVIEWER: You said Mrs. Forest —

ROBERT VEST: Forest was uh — I the — she was the head secretary and the other lady out there I can't remember her name I tried hard to remember [clears throat] her name. Excuse me. But Ms. Forest was — she was in charge of everything and she was in the front room as you come in the door. The young lady was in the next room. And they did all the typing and taking care of the books and what have you.

INTERVIEWER: Could Carter G. Woodson not type?

ROBERT VEST: I — if he did I never saw him with a typewriter. Uh — he would dictate what he wanted. But uh — I never saw him with a typewriter. He had a very large room for his office and uh — he was always busy doing something. Very seldom did he come down to where I was. I'd be in the back there — uh — wrapping books. I had uh — wrapped them and sealed them and then tied them up and he came down to look at what I was doing one day and he was holding his finger where I would make the knot and I tied it real quickly. He said, 'you're trying to catch my finger'. I said no but I did [laughs]. But he would often tell me — it seems to me [clears throat] he didn't start really going up to school until very late in his life. If I recall I think he said something about he was 19 years old he worked in the mines for a while in West Virginia and he had an older sister that took care of him and his sister told him one time he told me this I — but she — but he told me his sister told him never to shine the cuspidor of a white man.

INTERVIEWER: Say that one more time.

ROBERT VEST: Never shine the cuspidor of a white man.

INTERVIEWER: What's a cuspidor?

ROBERT VEST: A spittoon. People used to chew tobacco and spit in this thing. Yeah.

INTERVIEWER: And so wh — what did he mean by that?

ROBERT VEST: He meant that he never — never to kneel to or do the shoe shine or whatever it is to the white man. I didn't know until later in life that he had done so many things [inaudible] [mumbling] finished Harvard and that he was principal of a high school and worked at Howard University and he was a brilliant man brilliant man. I mean you — just to talk to him you could see he was. I don't think — my personal opinion — I don't think that he ever thought of himself as being brilliant but uh — he carried himself in that in that manner. Uh I don't know how you carry yourself in that manner but he was always very [inaudible] the way he spoke and what have ya. He was careful about what he was saying. Even in very general conversation. I remember when I told him I wasn't gonna work for him anymore he said [clears throat] he used to always clear his throat first [clears throat] [quoting Woodson] 'Miss Forest, uh, we will pay this young man. He wants to quit us'. He paid me twenty five cents an hour to work for him. Twenty five cents an hour.

INTERVIEWER: Was that a lot of money?

ROBERT VEST: No [laughs]. Even in those days it wasn't much but I — you — you wouldn't get much more than that any place else. And I used to wash windows for people and they would charge me they would give me 10 cents per window and I would use my rags of course their water but [inaudible] [mumbling]. You're 15 years old you want to get anything you can get. So —

INTERVIEWER: What was your perspective of Dr. Carter G. Woodson, um, even as a young man what did you think of him after he hired you and you worked with him for a year um —

ROBERT VEST: I respected him I really did I really respected him. Not as a father but a person who [clears throat] was willing to help you if he could not that I ever asked him to do anything for me except for to try to get me out of drilling [laughs]. But uh — I'm glad that he did though. I'm glad he didn't get me out because it helped me when I was in the service. I um I [inaudible] had, uh, ROTC in high school and and Howard so it kept me it uh got me into the realm of promotions and I got in. In my tenth month in the service I was a 2nd lieutenant from private so it did help me. It gave me — didn't give me any uh — gave me fundamentals of the army not any intellectual things but fundamentals and I already knew those before I got there so that helped. That helped.

INTERVIEWER: At what point after you stopped working for Dr. Carter G Woodson did you find out who you worked for? Like at what point did you realize who Carter G. Woodson really was?

ROBERT VEST: Uh — [coughs] you know we had what was known at that — at that time as Negro History Week — Week. And when it was brought to my attention I think I was probably in high school I guess a lot of years in high school. That it came to mind that he was the first to start Negro History Week and uh — that seemed to be very important to me to have worked for him and he was the one that founded this. Now this is when we find out about what little bit we knew about Negroes as we called them later Blacks whatever but you still are finding things out today that we didn't know. And we — we only found out about persons like, uh, Frederick Douglass, Laurence Dunbar people like that — that you — you — did get someone in your books but to know someone that started the stop lights — founder of the stop lights — about — uh — I can't recall names — um — [inaudible] peanuts [inaudible]. What was his name — um —

INTERVIEWER: Carver.

ROBERT VEST: Carver yeah. Carver and the fella that started thee uh, hydraulics on the train. Things like that you know [inaudible] little things like that. So, even today you'll find out some things you didn't get in Negro History Week. It was only one week and you couldn't stop any other studies you know.

INTERVIEWER: Do you remember getting the bulletin when you were in school? The Negro bulletin or the journal?

ROBERT VEST: That's something that came later.

INTERVIEWER: That came later.

ROBERT VEST: Ummhmm.

INTERVIEWER: Do you remember learning about any Negro history outside of that Negro History week in your — your high school —

ROBERT VEST: [interposing] Yeah — yeah — uh — we had some very interesting teachers at that time. They would — uh — throw a hit or throw something out to ya every once in awhile about somebody they were interested in. And uh, you get books — go to the library get books you read about them. It wasn't like it is now that you can get on the computer and find out [laughs] anything you want. You had to go find a book someplace and somebody else wrote it. It's just like the bible — [laughs] Just like the bible. Now uh — uh — Carter G. Woodson — always [inaudible] would say Carter Godwin Woodson that's his middle name and he emphasized Godwin. Uh I never knew him as a religious person he may have gone to church I can't deny that fact I went to Shiloh myself because I lived on Q street. I didn't ever join the church. The superintendant there came by the house to get my mother to uh join us at the church and she said she would allow us to now find our own way when we got ready to determine when we wanted to go to church. And I'm glad she did that. I um, I later joined an Episcopal church. I'm — I'm a — I'm not an agnostic I'm not an atheist but I have my own beliefs — and uh — that I keep to myself [laughs]. I find that uh politics is one thing and religion is one thing — something you can't discuss with some people. So I — you know I told you earlier that I burn books in the — in the — in the yard. These were some books that he umm — had early and that uh — they weren't selling and uh — he wanted to get rid of them.

So he gave them to me to burn and uh — and I didn't even think about taking one of them not one not even for myself.

INTERVIEWER: Why did he ask you to burn books that weren't selling instead of giving them away?

ROBERT VEST: I have no idea. I have no idea. He [clears throat] had a basement there in the house with books in them with crates of books in them and the — thee uh — basement was not a — a — not a real — good sealed basement cause it would get wet down there so he had boards that he put these boxes on — or someone put it on I'm quite sure he didn't do it [clears throat]. But — uh — the boxes were raised from the ground because it was wet down there. And uh when he needed some books he would go down there or have me go down get the books and uh wrap them up to send to whoever wanted them. He was — it was a publishing company. That's what it was. And uh — some were his and some were others that had uh — published — he was publishing for. But he — we — we uh — we sent books off every day. We went to — it was actually — we went to a little drug store at seventh and P Street at — at a contract post office [laughs]. That's where we sent those books from. I used to take my wagon and put a bag in the wagon — up to the post office.

INTERVIEWER: Do you remember how many books, roughly?

ROBERT VEST: I [inaudible] [mumbling] I don't know the number [inaudible] bags. I [inaudible] bags [inaudible] about this high [inaudible]. It would be full. It would be full.

INTERVIEWER: Ummhmm

ROBERT VEST: I don't know what — I don't think he had a very lucrative business he had enough to pay two secretaries and himself [clears throat]. Cuz he lived — he didn't live lavishly. He uh — very dusty place upstairs. You could always find prunes on his — uh — table beside the bed. Um, I guess between Dr. Woodson and myself I guess we were the only two people that went there.

INTERVIEWER: You mean that went to his room?

ROBERT VEST: Yeah. Ummhmm. Ummhmm.

INTERVIEWER: So did you see him engage with anyone outside of uh —

ROBERT VEST: [interposing] No. Never.

INTERVIEWER: Never.

ROBERT VEST: Never. [Clears throat] He would go to — uh — dinner every day at — uh — Miss Lazybird's restaurant. I worked for Dr. Carter G. Woodson [inaudible] I didn't tell you this I also worked at the Y. I uh — cleaned thee uh — lobby and shined the brass lobby — and uh — cleaned the offices — before going to — I did that early in the morning before going to school and then I'd have to go to school and come back and I'd go work for Carter G. Woodson and later [inaudible] and early in the morning I'd go over to the Y and clean up. And umm — [inaudible] and I was one of the two people to go up in the dormitory.

Very interesting [laughs]. You'd always have to say, 'the man is in the house' when you approaches — top — steps — and that was interesting — but any way — I met — uh — Dorothy Height's first job was at the Y-W-C-A Phyllis Wheatley Y-W-C-A she was twenty nine years old. I met some very interesting people in those days and —

INTERVIEWER: [interposing] Do you remember when you met her?

ROBERT VEST: Huh?

INTERVIEWER: Do you remember when? What year roughly?

ROBERT VEST: No.

INTERVIEWER: O-K.

ROBERT VEST: No. I tell yah it had to be in the neighborhood of — '30 — '36 or '37.

INTERVIEWER: '36 or '37. O-k.

ROBERT VEST: Ummhmm — and she had an accident ya' know. She got — she had a scar on her nose from the acc — car — automobile accident [clears throat]. Ummhmm — yeah — had an accident in a car and she had surgery — but uh —

INTERVIEWER: And how did y'all meet?

ROBERT VEST: She was the — she was thee uh — head of the Y.

INTERVIEWER: Oh.

ROBERT VEST: Ummhmm she came there at uh — at twenty nine years old as head. And uh — they had people on the board — like — like — Mrs. uh — umm — now [unclear, mumbling] that lady and [unclear, mumbling] that lady I can't think of her name right now. I can't think of her name right now umm — Julia West Hamilton. You ever heard of her?

INTERVIEWER: No.

ROBERT VEST: [clears throat] Julia West Hamilton. There's a school named after her here in the District. Uhh — she was a — very educated woman. She had two sons. One was a colonel in the service the other was a uh — owned a — a — a newspaper up on U street. And uh — Mrs. West was — [unclear] Mrs. Hamilton was a — uh what I wanna say she was — she was the educator in the schools. At school. Principal. She was — she was head at — she was — uhh — president of thee uh — board.

INTERVIEWER: For the Shaw community?

ROBERT VEST: Hmm?

INTERVIEWER: For the Shaw community?

ROBERT VEST: No. She was president of the board of the Y. The Y-W-C-A. Thee uh — [clears throat] Phyllis Wheatley Y. I have to name that because it was a black Y for women. Phyllis Wheatley. So uh — when I say these things I'm not saying as an integrated situation it was a — it was segregated all segregated. Uh — she uh — that what bout much as I know about Mrs. — Mrs. Hamilton but she was a very nice lady. And she — I remember would go into service and coming out [clears throat] she asked me if I had gotten married and I told her I couldn't afford a wife and she said, 'you wait till you can afford one you'll never have one' [laughs]. But she was [unclear, mumbling].

INTERVIEWER: Now a lot of people talk about — uh — Carter G. Woodson going to the Phyllis Wheatley to eat his lunch and then going to the park. Do you remember him ever going to the park?

ROBERT VEST: No. I — I — I remember — the park was right there at Q Street and Rhode Island Avenue. It was uh — like uh — uh — uh — uh diamond — diamond shape. And I guess it's still there. It's right across from Phyllis Wheatley Y. He may have sat there at times but I don't remember him ever sitting there. I remember him going by there. I see him going — from home to — uh — the Y and then leave the Y and going home [unclear, mumbling]. I never see him sit down there. He may have. I wouldn't [unclear] because I didn't see his every move but — [clears throat] he never stopped to speak to anyone. He looked straight ahead. He just put the hat on the top of his head and he walked very erect straight ahead. He wasn't a personable person — I mean that I don't think a person that would speak to everybody on the street or speak to anyone as he passed by. Uh — once you knew him he would talk to you. He would say little things to me about what his sister taught him. And uh — I can't remember everything he said to me at the time but it did stick at the time.

INTERVIEWER: Ummhmm.

ROBERT VEST: Uh — I guess it taught me a lot of pride in the race. I read so many things about him after then that I — you almost want to say that you knew it before but I didn't. [Clears throat] Bout his education — how he started and — down in West Virginia he was — I think he was — the article I read some time ago was — he was nineteen years old and he worked at the mines before he came in — in this direction. So — other than that I don't know too much about him other then the fact that — in fact I was in the service when he died and I don't remember when that was.

INTERVIEWER: Umm. You were at his funeral service.

ROBERT VEST: No I said I was in the service — [unclear, interposing]

INTERVIEWER: [interposing] Oh you were in the service —

ROBERT VEST: [interposing] — I was in the military service at the time so I didn't know he had passed until I got home [clears throat]. Um, because most of my time was spent over seas. I was in twice and I went to — to Pacific the first time then I went to Europe the second so.

INTERVIEWER: Did Carter G. Woodson ever make you read?

ROBERT VEST: No.

INTERVIEWER: No.

ROBERT VEST: He was not a dominating person. Uh — I'm glad he didn't push me. I don't push to well [laughing].

INTERVIEWER: [laughing]

ROBERT VEST: But I — but I — but I love to read not that I've gotten older [laughing]. I had my ideas about life when I was younger they was all — they was all wrong I guess but you know you're young and at fifteen that's a very transitional age I guess. Yeah — you — you think you're one thing and you're another.

INTERVIEWER: Hmm.

ROBERT VEST: So — but I could to — I could tell you a lot about that house.

INTERVIEWER: Please do.

ROBERT VEST: You know — uh — that house — the house and the way it was built — all those houses in that block of fifteen hundred block of Ninth Street were very tall. When I first moved there it was integrated cuz you had a Chinese store over on this — Japanese store over on this side uh little Japanese products. And they had some Italians that lived on this side who had a large family and the father was a — turned the lights on in the street [unclear, mumbling] he had a lot of — they had a lot of children [unclear, mumbling] old lady dressed in black all the time black shoes black stockings black dresses and every time she'd have a child all the children would raise cane they would get mad as heck. Because they had another mouth to feed ya' know. But uh, those houses were not very wide. They were narrow houses but they were straight up three stories. And as I said before he had a large room in the front room which would have been the parlor next room was the dining room was another uh office. And then ya — on the side of that — I — which would have been the kitchen you had the room were I wrapped books and — and uh tied em up and prepared them to be shipped. And of course he had his lithograph machine back there too. Upstairs on the second floor was his room in the front. And uh there was another room there but he used it as more or less as a library. And the bathroom. And of course you go upstairs on the third floor he had two rooms up there. He had the front room I never went in that and he had the back room that he slept in. Uh, his living habits were very poor.

INTERVIEWER: What do you mean by that?

ROBERT VEST: He only had that bedroom and that was very dusty. I mean [laughs] [clears throat] he seldom made his bed. I never — whenever I'd go up there his bed was never made. Uh as I said he had always had his prunes on his side. And Carter G. Woodson at that time was not a young man I don't think. I don't know how old he was but he was not a young man. Uh he was gray. What little hair he had was gray. And uh — more gray than I am right now [laughs].

INTERVIEWER: [laughs]

ROBERT VEST: But he had very little hair. But he was always neat and clean. He was always with tie — shirt and tie on. I wouldn't say that for his living conditions but you know he was clean. Appeared to be anyway.

INTERVIEWER: Can you tell me about his office? I generally here about his junky desk.

ROBERT VEST: Well yeah he had a junky desk. And I understand that too cuz when I was working my desk was junky and if anybody moved anything I could tell [laughs]. So I can understand that. He kept a lot of papers on his desk. And uh, you would think that it was junk. But as I know for a fact where I was I knew what was on my desk. And I'm quite sure he did too. If anyone moved anything from my desk I could tell. Cuz I knew where I put it. It wasn't neat it wasn't filed properly. It was just junky. If I had something I didn't need I put it in a drawer. But my desk was always junky and his was too. He had a large desk. He had a big desk. I don't know what all his papers were or anything like that cuz I never read any of his things on his desk. In fact I except for being in the front of it I never was around it to know what he had on it. But that's about it. I uh — he was a very interesting person to know — or have known. Uh maybe it was what you didn't know about him — or some of the things you did know about him — but he was a very interesting person.

INTERVIEWER: Wh — [interposing]

ROBERT VEST: He stood out among other people. What'd ya say? What were you about to say?

INTERVIEWER: I was gonna ask what was your most significant memory of Carter G. Woodson? What — what memory really sticks out in your mind of something he said something he would always do as a daily routine — [interposing]

ROBERT VEST: He would always before saying anything to you — [clears throat] [laughs]

INTERVIEWER: He would clear his throat.

ROBERT VEST: He would clear his throat. He would always clear his throat I'll never forget that. Regardless of what he was about to say to you [clears throat]. It would always make you feel like you wanted to ask him why [laughs]. It's true man. Yep.

INTERVIEWER: So know seeing what Negro History Week has become and seeing where African-Americans are today what do you think the legacy of Carter G. Woodson is?

ROBERT VEST: Well it should be remembered. It should be remembered that he is the one who started it. You wouldn't know half as much as you know about it today I don't think if he had not started it. You know, look at our history books you don't find too much about us in there. Even though you know there's history there. If — if — if it were not for the fact that someone has researched and found out information about the Black man and what he has accomplished and what he has done you probably wouldn't have known any of this or some of it had it not been for Carter G. Woodson. At his time — during his time I mean you would think that uh — why would anyone even try to do what he did. And to look at him [clears throat] you would wonder why he would [laughs]. But he was — he wasn't the a rabble rouser

or anything he wasn't the person who'd go out and become vigilant about something. He was very — he wasn't the domineering person at all.

INTERVIEWER: Would you say he was passive?

ROBERT VEST: I — I — I thought so. I thought so that's my opinion. But as I speak about the lady I know — I — he [clears throat] he spoke softly carried a big stick. Which means more sometimes. Then be the one hollering and screaming. Cuz ya — ya voice is heard at that time but soon forgotten. I think he's a — he was — he's a person that uh [clears throat] we really needed and he uh fulfilled his obligation to us as people. Cuz I've done — I — I — I imagine there's some young black people today that don't even know anything about Carter G. Woodson nor care. Nor care.

INTERVIEWER: Did you know much about his association? The Association of the Study of Negro Life and History?

ROBERT VEST: [clears throat] No more than the fact that he had it and that uh since uh he passed I know it's still going on and I talk to people in it. They have interviewed me [unclear, mumbling].

INTERVIEWER: Were you ever a member?

ROBERT VEST: No. No. Well I don't know. I'm not a writer. I'm a reader. And I get some of their books now that they pass out and I read them. There's still a lot to be learned.

INTERVIEWER: Still a lot to be learned.

ROBERT VEST: Ummhmm. I — [clears throat] how did — how did uh — I would like to know this how did thee uh — umm — who's your organization?

INTERVIEWER: The National Park Service.

ROBERT VEST: Yeah. How did the National Park Service get involved with that? His uh — [interposing]

INTERVIEWER: His home.

ROBERT VEST: Home.

INTERVIEWER: If I'm not mistaken we got involved with his home, um, in collaborations with the Association of the Study of Life — [interposing]

ROBERT VEST: O-k.

INTERVIEWER: — uh — uh — his association. And so uh, through that we wanted to help collaborate to make it a national site umm, so that, umm D-C wouldn't be the only partakers of his history and his legacy.

ROBERT VEST: [clears throat] Thee uh — have uh — do you uh — do you involve yourself or are you involved in going to the home trying to see what you can do?

INTERVIEWER: So Mr. Vest, whenever we're able to open up the Carter G. Woodson home what exactly would you like to see whenever we do open it to the general public?

ROBERT VEST: I would like to see it just as it was when he was living and working there — and the two — two secretaries that were there and see in the same condition — that's — well you know could dress it up a little bit but I'd like to see his living quarters the same way if they haven't established it just the way it was when he was living. And that would give you a true picture of Carter G. Woodson.

INTERVIEWER: Now you spoke about the secretaries did you engage or converse much with the secretaries?

ROBERT VEST: Not that much I'd be — I'd come in and speak and I'd pass some words with the both of them as kids would. Jokingly I'd say something to them hoping to make them laugh. But uh [clears throat] sometimes it worked and sometimes it didn't [laughs]. But I remember them being there cuz they didn't do a whole lot of talking. They worked. As he did.

INTERVIEWER: Were they around the same age as Dr. Woodson just by — [unclear, interposing]

ROBERT VEST: Oh not to — to — not to far apart. Ms. Forest I think was a closer to his age — the other lady maybe younger than she.

INTERVIEWER: Well Mr. Vest thank you.

ROBERT VEST: Thank you for taking the time to listen to me — rabble [laughs].

###

Appendix B: Chronology[1]

1875:

- Carter Godwin Woodson is born to former slaves, James Henry and Anne Eliza (Riddle) Woodson, in New Canton, Virginia in Buckingham County on December 19, 1875.

1875–1890:

- As a child, Woodson grew up poor on his parents' of farm between ten and twenty-one acres (depending on the sources one uses).
- As a youth, he attended school for about four months out of the year at a rural school run by his uncles, John Morton Riddle and James Buchanan Riddle.
- Until about age fifteen, he worked on the family farm.

1877–1901/1923:

- This period — spanning from the immediate aftermath of Reconstruction and the Compromise of 1877 through the early 20th century — represents "the nadir" of black life in the United States according to historian Rayford W. Logan.

1882:

- George Washington Williams' *History of the Negro Race in America from 1619 to 1880* (G.P. Putnam's Sons), the first scholarly black history text, published.

The Dawning of the 1890s:

- Woodson hired himself out as a farm laborer in Buckingham County, worked a variety of manual labor jobs, and drove a garbage truck.

1890–1899:

- Woodson's "orbit of seven" black male historians, later referred to as his "Boys," were born. This group included: A.A. Taylor, Charles H. Wesley, W. Sherman Savage, James Hugo Johnston, Luther Porter Jackson, Rayford W. Logan, and Lorenzo Johnston Greene.

1892:

- Left Buckingham County for West Virginia to work on the railroad and then in the coalmines where, in Fayette County, he met black Civil War veteran Olivier Jones who introduced him to the scholarship of George Washington Williams and other black writers of history.

1893:

- Woodson's family moved to Huntington, West Virginia.

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1 This chronology includes important dates and historical events pertaining to the life of Carter G. Woodson (1875–1915), the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History during the early black history movement, the scholarship and historiography on Woodson and the black historical profession, and the history of the Carter G. Woodson Home, NHS. For more detailed biographical examinations of Woodson's life, see Patricia Watkins Romero, "Carter G. Woodson: A Biography" (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 1971); M.A. Scally, *Walking Proud: The Story of Dr. Carter G. Woodson* (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, 1983); Scally, *Carter G. Woodson: A Bio-Bibliography* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1985); Jacqueline Goggin, *Carter G. Woodson: A Life in Black History* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1993); Pero Gaglo Dagbovie, *The Early Black History Movement, Carter G. Woodson, and Lorenzo Johnston Greene* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007).

1894:

- Around this time, at age 19 Woodson, as he once told Lorenzo Johnston Greene, "learned the fundamentals of reading, writing, and arithmetic."

1895:

- Woodson moved to Huntington, West Virginia to live with his parents.
- Du Bois becomes the first African American to earn a Ph.D. in history (Harvard).

1895–1896:

- Attended Frederick Douglass High School, Huntington, West Virginia, graduating in 1896.
- After graduating, Woodson briefly taught in Winona in Fayette County. He and his brother Robert were active with the First Baptist Church of Winona, both serving on the Deacons' Board.

1896–1954:

- The period of Jim Crow Segregation from *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) until *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954).

1897:

- The American Negro Historical Society is founded.

1897–1898:

- Attended Berea College, Kentucky during the academic year.

1898–1900:

- Worked as a schoolteacher in Winona, West Virginia where he educated the children of coal miners.

1900–1903:

- Returned to Huntington, West Virginia to teach history and serve as the principal of Frederick Douglass High School, his alma mater.

1901:

- Received his teacher's certificate in May.

1901–1903:

- Attended Berea part-time, receiving a B.L. degree from Berea College on June 3, 1903.

1902:

- Attended the University of Chicago during the summer.

1903–1907:

- Traveled and for five years worked under the auspices of the U.S. War Department in the Philippines were he trained Filipino teachers at a salary of $100 per month. Woodson wrote about these experiences in *The Mis-Education of the Negro* (1933).

1904:

- Was able to speak both French and Spanish fluently.

1907:

- Traveled to Africa, Asia, and Europe and attended the Sorbonne, Paris, France.
- From October through December, attended the University of Chicago as a full-time graduate student.

1908:

- Received the M.A. degree in History, Romance Languages, and Literature from the University of Chicago. His M.A. thesis was completed in August, entitled "The German Policy of France in the War of Austrian Succession."
- In March, he earned the bachelor's degree from the University of Chicago.

1908–1909:

- Attended Harvard University as a Ph.D. candidate in History, studying American and European history. Lived in a graduate student dormitory.

1909–1911:

- Taught at Armstrong Manual Training High School, Washington, D.C.

1911–1917:

- Taught French, Spanish, English, and History at M Street School (Dunbar High School) in Washington, D.C.

1910:

- Submitted, in the spring, the first draft of his Ph.D. dissertation, "The Disruption of Virginia."

1911:

- Submitted the revised version of his dissertation and participated on the Committee of 200.
- The Negro Society for Historical Research is founded.

1912:

- Second African American to receive Ph.D. in history from Harvard, following in the footsteps of W.E.B. Du Bois (Ph.D., 1895). Successfully defended and completed Ph.D. dissertation, "The Disruption of Virginia."

1913/1914–1921:

- Member of the American Negro Academy, founded in 1897.

1914:

- A total of fourteen blacks had earned Ph.D. degrees.

1915:

- Woodson published his first monograph, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861: A History of the Education of the Colored People of the United States from the Beginning of Slavery to the Civil War* (New York: Putnam's).
- On September 9, Woodson co-founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH) in Chicago with George Cleveland Hall, James E. Stamps, and Alexander L. Jackson. This organization's purpose was "the collection of sociological and historical data on the Negro, the study of peoples of African blood, the publishing of books in this field, and the promotion of harmony between the races by acquainting the one with the other." The founding of the ASALH marks the beginning of the early black history movement that ended thirty-five years later with Woodson's death.
- He was also an active member of the Washington, D.C. branch of the NAACP.
- Participated in the Exposition of Negro Progress in Chicago.
- John Hope Franklin born in Oklahoma.

1916:

- Without consenting the co-founders of the ASNLH, Woodson launched the first issue of *The Journal of Negro History*, the first major scientifically historical journal on the African American experience.
- Woodson published two articles in the first volume of the *JNH*, "The Negroes of Cincinnati Prior to the Civil War" and "Freedom and Slavery in Appalachian America."
- Woodson was invited as a guest of Joel E. Spingarn to attend the Amenia Conference, August 24–26.

1917:

- The first biennial meeting of the ASNLH is held in Washington, D.C. Woodson gives more than $1,000 of his own money to support *The Journal of Negro History* and reorganizes the Association's leadership.

1918:

- *A Century of Negro Migration* (Washington, D.C.: ASNLH) published.

1918–1919:

- Principal, Armstrong Manual Training School, Washington, D.C. where he advocated dimensions and theories of Booker T. Washington's vocational education and Du Bois's classical education.
- Also introduced an adult education program.

1919:

- *The Journal of Negro History* reached 4,000 people; there were 1,648 subscribers; 600 copies were sold at newsstands; 500 bound copies, including al four volumes in a single volume, were sold.
- Woodson employs J.E. Ormes as a field agent to help increase ASNLH membership, sell books and subscriptions to the *JNH*, and organize Negro History Clubs.
- Completed, but did not publish because of a "printer's strike," *The Negro in Our History*. Woodson launches $20,000 ASNLH fund-raising drive.
- During the summer, "The Red Summer," more than twenty-five major race riots swept throughout U.S. cities.
- Woodson was in Washington, D.C. during the July 20 race riot there. He provided an affidavit for this riot.

1919–1920:

- Dean, School of Liberal Arts at Howard University, Washington, D.C. Introduced the study of black history and graduate studies in history at Howard.

1920:

- Deemed A. Philip Randolph a "Twentieth Century Prophet" and joined the Friends of Negro Freedom.

1920–1922:

- Dean, West Virginia Collegiate Institute (later West Virginia State College, now West Virginia State University).

1921:

- Founded the Associated Publishers, Inc. largely in order to offer black scholars, especially historians, with an outlet for publishing their vindicationist and revisionist scholarship.
- Received grant from the Carnegie Institution.
- *The History of the Negro Church* (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc.), *Fifty Years of Negro Citizenship as Qualified by the United States Supreme Court*, and *Early Negro Education in West Virginia* (Institute, West Virginia State College) published.
- Wrote "The Case of the Negro," an unpublished manuscript that was re-discovered by Daryl M. Scott in 2005.

1922:

- In February, the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Foundation awarded Woodson $25,000.
- Resigned from his position at West Virginia Collegiate Institute, moved to Washington, D.C., and decided to devote his life's work to the ASNLH.
- Built sometime between approximately 1872 and 1874 (the specific architect (s) and builders (s) is/are unknown at this time), Woodson purchased the three-story, brick row, Victorian style house on Lot 819 in Square 365 at 1538 Ninth Street, NW from agents George F. Cook and A.W. Mitchell on July 18 for $8,000.00. One the eve of purchasing this house, Woodson rented office space for the ASNLH on U Street.
- The first edition of *The Negro in Our History* is published by the Associated Publishers, Inc.
- In the summer, A. A. Taylor becomes the first one of Woodson's "Boys" to join the ASNLH staff.
- Participated in the Washington, D.C. NAACP Branch's silent parade against lynching in June.

1923:

- Had a sign, 11½ feet wide and 2 feet high, placed on the front façade of his home, to the right of the front door. The sign read in capital letters: "THE ASSOCIATED PUBLISHERS, INC.," signaling to the vibrant Shaw neighborhood black community the arrival of a new black cultural and intellectual movement center.
- Elizabeth Ross Haynes becomes the first black woman to publish an article in *The Journal of Negro History*, "Negroes in Domestic Service in the U.S." (Volume 8, October).
- Mary McLeod Bethune becomes the first black woman to deliver a major paper at an ASNLH annual meeting.

1924:

- *Free Negro Owners of Slaves in the United States in 1830: Together with Absentee Ownership of Slaves in the United States in 1830* (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc.), edited by Woodson, published.
- The *Washington Tribune* published three articles on Woodson and the ASNLH.

1925:

- Days before the ASNLH had its tenth anniversary annual meeting in Washington, D.C., dubbed "one of the most important ever held in the history of the race," the Association featured an exhibition at the house.
- According to a *Washington Post* article from September 6, in Woodson's "office home" the ASNLH "presented an exhibition of 'engravings of the antique work of Benin, together with rare books and manuscripts.'"
- The *Washington Tribune* published four articles on Woodson and the ASNLH.
- Charles H. Wesley becomes the third African American to earn a Ph.D. in history from Harvard.
- On March 23, Anna Julia Cooper became the first African American woman to earn a Ph.D. in history (Sorbonne, Paris).

1926:

- Inaugurated Negro History Week.
- *Negro Orators and their Orations* (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc.) and *The Mind of the Negro as Reflected in Letters Written During the Crisis, 1800–1860* (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc.), both edited by Woodson, and *Ten Years of Collecting and Publishing the Records of the Negro* (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc.) published.
- Received the NAACP's Spingarn Medal and *Time* magazine had a column on Woodson under the heading "National Affairs."
- Hired James Hugo Johnston and Zora Neale Hurston as researchers.
- The Lauran Spelman Rockefeller Fund renewed and increased Woodson's grant.
- The Carnegie Corporation donated $10,000 to the New York Public Library for the buying of Schomburg's collection.

1927:

- Established the ASNLH's Extension Division, the Lecture Bureau, and the Home Study Department.
- Woodson completed an unpublished biography of Julius Rosenwald.

1928:

- *Negro Makers of History* (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc.) and *African Myths Together with Proverbs: A Supplementary Reader Composed of Folk Tales from Various Parts of Africa* (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc.) published.
- Attended summer meeting of the Social Science Research Council at Dartmouth College.
- In February, received a $16,000 grant from the Institute of Social and Religious Research and a $4,000 grant from the Social Science Research Council.
- Traveled to Cuba for research purposes.

1928–1933:

- Lorenzo Johnston Greene works closely with Woodson as a researcher for the ASNLH and maintains a detailed diary of his experiences.

1929:

- *The Negro as Businessman* (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc.), joint author with John H. Harmon, Jr. and Arnett G. Lindsay, published.

1929–1933:

- Established the Woodson Collection at the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

1930:

- *The Negro as Wage Earner* (Washington, D.C.: ASNLH), joint author with Lorenzo Johnston Greene, and *The Rural Negro* (Washington, D.C.: ASNLH) published.
- "The Negro Washerwoman," *The Journal of Negro History* 15 (1930) published.
- Helped found the Committee for Improving Industrial Conditions Among Negroes in the District of Columbia.

1930–1933:

- The basement of Woodson's "office home" was used for storing books published by the Associated Publishers, Inc. The basement was not in the best shape, as evidenced by Lorenzo J. Greene's observations in the summer of 1930 that books were literally "mildewing" there. Greene convinced Woodson to let him go on a cross-country book-selling campaign for the Association from 1930 until 1933.

1931–1936:

- Publishes more than 100 articles/columns in the *New York Age*.
- Controversy between Woodson and Du Bois, Logan, Thomas Jesse Jones, and the Phelps-Stokes Fund over the *Encyclopedia Africana* project.

1932:

- Publishes about four articles/columns in the *Pittsburgh Courier*, one of which challenges sexual harassment within the black community.
- Published first autobiographical sketch in the *New York Age*.
- Woodson publishes two important articles in the *Atlanta Daily World* pertaining to the election of 1932.

1932, 1933, 1935, 1937:

- Spends summers in Europe, vacationing and collecting documents pertaining to African history. In 1932, Woodson noted that it "has been twenty-five years since I visited Europe." He first visited Europe in 1907. Woodson commented on his travels to Europe in two essays in the *Atlanta Daily World* in September and October 1932 and another essay addressed the nature of his travels. In "Woodson Finds London Rife With Prejudice," Woodson talked about the challenges faced by blacks in London, noting that: "The Negro then, must think of his problem as a universal one." In "Noted Historian Touring Europe for Data," the author highlighted that Woodson visited the British Museum, Brussels, Leipzig, and Rome. In "European Democracy Alarms Dr. Woodson," Woodson asserted that little progress had been made in Europe since he last visited in 1907: "Europeans of today, then, do not impress me as favorably as they did twenty years ago."

1932–1936:

- Publishes approximately thirty-two articles/columns in *The Chicago Defender*.

1933:

- *The Mis-Education of the Negro* (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc.) published.
- After this year, no major white foundations contributed in significant manners to the ASNLH and Woodson depended upon the black community for support.

1934:

- *The Negro Professional Man and the Community: With Special Emphasis on the Physician and the Lawyer* (Washington, D.C.: ASNLH) published.
- On November 30, created a will and bequeathed the possession of the property for his "office home" the ASNLH upon his death.
- W. Sherman Savage received a Ph.D. in history from Ohio State University.

1935:

- *The Story of the Negro Retold* (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc.) published. Woodson initiates a $30,000 fund-raising drive. Of the approximately 2,000 Ph.D. degrees that had been awarded in the U.S., only six went to African Americans.
- Lucy Harth Smith and Mary McLeod Bethune become the first black elected to the ASNLH's executive council.

1936:

- *The African Background Outlined* (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc.) published.
- Alrutheus A. Taylor and Rayford W. Logan received Ph.D. degrees in history from Harvard.

1936–1952:

- Mary McLeod Bethune serves as the President at the ASNLH.

1937:

- Woodson creates the *Negro History Bulletin* in October.
- James Hugo Johnston and Luther Porter Jackson received Ph.D. degrees in history from the University of Chicago.

1938–1949:

- Woodson's debts surpassed his income.

1939:

- *African Heroes and Heroines* (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc.) published.
- *The Negro History Bulletin* is increased from eight to sixteen pages per issue.

1940:

- Eighteen African Americans had earned doctorates in history in the U.S. since 1895.
- Benjamin Quarles received a Ph.D. in history from Wisconsin.
- Marion Thompson became the first African American woman to earn a Ph.D. in history in the U.S. (Columbia University).
- Responding to a call from L.D. Reddick, Schomburg Collection curator, Woodson's "Boys" attempt to publish a tribute to Woodson.
- *The Negro History Bulletin* is formatted to look more like a magazine.

1941:

- Received Doctor of Laws from West Virginia State College.
- John Hope Franklin received a Ph.D. in history from Harvard.
- Lulu M. Johnson, the second black woman to earn a Ph.D. in history in the U.S., received Ph.D. from Iowa State University.

1941–1950:

- Woodson publishes approximately fifty-seven essays in *The Negro History Bulletin*.

1942:

- *The Works of Francis J. Grimké* (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc.), edited by Woodson, published.
- Lorenzo Johnston Greene received Ph.D. in history from Columbia University.

1943:

- Susie Owen Lee received a Ph.D. in history from New York University.
- Muralist Charles Alston (1907–1977) draws a cartoon image of Woodson under the auspices of the U.S. Office of the War Information in order to promote the war effort in African American communities.

1944:

- Woodson published one of the only first-hand accounts of his life in *The Negro History Bulletin*, "My Recollections of Veterans of the Civil War."

1945:

- Rayford W. Logan published a critical article on Woodson, "Phylon Profile VI: Carter G. Woodson," in *Phylon* (Volume 6, 4th Quarter). According to William M. Brewer, Woodson was infuriated by this essay.

1946:

- Elsie Lewis received a Ph.D. in history from the University of Chicago.
- Helen G. Edmonds received a Ph.D. in history from Ohio State University.
- Margaret Nelson Rowley received a Ph.D. in history from Columbia University.

1947:

- The first edition of John Hope Franklin's enduring classic, *From Slavery to Freedom*, is published.

1948:

- Woodson first introduced "Negro History Week Kits" at $2 apiece.

1950:

- Woodson died suddenly from a heart attack on April 3, 1950. He was pronounced dead by his physician, Dr. Henry A. Callis, who conjectured that Woodson died peacefully, while in bed. Woodson was found dead in his bed in his apartment about 2 o'clock in the afternoon by Arnett G. Lindsay.
- Woodson's death is mentioned in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, the *Quarterly Review of Higher Education among Negroes*, the *Pittsburgh Courier*, the *Washington Edition of the Pittsburgh Courier*, the *Chicago Defender*, the *Norfolk Guide and Journal*, the *Afro-American* (Baltimore), and *The Call; Southwest's Leading Weekly*.
- The May issue of *The Negro History Bulletin* features essays about Woodson by his co-workers who knew him best and Du Bois published a critical essay, "A Portrait of Carter G. Woodson," in *Masses and Mainstream* (Volume 3, June 1950).
- Three other major figures in the black struggle for social justice and equality also died in 1950: Charles Drew (1904–1950), Charles Hamilton Houston (1895–1950), and Luther Porter Jackson (1892–1950).
- Immediately following Woodson's funeral services at Shiloh Baptist Church in Washington, D.C., the Association's Executive Council, Lorenzo J. Greene, Charles H. Wesley, and other Woodson "Boys"—"Franklin, Reddick, Jackson, et al,"—met at the Association headquarters at 1538 Ninth Street, NW "to decide whether the Association would continue."
- Rayford W. Logan was named Director of the ASNLH.

1951:

- In February 1951 during Negro History Week, blacks in Chicago held a formal Memorial Service for Woodson.

1955:

- In February 1955, the House of Knowledge in Chicago, a black cultural nationalist organization, initiated a drive to convert Negro History Week into a year-long celebration. They also hosted a program called "Historiama" in honor of Woodson.

Mid–1950s:

- The Association received a permit to build a fence around the home and a decade following Woodson's death, evidence discovered by Judith H. Robinson & Associates, Inc. suggests that the Woodson Home was also used "as a store" of some sort.

1958:

- Elected as "the third distinguished American" named to "The *Ebony* Hall of Fame" by readers.
- Earl E. Thorpe published the first major study of the black historical profession, *Negro Historians in the United States*.

1959:

- According to the *Atlanta Daily World*, "Now, that a commission has addressed to President Eisenhower the suggestion that an act of Congress intercede in further recognition of the effort which began so modestly, there is every reason that the day will receive national prestige through congressional action, which the President suggested, as contingent to a declaration of the President setting aside from a national viewpoint, Negro History Week."

1960:

- According to maps, Woodson's former "office home" is used as a store.

1961:

- Congressman Diggs of the State of Michigan asked the President of the United States of America to issue a Negro History Week Proclamation.

1965:

- At the semi-centennial celebration of the ASNLH at the 50th Annual Meeting in Atlanta from October 21–23, there was an hour and a half long opening session where Woodson was remembered by those who knew him well called "Carter G. Woodson Memorial Session."The special summer issue of *The Negro History Bulletin* features recollections on Woodson from his close co-workers.

1967:

- As recorded in *The Washington Post*, the ASNLH was looking for a new base of operations because "the present national headquarters building is an urban renewal area and will be raised before long."

1969:

- As a result of the efforts of Association branches in Brownsville and Brooklyn, New York, a senior citizen home in Brownsville was named the Carter G. Woodson Houses.

1971:

- The Association no longer used the Woodson Home as its headquarters. While in November they listed the 1538 Ninth Street, NW as their headquarters, by December it changed its mailing address to 1407 14th,NW, Washington, D.C.
- ASNLH member Patricia Romero produced the first major Ph.D. dissertation on Woodson.
- Earl E. Thorpe's *Black Historians: A Critique* published.

1972:

- The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH) changes its name to The Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History (ASALH).

1973:

- Among the Association's twelve major "campaigns, efforts and programs" was providing "housing and support for the proposed Carter G. Woodson Collection," a facility that be "available to all Washington, D.C. visitors" by 1976.

1973–1976:

- The National Park Service hired the Afro-American Bicentennial Corporation (ABC), headed by brothers Robert and Vincent DeForrest with a total of $540,000.00 in "special funding," to indentify, study, and nominate black historic landmarks throughout the country.

1974:

- By July, thirteen black landmarks were named.
- Every year since this year, the National Council for the Social Studies presents awards in the name of Carter G. Woodson "to outstanding books depicting ethnicity in United States."
- On December 19, the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History renamed its new headquarters in honor of Carter G. Woodson.

1975:

- In December at the Third Liberty Baptist Church, about 150 yards away from Woodson's birthplace, the ASALH and the Amoco Foundation of Chicago placed a bronze marker at the birthplace of Woodson.

1976:

- In January, the *Negro History Bulletin* displayed a photo of their new office at 1401 14th, NW, named the Carter G. Woodson Center, under the heading "America: The Third Century." During the 1970s the Woodson Home "stood vacant for many years and fell into a state of disrepair with broken windows and crumbling steps."
- The former headquarters of the ASNLH at 1538 Ninth Street, NW, Washington, D.C. is designated a National Historic Landmark on May 11. [National Register # 76002135].
- There were sixty-one black historic landmarks approved by the National Park Service.
- The ASALH creates Black History Month to replace Negro History Week.

1979:

- Woodson's Home was listed in the District of Columbia's Inventory of Historic Sites on March 3.
- At the Sixty-Fourth ASALH Annual Convention in New York Executive Director J. Rupert Picott called for "the renovation and restoration of the Carter G. Woodson Home at 1538 9th, NW, Washington, D.C., as a perpetual memorial to our founder."

1980:

- By June 14, the Woodson home was "well on its way to being completely renovated and restored" and was "approximately 91% completed" by Bryant and Bryant, a local black-owned construction company.

1981:

- In the January-March volume of the *Negro History Bulletin*, it was reported that the "1538 property" had been restored and "shines brightly in all of its pristine glory."

1983:

- Under the heading "ASALH Notable Achievements" in the *Negro History Bulletin,* it was indicated that the renovation of the Carter G. Woodson Home was "completed" and housed the national offices of the Afro-American Museum Association.
- Sister Anthony Scally published *Walking Proud: The Story of Dr. Carte G. Woodson*, the first major biography of Woodson that was endorsed by the ASALH.

1984:

- In commemoration of Woodson, the U.S. Postal Service issued a stamp of the ASNLH founder as a part of its Black Heritage Series.
- In a letter to a friend, Lorenzo Johnston Greene lamented that "the real biography of Woodson remains to be written and, unfortunately, those who held the key to Woodson's personality, the forces that drove him, and the psychic factors that made him Woodson, have passed, or are rapidly passing, from the scene."
- The ASALH had a "Day of Commemoration for Woodson" at its headquarters with personal accounts from L.D. Reddick, John Hope Franklin, Dorothy Porter Wesley, Arnett Lindsay, and Lorenzo J. Greene.

1986:

- August Meier's and Elliott Rudwick's *Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915–1980* and *The State of Afro-American History: Past, Present, and Future*, edited by Darlene Clark Hine, published.
- Mayor Robert Nelson of Huntington, West Virginia inaugurated the Carter G. Foundation.

Mid-late 1980s:

- Perhaps in an effort to pay off the remaining mortgage on 1538 Ninth Street, NW, during the latter half of the 1980s, the Association "rented to the house to the publishers of *American Visions* magazine."
- "Physical investigations indicate that interior improvements," following those made at the dawning of the decade, "were made to the house in the 1980s most likely in preparation for its re-occupancy."

1988:

- The National Park Service completed a field assessment that provided some detail about the conditions of the Woodson Home.

1989:

- "The Association received a permit to do electrical work at the house which included the installation of fire alarm pull stations, control panel, and bells, the addition of new surface mounted outlets, and adding light fixtures."
- *Working with Carter G. Woodson, the Father of Black History: A Diary, 1928–1930, Lorenzo J. Greene*, edited by Arvarh E. Strickland, published.

1991:

- In an article in *The Journal of Negro History* (Volume 76, Winter-Autumn 1991), "Dr. Carter G. Woodson as I Recall Him, 1943–1950," Willie Leanna Miles, who worked with Woodson from 1943 until 1950, provided basic, yet very revealing, descriptions of Woodson's "office home" as she called it. In offering her "birdseye view" of her "memories of the man and his life," Miles described the Carter G. Woodson Home in more detail than had been previously offered by those who knew Woodson. She reproduced a floor plan.
- The Afro-American Institute for Historic Preservation and Community Development and the Institute for Urban Development Research at George Washington University produced the "Carter G. Woodson National Historic Site and Management Study."

1993:

- The first major study by a university press, Jacqueline Goggin's *Carter G. Woodson: A Life in Black History* (Louisiana State University Press) is published.

1994:

- Mayor of West Virginia Robert Nelson erected a life-size statue of Woodson on Hal Greer Boulevard in Huntington, West Virginia.

1996:

- *Selling Black History for Carter G. Woodson: A Diary, 1930–1933, by Lorenzo J. Greene*, edited by Arvarh E. Strickland, published.

1998:

- The Papers of Carter G. Woodson and the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1915–1950 is processed and released as thirty-four microfilm reels, representing "a large body of material that has never been available to scholars."
- Emcee, soulful R & B singer, and former member of The Fugees Lauryn Hill's debut and Grammy Award winning album, *The Miseducation of Lauryn Hill*, is released, sampling from Woodson's classic *The Mis-Education of the Negro*.

1999:

- On November 2, Norton introduced "The Carter G. Woodson Home National Historic Site Study Act of 1999" in the House of Representatives

2000:

- The value of Woodson's extensive collection of black history scholarship, documents, and memorabilia (including more than one hundred first edition works pertaining to African American history and thousands of documents and artifacts) that was stored in his home, appraised at $600,000.00 to $1,000,000.00.
- On February 15, H.R. 3201 was approved and passed, 413–1, resulting in the "Carter G. Woodson Home National Historic Site Study Act of 2000."
- The Committee on Energy and National Resources authorized the Secretary of the Interior "to prepare a resource study of the home of Dr. Carter G. Woodson to determine the suitability and feasibility of designating it as a unit of the National Park Service."

2001:

- The Carter G. Woodson Home was placed on the National Trust for Historic Preservation's list of "11 Most Endangered Places in the U.S."

2002:

- In an *OAH Newsletter*, Felix L. Armfield called upon concerned people to join the ASALH in the cause of restoring the Woodson Home. "Over the next three years," Armfield announced, "ASALH wants to restore the house to its original splendor, relocate ASALH's offices to the site and acquire adjacent property for the purposes of creating an education and resource center that includes a Visitor Center and interpretive exhibits."
- The ASALH gets a Washington Convention Center Authority Historical Preservation Grant from the National Trust for Historical Preservation.

2003:

- On June 10, the Hon. Eleanor Holmes Norton, now in her ninth term as the Congresswoman from the District of Columbia, spoke passionately at the hearing before the Subcommittee on National Parks of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, United States Senate (108th Congress, First Session), emphasizing in no uncertain terms the profound significance of The Carter G. Woodson Home.
- Based upon Public Law 108–192, 117 Stat. 2873 signed on December 19, the National Park Service was authorized to acquire The Carter G. Woodson Home to establish a National Historic Site.

2004:

- Emory University acquires Carter G. Woodson archives and places them within the university's Special Collections and Archives Division. The collection includes many rare and important books, pamphlets and periodicals. The collection includes more than 65 boxes of primary source documents.

2005:

- On June 10, the National Park Service purchased the Woodson Home from ASALH for $465,000.00. The Woodson Home became the property of the NPS.
- Woodson's unpublished manuscript, "The Case of the Negro," is rediscovered (later republished as *Carter G. Woodson's Appeal* in 2008).

2007:

- Revising and expanding upon previous Woodsonian scholarship, Pero Gaglo Dagbovie's *The Early Black History Movement, Carter G. Woodson, and Lorenzo Johnston Greene* (University of Illinois Press) is published.

2008:

- On January 15, the exhaustive *Carter G. Woodson Home: Historic Structure Report*, Contract No. C300060016/NPS PMIS Reference No. 125623, prepared by Beyer Blinder Belle, Architects & Planners, LLP, is completed.
- In February, Nike commemorated and capitalized on Woodson's contributions and *The Mis-Education* by releasing at special events in New York and Los Angeles "Dr. Carter G. Woodson Black History Month Air Force Ones."

2009:

- John Hope Franklin, the last surviving professionally-trained black historian who knew and worked with Woodson, died on March 25 of congestive heart failure.

Appendix C:

Books Published by the Associated Publishers, Inc. and Carter G. Woodson's Book Publications[1]

Books Published by the Associated Publishers, Inc., 1923-1949 (not including those authored and co-authored by Woodson)

Bond, Frederick Weldon. *The Negro and Drama*. 1940.

Bond, Horace Mann. *Negro Education in Alabama: A Study in Cotton and Steel*. 1939.

Brown, George W. *The Economic History of Liberia*. 1941.

Coleman, Edward Maceo. *Creole Voices: Poems in French by Free Men of Color*. 1945.

Cook, Mercer. *Five French Negro Authors*. 1943.

Cuney-Hare, Maud. *Negro Musicians and their Music*. 1936.

Daniel, Sadie I. *Women Builders*. 1931.

Delafosse, Maurice. *The Negroes of African History and Culture*. Translated by F. Fligelman. 1931.

Derricotte, Elise Palmer, Jessie H. Roy, and Geneva Calcier Turner. *Word Pictures of the Grea*t. 1941.

Dykes, Eva Beatrice. *The Negro in Romantic English Thought*. 1942.

Fleming, Marion J. Pryde and Beatrice J. *Distinguished Negroes Abroad*.

Hambly, Wilifrid D. *Talking Animals*. 1949.

Hambly, Wilifrid Dyson. *Clever Hands of the African Negro*. 1945.

Henderson, Edwin Bancroft. *The Negro in Sports*. 1929.

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1 This appendix includes many of the books published by the Associated Publishers, Inc. that I was able to locate as well as the books that Woodson wrote, edited, and/or co-authored, twenty-three in total, one of which is a major unpublished manuscript. All of his publications here, except for two, were published under the auspices of the ASNLH. I have opted to only include *books* by Woodson here. Woodson published numerous journal articles, book reviews, essays in periodicals and magazines, and columns in newspapers. Most of these writings appear in *The Journal of Negro History*, *the Negro History Bulletin*, the *Chicago Defender*, the *New York Age*, the *Pittsburgh Courier*, and the *Afro-American*. For a detailed bibliography of published writings by Woodson, see Sister Anthony Scally, *Carter G. Woodson: A Bio-Bibliography* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1985). This study is truly comprehensive, containing more than 800 entries of various sorts. Beginning with *The History of the Negro Church* (1921), between 1921 and 1949 the Associated Publishers, Inc. published approximately 50 books, many of which were published by black female schoolteachers. A.A. Taylor, Charles H. Wesley, Woodson, and Benjamin Quarles were among the professionally-trained black historians who published monographs with the Associated Publishers, Inc. More than a few of the books that were published by the Associated Publishers, Inc. during Woodson's times were reprinted during the civil rights-Black Power era and in more recent times.

Hill, John H. *Princess Malah*. 1933.

Jackson, Algernon B. *Jim and Mr. Eddy*. 1931.

Kerlin, Robert T. *Negro Poets and their Poems*. 1923.

Mazyck, Walter H. *George Washington and the Negro*. 1932.

McBrown, Gertrude P. *The Picture Poetry Book*. 1946.

McBrown, Gertrude Parthenia and Lois M. Jones. *The Picture Poetry Book*. 1936.

Miller, Kelly. *The Everlasting Stain*. 1923.

Miller, Willis and May Richardson. *Negro History in Thirteen Plays*. 1935.

Newsome, Effie Lee. *Gladiola Garden: Poems of Outdoors and Indoors for 2nd Grade Readers*. 1944

Paynter, John H. *Fugitives of the Pearl*. 1930.

Quarles, Benjamin. *Frederick Douglass*. 1948.

Ramos, Arthur. *The Negro in Brazil*. Translated by Richard Patee. 1939.

Richardson, Willis and J. L. Wells. *Plays and Pageants from the Life of the Negro*. 1930.

Rousseve, Charles Barthelemy. *The Negro in Louisiana, Aspects of History and Literature*. 1937.

Schnoenfeld, Seymour J. *The Negro in the Armed Forces: His Value and Status—Past, Present, and Potential*. 1945.

Shackelford, Jane D. *My Happy Days*. 1944, 1946.

Shackelford, Jane D. *The Child's Story of the Negro*. 1938.

Simpson, Georgina R. *Toussaint Louverature*. 1925.

Taylor, A.A. *The Negro in Tennessee, 1865-1880*. 1941.

Trent-Johns, Altona. *Play Songs of the Deep South*. 1944.

Van Deusen, John George. *The Black Man in White America*.

Wesley, Charles H. *The Collapse of the Confederacy*. 1937.

Whiting, Helen A. *Negro Art, Music and Rhyme for Young Folks, Book II*. 1938.

Whiting, Helen A. *Negro Art, Music and Rhyme; for Young Folks*. 1938.

Whiting, Helen A. *Negro Folktales*. 1938.

Yancey, Bessie Woodson. *Echoes from the Hills: A Book of Poems*. 1939.

Books Authored and Co-authored by Woodson, 1915-1942, in Chronological Order

The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861: A History of the Education of the Colored People of the United States from the Beginning of Slavery to the Civil War. New York: Putnam's, 1915.

A Century of Negro Migration. Washington, D.C.: ASNLH, 1918.

The History of the Negro Church. Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc., 1921.

Fifty Years of Negro Citizenship as Qualified by the United States Supreme Court. Reprint from *The Journal of Negro History* 6 (1921).

The Case of the Negro (1921). Reprint. Daryl Michael Scott, ed., *Carter G. Woodson's Appeal*. Washington, DC: The ASALH Press, 2008.

Early Negro Education in West Virginia. Institute, West Virginia State College, 1921. Published as "West Virginia Collegiate Institute Bulletin," Series 6, no. 3.

The Negro in Our History. Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc., 1922.

Free Negro Owners of Slaves in the United States in 1830: Together with Absentee Ownership of Slaves in the United States in 1830, ed. Washington D.C.: ASNLH, 1924.

Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1830: Together with a Brief Treatment of the Free Negro. Washington, D.C.: ASNLH, 1925.

Negro Orators and their Orations, ed. Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc., 1926.

Ten Years of Collecting and Publishing the Records of the Negro. Washington, D.C.: ASNLH, 1926.

The Mind of the Negro as Reflected in Letters Written During the Crisis, 1800-1860, ed. Washington, D.C.: ASNLH, 1926.

Negro Makers of History. Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc., 1928.

African Myths Together with Proverbs: A Supplementary Reader Composed of Folk Tales from Various Parts of Africa. Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc., 1928.

The Negro as Businessman, joint author with John H. Harmon, Jr. and Arnett J. Lindsay. Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc., 1929.

The Negro Wage Earner, joint author with Lorenzo J. Greene. Washington, D.C.: ASNLH, 1930.

The Rural Negro. Washington, D.C.: ASNLH, 1930.

The Mis-Education of the Negro. Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc., 1933.

The Negro Professional Man and the Community: With Special Emphasis on the Physician and the Lawyer. Washington, D.C.: ASNLH, 1934.

The Story of the Negro Retold. Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc., 1935.

The African Background Outlined. Washington, D.C.: ASNLH, 1936.

African Heroes and Heroines. Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc., 1939.

The Works of Frances J. Grimké, ed. Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc., 1942.

Appendix D:

Manuscript and Paper Collections and Archives

Archives of the United States. War Department. Bureau of Insular Affairs.

Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc. Archives.

Charles H. Wesley Papers

Carter G. Woodson Papers.

Carver Hall Materials

Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C.

Nannie Helen Burroughs Papers

Lorenzo Johnston Greene Papers

J. Franklin Jameson Papers

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Papers

The Carter G. Woodson Collection of Negro Papers and Related Documents

Carter Godwin Woodson Papers

Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Robert W. Woodruff Library,
Emory University, Atlanta, GA 30322-2870

The Carter Godwin Woodson Library

Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

Benjamin Brawley Papers

Cromwell Family Papers

Archibald H. Grimke Papers

Francis J. Grimke Papers

Alain Locke Papers

Kelly Miller Papers

Jesse E. Moorland Papers

Joel Spingarn Papers

Carter G. Woodson Papers

Papers of Carter G. Woodson and the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History,
1915–1950, A microfilm project of UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS OF AMERICA,
An Imprint of CIS 4520 East-West Highway, Bethesda, MD 20814-3389, 1999
(34 35mm microfilm reels)

Phillis Wheatley and Anthony Bowen YWCA Archives

Rockefeller Archive Center, Tarrytown, NY

General Education Board Records

Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund Records

Rockefeller Foundation Records

Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library, New York, NY

John Edward Bruce Papers

Arthur A. Schomburg Papers

Carter G. Woodson File

Shiloh Baptist Church Archives

Slowe Hall Records

Tuskegee Institute. Carnegie Library Archives, Tuskegee, Alabama

R.R. Moton Papers

Carter G. Woodson Papers

Virginia State University. Library Archives.

Luther Porter Jackson Papers

Appendix E:

Photographs Related to Carter G. Woodson

In *Booker T. Washington and the Art of Self-Representation* (2008), Michael Bieze stresses the importance of analyzing photographs. "The historiographic issues are that historians may perceive photographs as straightforward evidence (verification of a fact) rather than seeing them as complex artifacts (historical objects) which need a textual and visual context to be interpreted. Furthermore, the conflict in the discipline of history between the terms artifact, fact, and evidence, and confusion about where to place photographs within these terms increases the complexity of the debate.... [P]hotographs offer a way of studying agency, or a life of resistance not recorded in traditional, text-based archival materials, because the way they so easily seem to convince viewers of the facts without challenge.... Most of us have read history books, biographies, and autobiographies and occasionally skipped ahead to look at the pictures. We may want to know what people really looked like. How did they dress? Who was in the room with them? What kind of lifestyle did they enjoy? It appears that the photograph, a seemingly pure and simple visual story, amplifies words and offers a peek at an authentic moment from an eternally suspended past." [1]

By including the various photos of Woodson in this section, I am attempting to add a "visual story" to the historical information presented in this Historic Resource Study that can help inform the reader.

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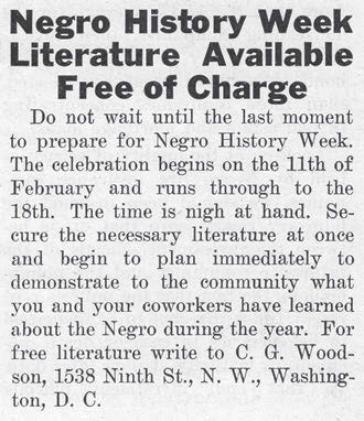
1 See Michael Bieze, *Booker T. Washington and the Art of Self-Representation* (New York: Peter Lang, 1008). Several of Woodson's co-workers have described him in physical terms. In 1958, *Ebony* introduced Woodson as being "a stern, thin-lipped individual with cool, serious eyes." In "Dr. Carter G. Woodson: The Man as I Knew Him," Lorenzo Johnston Greene wrote: "To you, who did not know him, he was robust, healthy-looking, light-brown in color, of somewhat more than average height, with thin tightly-pursed lips. He often wore a scowling, condescending expression on his face." Similarly, in 1991 Willie Leanna Miles recalled: "Dr. Woodson had penetrating eyes, thin lips and a very rigid posture." The following photos of Woodson can help us reconstruct, visually at least, Woodson's complex, enigmatic character.

Figure 1

Figure 2

Figure 3



Negro History Week Literature Available Free of Charge

Do not wait until the last moment to prepare for Negro History Week. The celebration begins on the 11th of February and runs through to the 18th. The time is nigh at hand. Secure the necessary literature at once and begin to plan immediately to demonstrate to the community what you and your coworkers have learned about the Negro during the year. For free literature write to C. G. Woodson, 1538 Ninth St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

Figure 4

Figure 5

Figure 6

Prepare for Negro History Week by Using these Books Throughout the Year

NINE IMPORTANT BOOKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED

A Repository of New Thought. Informing, Stimulating, and above all, Inspiring. No library can be complete without these works.

	PRICE
The Negro in Our History, by C. G. Woodson.—Seventh Edition, further revised and enlarged. Gives more information about the Negro than any other volume hitherto published. Forty thousand copies already sold. The best work for college instruction and library reference. 703 pages	$4.25
Negro Education in Alabama, by Horace Mann Bond. Crowned by the Bureau of Educational Research of the National Education Association as one of the six pieces of the best educational research since 1935. A study of cotton and steel which determined what education should be. 370 pages	3.25
The Negro in Brazil, by Arthur Ramos, translated from the Portguese by Richard Pattee. The role of the Negro in Brazil from slavery to emancipation and equality. An able presentation of the Brazilian culture based on the admixture of the Indians, Portuguese and Negroes. 223 pages	2.15
Controversy over the Distribution of Abolition Literature, by W. Sherman Savage.—A scientific study of a neglected phase of abolition. An exposé of the influence of the pro-slavery forces in the nation and the radical methods adopted for preventing citizens from using the mails in the promotion of freedom. 157 pages	2.15
Gladiola Garden, by Effie Lee Newsome. Illustrated by Lois M. Jones.—A beautiful book of verse for children of the elementary school. An effort to interpret nature to children. 183 pages	1.65
Word Pictures of the Great, by E. P. Derricotte, J. H. Roy, and G. C. Turner.—Dramatized biographical sketches of twenty-six prominent Negroes for children in the second and third grades. A delight for children. Well illustrated. 271 pages	1.65
Dunbar Critically Examined, by Victor Lawson.—A new book dealing with Dunbar from a new point of view—not to eulogize him but to survey his writings and to show their merits and demerits, according to the standards of literary criticism. 177 pages	2.15
The Economic History of Liberia, by George W. Brown.—The most authoritative book on Liberia, and by a scholar who studied the economic situation in Liberia itself after having made researches in the archives of the United States and Europe. 370 pages	3.25
The Negro in Tennessee, 1865-1880, by A. A. Taylor, author of "The Negro in South Carolina during the Reconstruction" and "The Negro in the Reconstruction of Virginia." A new picture of the Negro as he worked his way out of serfdom to usefulness and recognition. The Negro given an opportunity to testify on his own past. 312 pages	3.25

VALUABLE BOOKS ON THE NEGRO

FOR THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

	List Price
The Picture Poetry Book, by G. P. McBrown (Recommended for the pre-school child)	$1.10
Negro Folk Tales, by Helen A. Whiting (Recommended for the first and second grades)	1.10
Negro Art, Music and Rhyme, by Helen A. Whiting (Recommended for the second grade)	1.10
African Myths, by C. G. Woodson (Recommended for the third and fourth grades)	1.10
Word Pictures of the Great, by E. P. Derricotte, J. H. Roy and G. C. Turner (Recommended for the second and third grades)	1.65
Gladiola Garden, by Effie Lee Newsome (Recommended for the second and third grades)	1.65
The Child's Story of the Negro, by Jane Shackelford (Recommended for the fifth grade)	1.65
Negro Makers of History, by C. G. Woodson (Recommended for the sixth and the seventh grades)	1.65

FOR HIGH SCHOOL AND GENERAL REFERENCE

History	**The Story of the Negro Retold,** by C. G. Woodson	2.15
	The Negro in Our History, by C. G. Woodson	4.25
	The Economic History of Liberia, by G. W. Brown	3.25
	The History of the Negro Church, by C. G. Woodson	2.65
	The Negro in Brazil, by Arthur Ramos	2.15
Literature and Art	**Negro Musicians and Their Music,** by Maud Cuney-Hare	3.25
	Negro Poets and Their Poems, by R. T. Kerlin	2.65
	Negro Orators and Their Orations, by C. G. Woodson	5.25
Biography	**African Heroes and Heroines,** by C. G. Woodson	2.15
	Women Builders, by Sadie Daniel	2.15
	The Negro in Sports, by E. B. Henderson	2.15
	Richard Allen, by C. H. Wesley	2.15
Drama	**The Negro and the Drama,** by Frederick Bond	2.15
	Plays and Pageants from the Life of the Negro, by Willis Richardson	3.25
	Negro History in Thirteen Plays, by Mae Miller and Willis Richardson	3.25
	Total	$53.85
The Negro History Bulletin, Volumes I, II, III, IV, V—$2.00 a volume		10.00
Table of Important Events and Dates in Negro History, by C. G. Woodson		.50
Pictures of Distinguished Negroes for 10c, 25c and $1.00 (200 Subjects Available)		
Grand Total		$64.35

THE ASSOCIATED PUBLISHERS, Inc.

1538 Ninth St., N. W. Washington, D. C.

Figure 7

Figure 8

Figure 9

MY RECOLLECTIONS OF VETERANS OF THE CIVIL WAR

BY C. G. WOODSON

THE veteran of the Civil War best known to me was my father, James Henry Woodson. He was owned as a slave in Fluvanna County on the James River about sixty-five miles above Richmond, Virginia, in one of the infertile sections of worn-out hilly land and on that side of the stream which in its meandering aggravated the situation by leaving the alluvial soil on the opposite side of the river. In this infelicitous situation planters often had more slaves than could make a living on their own premises and hired out their surplus bondmen. Because of this misfortune, James Henry Woodson, although of a mechanical turn, like his father, Carter Woodson who was a cabinet maker, was debased to the level of a ditch-digger in the employ of one James Stratton. The son, making use of his mechanical knowledge, picked up mainly by contact and observation, was at this time hewing from the forest nearby some hard timber out of which he made at night rough furniture and fish traps which he sold for pocket change. Learning that the bondman was thus applying his leisure, Stratton came upon him in the ditch where he was working one morning and undertook to whip the employee for thus exploiting his opportunity. The employee, however, turned the scales, whipped Stratton, and rushed back to the plantation where he was owned by one Jack Toney.

Seeing James returning home, Toney indignantly inquired:

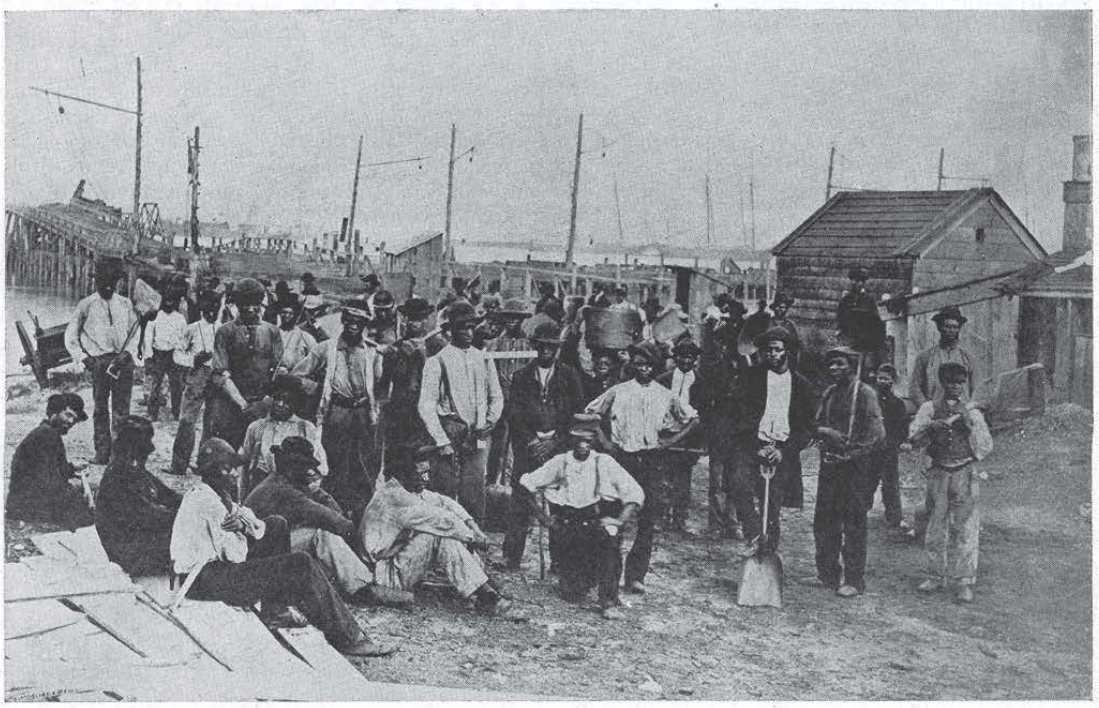
"What are you doing here this time of day?"

"Stratton and I fell out," was the reply.

"Fell out! That's the trouble now! All free! All free!'

"Yes, we are free," came the retort. "And if you bother me I'll kill you, another devil!"

The rebelious slave, realizing his danger, rushed to his cabin, grabbed his best suit of clothes and a clean white handkerchief, dashed toward the woods where he quickly dressed in this more becoming attire and made his way as rapidly as possible toward Richmond. He had heard that the Union Soldiers, or the Yankees, as they were called, were in that area. He hurried on and on, hoping to see some trace of the friends of freedom. Finally he began to hear the tramping of horses and on entering a wide field he saw in the distance a cavalry



NEGRO LABORERS AT THE COAL WHARF OF ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA, IN 1862

Figure 10

Figure 11

Figure 12

Figure 13

Figure 14

CHILDREN'S PAGE

BY WILHELMINA M. CROSSON

No doubt you have read a great many stories about many Negroes who have devoted their lives to a cause which they felt worthwhile. From time to time, you will read about these people in this magazine. Because we wish you to know how we came to have *The Negro History Bulletin,* we are introducing you to our director, and founder, of this publication, Dr. Carter Godwin Woodson.

Dr. Woodson who is the leading historian of our race has been working diligently ever since 1915,

CARTER GODWIN WOODSON

for a third of a century, preserving the documents and data of our people, so that we may not be lost in the shuffle of mankind.

He was born in Virginia, and did not have much formal education until he was 19 years of age. Always, there flamed within him the ambition to get a college education, although he had to labor in building a railroad and later in the coal mines of West Virginia for six years. Dr. Woodson studied hard in the Douglass High School in Huntington, West Virginia, and later at Berea College and Chicago. He received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from Harvard University, in Cambridge, Massachusetts in 1912. He works for the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History without pay, because he feels that the story of the Negro *must be told.* He founded this organization in 1915. We want you to remember, that through sheer hard work, he has been able to make many Negroes proud of the race to which they belong. This he has done through the publication of many books, and the two magazines, *The Journal of Negro History* and *The Negro History Bulletin.*

1. Who directs the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History?
2. Where is his office?
3. Write three words that would describe Dr. Woodson's character.
4. What is Dr. Woodson's field of work?
5. Find in your Negro History at least three outstanding Negroes who have the same vocation as Dr. Woodson.
6. What is the cost of *The Journal of Negro History? The Negro History Bulletin?*
7. Why should you study Negro History?
8. Is there a branch of the Association in your city?
9. Can you get a subscription to *The Negro History Bulletin?*
10. Find out something more about Carter Godwin Woodson.

Figure 15

Figure 16

Figure 17

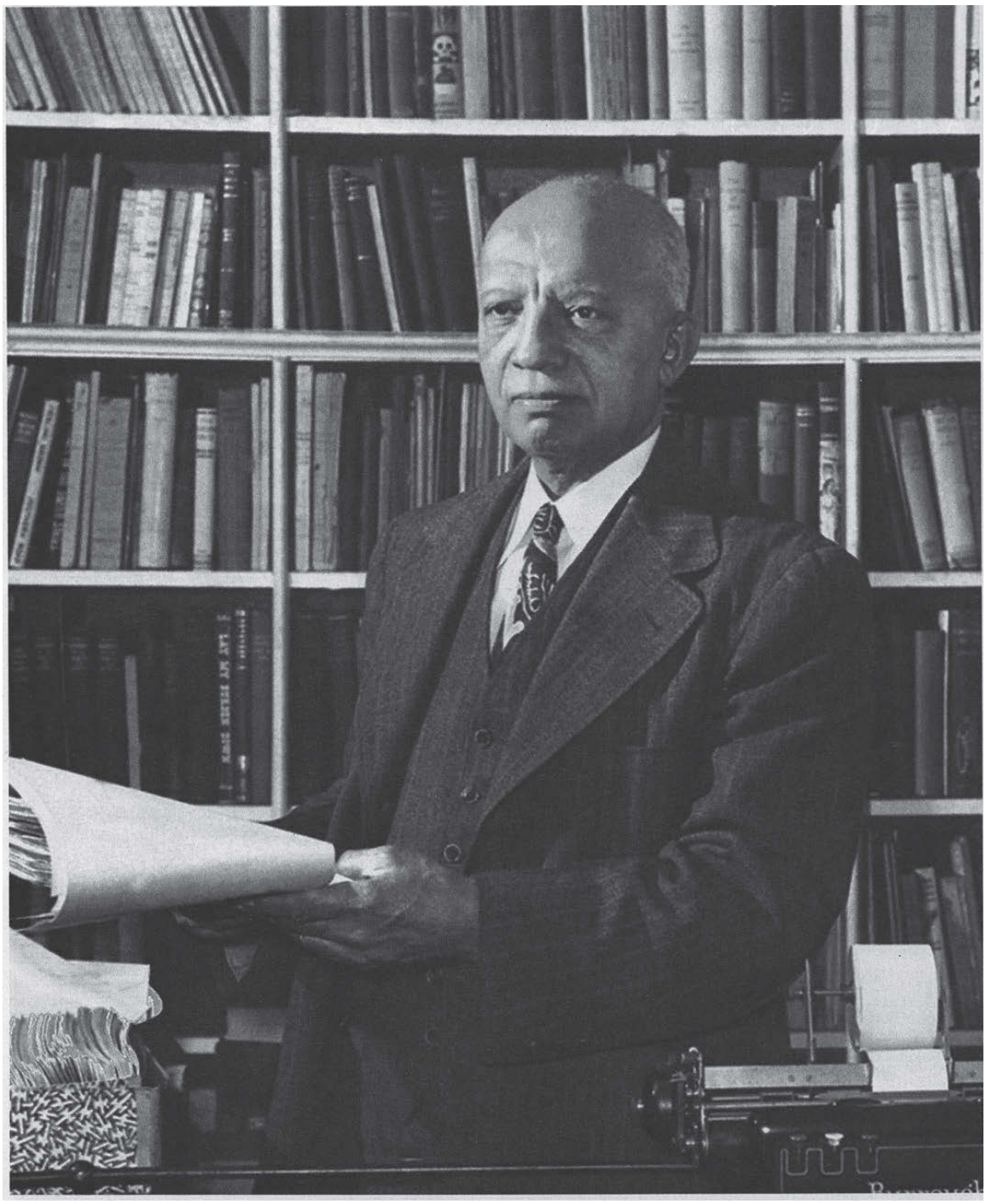


Figure 18

Figure 19

WHAT THE NEGRO CELEBRATES

NEGRO history, or rather history as it has been influenced by the Negro, should be studied and taught for the same reason that we deal thus with the history of any other people. By ignoring the Negro's past we cannot develop the race unto full stature of intelligence and efficiency any more easily than we can any other people who, ignorant of the best in their background, receive no inspiration from what their forebears thought and felt and attempted and accomplished.

History, moreover, is universal. The achievements of Africans have influenced the progress of other nations and constitute therefore a part of the world's history. Scholars say that Africans first developed the idea of the unity of God; they first instituted trial by jury as a means of assuring justice to everyone of the collectivity; they discovered iron and with it advanced industrial arts; they learned the use of stringed instruments in seeking a new means of expression of their deep emotion; and they domesticated the sheep, goat and cow. In America black men felled the trees, drained the swamps, plowed the soil, cultivated the staples, tunnelled mountains and built highways by means of which the wealth of our Southland has been developed. Men of color rushed to the defence of the American soil during the colonial period, shed the first blood to establish the independence of this nation, died as heroes in the second war for full recognition by Great Britain, aided the expansion of the nation into the Mexican area, fought to save this nation liberated from the curse of slavery, and in the two World Wars contributed a large part in saving the universe from the heel of the oppressor.

Such martyrdom of those who thus sacrifice themselves for their native land, however, has not always been appreciated. Most of the Greeks who perished at Thermopylae and the majority of the Romans who suffered martyrdom at the Caudine Forks represented classes which had been treated by their countries as serfs and slaves. The oppressive ruling classes have always held tenaciously to privileges, which they have long monopolized, and have persistently fought against democracy. Magna Charta, the great charter of English liberty, was begrudgingly granted by one of the worst despots, and he and his successors endeavored to ignore it for almost five hundred years. And so it has happened with the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments of the Constitution of the United States.

The Negro, in spite of his persecution, however, has always struggled to climb upward. He has shown more eagerness for education than others thus circumstanced. He has been a devotee to religion, a homebuilder, and a stimulating force to esthetic development. To the Negro this country is indebted for a great folklore, for an outstanding art, for the only real contribution to music in the Wesern Hemisphere without slavishly imitating that of Europe. These achievements rather than those of oppressing one's fellowman, devising schemes to keep him on the lower level, and exploiting the few for the luxury and ease of the many, constitute the fascinating history of America. Well might Fredrika Bremer say to the Americans in 1849, "The romance of your history is the fate of the Negro."

WHAT YOU MAY DO TO MAKE THIS CELEBRATION COUNT

Organize your community through committees for the celebration; appeal to your board of directors for the adoption of textbooks of Negro history and literature; interest your library and school in securing a shelf of scientific works on the Negro; set aside one day of the week as a Book and Picture Fund Day when all will be called upon to assist in raising funds to buy books and pictures of Negroes for your schools; urge everyone to write the Association all he knows about Negro family history, and to send it any important documents bearing on the record of the Negro; organize a branch of the Association in the largest city in your State. It requires at least ten members paying annually the active membership fee of $3.00 each, which entitles each member to *The Journal of Negro History*. Associate members pay $1.00 a year and receive *The Negro History Bulletin*. Children organized as clubs pay 50 cents each for plans and guides.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION, WRITE

C. G. WOODSON, Director

1538 Ninth Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.

One copy of this poster will be sent gratis to each institution. Copies of *The Negro History Bulletin* may be obtained for 15 cents each. A sample copy is sent free of charge. The subscription fee is $1.00 a year. Books and pictures of Negroes may be purchased from

THE ASSOCIATED PUBLISHERS, INC., 1538 Ninth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Figure 20

Figure 21

Figure 22

Descriptions of Photographs and Images

Photograph 1. — Headquarters of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History and the Associated Publishers, Inc. from August 1922 until November 1971. 1538 Ninth Street, NW, Washington, D.C.

Image 1. — "The Home of Dr. Carter G. Woodson, January 1923 – April 3, 1950" is a floor plan for Woodson's 1538 Ninth Street, NW home that appeared in Willie Leanna Miles, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson as I Recall Him, 1943-1950," *The Journal of Negro History* 76 (Winter-Autumn 1991): 98.

Photograph 2. — Carter G. Woodson in the early 1900s.

Photograph 3. — "Dr. Carter G. Woodson Presents *The Picture Poetry Book* and *The Child's Story of the Negro* to Thurston Ferbee and Lois Grey." *The Negro History Bulletin* (April 1942)

Image 2. — This statement was routinely printed in the *Negro History Bulletin*. It demonstrates how the Woodson and the Associated distributed free literature pertaining to African American history and Negro History Week.

Photograph 4. — Carter G. Woodson in about 1942. This photo appeared in several articles that Woodson authored in the *Negro History Bulletin* during the 1940s.

Photograph 5. — Lorenzo Johnston Greene (1899-1989), field and office worker for Woodson and the ASNLH from 1928 until 1933 and committed Association member from 1928 until 1989. Greene kept a detailed diary of his experiences working with Woodson from 1928 until 1933. He also wrote a very important unpublished essay in which he candidly described Woodson, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson: The Man as I Knew Him." He delivered this paper at different venues from the 1960s through the 1980s. *Negro History Bulletin* (April 1945)

Photograph 6. — "Examining the Song Composed By Mrs. Gladys J. Reed, Words By Miss Inez M. Burke, and Sung By Mrs. L.P. Brown." *Negro History Bulletin* (March 1946)

Photograph 7. — "Some Delegates at the Twenty-Eighth Annual Meeting of the Association." Lorenzo Johnston Greene is to Woodson's immediate right. Also in the photo is John Hope Franklin, third from the right, rear row. *Negro History Bulletin* (December 1943)

Photograph 8. — "Award of the Bancroft History Prizes." John Hope Franklin is behind Carter G. Woodson. *Negro History Bulletin* (January 1946)

Photograph 9. — This image is from the cover of an issue of the *Negro History Bulletin*. It does not appear that the Bulletin's editorial staff listed descriptions of the covers of the magazine. I believe that this is a photograph of two women who worked for the Association in the ASNLH's headquarters during the 1940s.

Photograph 10. — Charles S. Wesley, Louis Mehlinger, Mary McLeod Bethune, and Woodson. *Negro History Bulletin* (February 1947)

Photograph 11. — Members of the Helping Hand Club, Washington, D.C. (May 24, 1944). Woodson was a member of this organization and often praised its grassroots efforts in the pages of the *Bulletin*.

Photograph 12. — A Negro History Week dinner at Shiloh Baptist Church, Washington, D.C.

Photograph 13. — The Carter G. Woodson Club, New York City.

Photograph 14. — A revealing photo of Woodson in his office during the 1940s. There is one other famous photo of Woodson in his office in which he is standing in front of a bookshelf in the Association's headquarters. This photo was first popularized by *Ebony* magazine.

Photograph 15. — Woodson in his office in the late 1940s.

Photograph 16. — "Participants in Last Session of Annual Meeting in Columbus, Ohio." To Woodson's right is Charles H. Wesley. *Negro History Bulletin* (January 1946)

Photograph 17. — "Carter G. Woodson, aged 73, in his office." This photo is one of the last photos that exists of Woodson, taken in February 1949, about a year before his death. *Walking Proud: The Story of Dr. Carter Godwin Woodson* (1983) by M.A. Scally.

Image 3. — This is a poster that Woodson created in celebration of Negro History Week.

Image 4. — An excerpt from the "Children's Page" in the Negro History Bulletin educating the youth about Woodson's contributions.

Image 5. — The first page of Woodson's brief autobiographical sketch in the *Negro History Bulletin* (February 1944).

Image 6. — An advertisement books for sale from Associated Publishers, Inc.

Appendix F:

Annual Meetings of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1917-1950[1]

1917:

- Washington, D.C.
- In opening his summary of this inaugural meeting Woodson noted: "There is no fixed rule to determine exactly where the meetings of the Association shall be held. The constitution grants this power to the Executive Council. Washington, however, naturally proved attractive for the reasons that it is located mid-way between the North and the South, the Association is incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia, and several of its officers reside there. The extensive advertising given the meeting and the occurrence of the conference in Washington on the education of the Negro the following day brought the meeting probably the largest number of useful and scholarly Negroes ever assembled in the nation's capital." Woodson did not indicate the exact date when or locations in D.C. where the meeting took place. It probably took place between June and September and Woodson's "office home" probably served as one of the meeting places since it does not appear that there were many people who attended. The early meetings were certainly smaller and more intimate. Kelly Miller was one of the Washingtonians at the meeting.

1919 (June 17, 18):

- Washington, D.C.
- This meeting took place a month before the devastating "race riot" in Washington,

1 This list includes the dates and locations (including where the various sessions were held when indicated) of the annual meetings for the Association for the Study from the first conference in 1917 until 1950, the year that Woodson died. The relevant information was gleaned from the proceedings of the annual meetings that were routinely published in *The Journal of Negro History*. The published descriptions of the meetings are, for the most part, detailed and I believe that Woodson authored them, perhaps with the help of others who also attended the sessions. Woodson referred to registered presenters and participants as being "delegates." He did not, however, routinely mention how many delegates attended each conference; in 1929 he did note that there were 42 registered delegates. This did not include members of the public who attended the meeting's various activities. It must be remembered that delegates only represented a fraction of those who attended the meetings' various functions. Between 1917 and 1950, the meetings were held in Washington, D.C. nine times—in 1917, 1919, 1920, 1925, 1929, 1933, 1937, 1942, and 1949. Between 1917 and 1950, there were 33 meetings held; thus 27% of the Association's meetings during the time period under investigation were held in Washington, D.C. There was coverage of ASNLH meetings and Negro History Week celebrations in Washington, D.C. during the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s in the *Washington Post*. Woodson was among the few African Americans who received coverage in this mainstream newspaper. For the meetings that were held in Washington, D.C., I provide descriptions in order to demonstrate Woodson's and the ASNLH's relationship and interaction with Washington, D.C. During all of the meetings in Washington, D.C., popular local facilities were used, especially the Phillis Wheatley Association, the Whitelaw Hotel, Howard University, and several high schools. Prominent black Washingtonian activists, educators, and scholars were active at the meetings in the nation's capital. Professors from Howard University were especially active. The inaugural conference, "The First Biennial Meeting," was held in D.C. in 1917 and at the second biennial meeting in D.C. in 1919, the Association's Executive Council changed the meeting from biennial to annual. Since 1920, the Association has held a meeting every year.

D.C. that began on July 19, 1919. Sessions for this meeting were held at the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church. Among those from Washington to present were H.B. Learned, Archibald Grimke, J. John W. Davis, and Stanley Durkee of Howard University. Like the 1917 meeting, this one appears to have been small scale and it is probably safe to assume that a few meetings may have been held at the Association's offices, especially the Executive Council's meeting.

1920 (November 18, 19):

- Washington, D.C.
- Major sessions were held at the John Wesley A.M.E.Z. Church and among those from D.C. who presented and were in attendance included A.O. Stafford, the principal of the Lincoln School, John W. Cromwell, President of the American Negro Academy, Kelly Miller of Howard University, A. Grimke, Walter Dyson, and Charles Russell.

1921 (November 14, 15):

- Lynchburg, Virginia

1922 (November 22-14):

- Louisville Kentucky

1923 (October 24-26):

- Atlanta, Georgia
- Atlanta University; Spelman Seminary

1924 (September 29, 30):

- Richmond, Virginia
- Virginia Union University

1925 (September 9, 10):

- Washington, D.C.
- Woodson opened his description of this meeting by stating: "Unusual enthusiasm marked the celebration of this Tenth Anniversary. Scholars, editors, business men, educators, and ministers attended in large numbers to show their appreciation for the work done under the direction of Dr. Carter G. Woodson, and to join the ranks of those determined to give the work that support which it must have to treat the records of the Negro scientifically . . . This meeting was one of the most important ever held in the history of the race." William T. Laprade from Duke University presented a paper on the history of blacks in D.C. and many blacks from D.C. participated in the meeting, including Laura B. Glenn, Charles H. Wesley, C.T. Taylor, Kelly Miller, Amanda V. Gray Hilyer, John W. Cromwell, J.A. Jackson, Rev. Taylor, and Rayford Logan. Woodson did not mention exactly where the sessions were held.

1926 (October 20-21):

- Baltimore, Maryland
- Morgan College

1927 (October 24-26):

- Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
- Ebenezer Baptist Church

1928 (October 21-25):

- St. Louis, Missouri
- College Women's Club, Pine St. YMCA, Central Baptist Church

1929 (October 27-31):

- Washington, D.C.
- Lincoln Temple Congregational Church, Whitelaw Hotel, Armstrong Training School, MuSoLit Club at 1327 R. St., NW
- "The number of delegates present exceeded that of any other meeting; . . . the majority of the observers were of the opinion that it was the most successful meeting ever held." There were about 42 delegates and sessions and meetings were held at Lincoln Temple Congregational Church, the Whitelaw Hotel, MuSoLit Club at 1327 R Street, NW, Phillis Wheatley Association, Rhode Island Avenue and Ninth Street, NW, and at the home of Mr. Zeph Moore (who hosted a tea sponsored by the College Alumnae of Washington, D.C.). President of Howard University, Mordecai Johnson, delivered a speech and students from Nannie Helen Burrough's the National Training School for Women and Girls presented a pageant, "When Truth Gets a Hearing" (a play depicting "the suffering of the Negro in contact with the Caucasian, the effort of the enslaved for freedom, and the struggle for social justice") at the Armstrong Training School. Association members delivered addresses at various local D.C. schools including Dunbar High School, Cardozo Business School, Randall Junior High School, Shaw Junior High School, Garnet-Patterson High School, Francis Junior High School, Miner Normal College, and Howard University. Many black Washingtonian scholars, teachers, and community people were involved in the conference.

1930 (October 26-30):

- Cleveland, Ohio
- St. James AME Church, Phillis Wheatley Association, Cleveland College; Woodson addressed students at Outhwaite School, Kennard Jr. High School, Central High School

1931 (November 8-12):

- New York City
- St. James Presbyterian Church, Concord Baptist Church, Abyssinian Baptist Church

1932 (November 13-16, 1932):

- Atlanta, Georgia
- First Congregations Church, Booker T. Washington High School, "various colleges in the city"

1933 (October 20-November 1):

- Washington, D.C.
- Woodson noted that many thought that this meeting was "the most successful in the history of this effort." Sessions were held at Lincoln Temple, Phillis Wheatley Association, Whitelaw Hotel, and Garret-Patterson High School and delegates visited "schools and places of interest in its vicinity," such as Miner College and Howard University. At this meeting there were many important delegates and participants with connections to Washington, D.C. Many Washingtonians participated in sessions including Julia West Hamilton, Nannie H. Burroughs, Mary McLeod Bethune, Howard Dean D.O.W. Holmes, Edith Lyons, William M. Brewer (head of the Department of History in the Washington Public High Schools), H.H. Long, John C. Bruce, and Mordecai W. Johnson, President of Howard University, many local schoolteachers, and other Howard University professors like Charles H. Wesley, Benjamin Brawley, Dean E.P. Davis, and Alain L. Locke. There was an exhibit of black art at the United States National Museum, organized by James V. Herring. Among those D.C. artists to present their works included Lois M. Jones, longtime art teacher at Howard University, and artist and art historian James A. Porter who, after received his B.A. from Howard, taught art there and in 1929 married librarian and longtime Howard University archivist Dorothy Burnett. There were leading writers and poets with D.C. connections at the meeting, including: Harlem Renaissance poet Georgia Douglass Johnson who moved to D.C. in 1910; poet, journalist, and social activist Alice Dunbar Nelson who married Paul L. Dunbar and moved to D.C in 1898 and later in 1910 married Henry A. Callis (prominent physician and professor at Howard University and Woodson's doctor); and poet and author Sterling A. Brown, who was born at Howard, whose father was a minister and professor in Howard's Divinity School, and who was the top student in his class at Dunbar High School. There was also an "Evening with Negro Musiscians" that was held in the Garnet-Patterson High School Auditorium. Performances were by Clarence Cameron White, pianist William Duncan, Camille Nickerson, and Todd Duncan, all of Howard University. The final performance was by Madam Lillian Evanti, who received her B.A. in music from Howard University and was known as the first professional African American opera singer. She sang an opera ballad as well as a Negro spiritual. Woodson certainly liked her, for she performed at his funeral rites. At this meeting, the Committee on Findings and Recommendations also offered some important observations organized under 14 major points. Many of the recommendations focused on the teaching of African American history in elementary and secondary schools.

1934 (November 10-14):

- Houston, Texas
- Odd Fellows Temple, Prairie View State Normal School

1935 (September 9-11):

- Chicago, Illinois
- New Wendell Phillips High School, St. Marks M.E. Church

1936 (October 25-28):

- Petersburg, Virginia
- Virginia State College, Petersburg Community Center

1937 (October 31-November 1):

- The sessions and events were held at Garnet-Patterson High School, the Phillis Wheatley Association, and Howard University and "hundreds of citizens of Washington" participated in the meeting's various activities. Participants visited Miner Teachers College, the National Training School for Women and Girls, Howard University, and "historic points" in Washington, D.C. Members of the D.C. ASNLH crew took others on a "sight-seeing" tour of the city and some went to the Howard University Gallery of Art to see the work of Henry Ossawa Tanner. There was a performance by Howard University's Glee Club, under the direction of professor Roy W. Tibbs and many Washingtonians presented, including H.H. Long, Dean of Howard's School of Religion Benjamin E. Mays, Thomas P. Martin, acting chief of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, William M. Brewer, and Walter G. Daniel, a librarian of Howard University.

1938 (November 11-13):

- New York City, New York
- Riverside Church, American Museum of Natural History, Grand Street Boys Club, Harlem Art Center, Memorial Professional Club, Abyssinian Baptist Church

1939 (October 27-30):

- New Orleans, Louisiana
- Mt. Zion M.E. Church, Xavier University, Dillard University

1940 (September 6-9):

- Chicago, Illinois
- Du Sable High School, International House, Metropolitan Community Center, 4415 South Parkway, St. Marks M.E. Church

1941 (October 31-November 2)

- Columbus, Ohio
- St. Paul A.M.E. Church, Griswold Y.M.C.A., Litchford Hotel, Second Baptist Church

1942 (October 30-November 1, 1942):

- The twenty-seventh annual meeting of the ASNLH was supposed to take place in Greensboro, NC, but it was rescheduled because of World War II. Because of the war, Woodson noted that the attendance was "not large," adding that "what was lacking in numbers was made up in spirit." Several of the events were held at Howard University Gallery of Art, the Phillis Wheatley Association at 901 Rhode Island, NW. , and at the home of Mattie C. Lee, sponsored by the College Alumnae of Washington, D.C. The final session of this annual meeting was held in Shiloh Baptist Church, the church where Woodson's funeral was held eight years later. While it is not unreasonable to assume that during the annual meetings held in Washington, D.C. the Association's headquarters was used in some manner, in the proceedings for this meeting Woodson noted that his "office home" was used. "At 10:00 A.M. [Saturday] the business session of the Association was held at its offices at 1538 Ninth Street, Northwest." Mary McLeod Bethune opened the meeting and the officers offered their reports. The meeting was probably held on the first floor around a table of some sort. The next major event took place at 1:00 P.M. at the Phillis Wheatley Association. Most likely, the meeting in the Association's offices lasted for several hours. Many Washingtonians participated in the various functions of the meeting, including: William N. Brewer, Eugene A. Clark, Camille Nickerson, National Council of Negro Women activist Dorothy Height, Irene Hypps, James V. Herring, Juanita H. Thomas, James A. Porter, W. Montague Cobb, professor of anatomy at Howard Medical School, Thomas I. Brown, Merze Tate and Marion Thompson Wright of the Department of History at Howard University, Dorothy Porter, Mary McLeod Bethune, Eva Beatrice Dykes (Washington, D.C. native who attended M. Street School and Howard University, became the first black woman to complete the requirements for a doctoral degree, and taught at Dunbar High School and then at Howard for fifteen years in the department of English—the research for her *The Negro in English Romantic Thought* was sponsored by the ASNLH), and Mary Church Terrell (who from 1895 until 1906 served on the District of Columbia's Board of Education and was the National Association of Colored Women's first president and whose home, the Mary Church Terrell Home in LeDroit Park, Washington, D.C., was declared a National Historic Site in 1975).

1943 (October 29-31):

- Detroit, Michigan
- Rackham Educational Memorial Building, Detroit Public Library

1944 (October 27-29):

- Boston, Massachusetts
- Teachers College of the City of Boston, Women's Service Club, House of the League of Women's Community Service, Faneuil Hall

1945 (October 26-28):

- Columbus, Ohio
- Columbus Art Gallery, Ohio State Museum, Social Administration Building, Young Women's Christian Association, Spring Street Y.M.C.A.

1946 (October 25-27):

- Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
- Tabernacle A.M.E. Church, Fellowship Commission Building

1947 (October 24-26):

- Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
- Negro Chamber of Commerce, Presbyterian Church at Norma, Oklahoma, Douglass High School, East 6th Street Christian Church, Young Women's Christian Association

1948 (October 29-31):

- Washington, D.C.
- Most of the sessions for this meeting were held in Shiloh Baptist Church, including the opening session. Events were also held at the Inspiration House and the Phillis Wheatley Y.W.C.A., Annex at 1719 Thirteenth Street, NW. Many prominent "sponsors in Washington drawn form the business and professional circles of the city" were active in this meeting. D.C. based participants included Albert N.D. Brooks of Banneker Junior High School, Sadie D. St. Clair of Miner Teachers College, Juanita Howard Thomas of Dunbar High School, and E. Horace Fitchett, Sterling A. Brown, J.W. Butcher, Gertrude B. Rivers, and Jacques Antoine of Howard University. Prizes for book reviews were awarded to several scholars working out of Washington, D.C., namely Harold T. Pinkett of the National Archives and Ruth Anna Fisher of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress.

1949 (October 28-30):

- New York City, New York
- Abyssinian Baptist Church, Sky Parlor in the Theresa Hotel

1950 (October 27-29):

- Atlanta, Georgia
- Sisters Chapel, Spelman College; Davage Auditorium, College Park; Fountain Hall, Morris Brown College; Exhibition Room of Trevor Arnett Library; Atlanta University; John Hope School; Y.M.C.A., Tatnall Street; Wheat Street Baptist Church
- Woodson passed away in early April 1950 so he was not present at the thirty-fifth annual meeting of the ASNLH. Nonetheless, this meeting was important because it was the first meeting in the post-Woodson years and at this meeting there were some heated discussions and debates about the future of the Association. One of Woodson's "Boys," L.D. Reddick, was particularly upset and resigned from the Executive Council. At Spelman College's Sisters Chapel, there was a memorial for the ASNLH founder and formal tributes during the conference were paid to Woodson by L.D. Reddick, Charles H. Wesley, and Bethune.