



Black Women in the Ivory Tower, 1850-1954: An Intellectual History by Stephanie Y. Evans
Review by: Amy Thompson McCandless

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miliar subjects of the crop lien and disfranchisement. He skillfully engages the paradox of Mississippi's absolute progress (compared to its own past) with the state's stagnation (compared to an even more rapidly growing nation).

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A Class of Their Own: Black Teachers in the Segregated South. By Adam Fairclough. (Cambridge: Belknap, 2007. xii, 533 pp. \$29.95, ISBN 978-0-674-02307-9.)

Adam Fairclough has produced a dense, extremely well-researched, and generally convincing portrait of black teachers from the time of emancipation through the several decades of school desegregation in the late twentieth century. With over four hundred pages of text and eighty or so pages of notes, this book demonstrates the author's command of his material.

A major purpose of the volume, announced in the prologue, is to explain historically the ambivalence of black teachers about the desegregation of education in the wake of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954). There is no doubt that Fairclough accomplishes that objective. He shows that this ambivalence was present at the very beginning of postemancipation education. Black teachers, who were active from the time of emancipation, pursued their work in a climate in which white teachers had a palpable disdain for freedmen. The rise of black republicanism and the intensification of black political and educational activity during congressional Reconstruction did much good for the freedmen, but little to allay the ambivalence of black teachers, since white teachers played a large role in education. The end of Reconstruction, the diminution of black political power, and the deterioration of black education under the Jim Crow regime primed black education for decline. But during that decline black teachers were able to carve out a niche that, without decreasing their ambivalence toward their white friends, allowed them to do their best for their students and to build careers as professionals. That process marked

the end of white influence in black public education. More particularly, for Fairclough, the "departure of white teachers from the South's black public schools represented a momentous change, and the consequences for blacks were both positive and negative" (p. 195).

The latter chapters of the book chronicle first the movement of black teachers for salary equity, either by allying with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) or by using southern white fear of that body to achieve the objective. With the *Brown* decision, a wedge was driven between the civil rights organization and black teachers. The latter group saw *Brown* as a threat to their status in the black community and to their livelihood. Fairclough shows that this threat was very real and how the NAACP's advocacy of desegregation put the interests of black students over those of black teachers and how both teachers and the civil rights organization supported their positions. He concludes that, on balance, both groups were right. Black teachers had plenty to fear from the desegregation process, as the job losses for teachers and administrators proved. Black education, on balance, benefited from the desegregation process, though not without sustaining significant losses. He documents the losses at the same time he argues that the process was necessary, and, mostly, beneficial.

No short review can encompass the enormity of what this book offers. Distinctions between various groups of white teachers are instructive, as are the comparisons between the larger NAACP and its Legal Defense Fund, and the contrast between black private and public school (and college) teachers and administrators. Any historian with an interest in black education needs to attend to this analysis carefully. While the author pursues an on-the-one-hand-on-the-other-hand style of argument that can vex the reader, his final judgment emerges clearly.

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Black Women in the Ivory Tower, 1850–1954: An Intellectual History. By Stephanie Y. Evans. (Gainesville: University Press of

Florida, 2007. xvi, 275 pp. \$59.95, ISBN 978-0-8130-3031-9.)

The years between 1850 (when Lucy Stanton became the first known African American woman to receive a college diploma) and 1954 (the date of the first *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling) were ones of considerable trial and tribulation for black women in the ivory tower. But, as Stephanie Y. Evans, an assistant professor at the University of Florida, convincingly argues, they were also years of considerable accomplishment. Black women overcame racial, gender, and class obstacles to their inclusion in the academy and, in the process, helped propagate a more democratic view of higher education as a human and civil right.

Evans divides her study into two parts: the first is a “qualitative and quantitative map of black women’s collegiate history”; the second examines the intellectual legacy of educated black women, as students, faculty, administrators, and citizens (p. 3). Education mattered because it was linked to economic and political progress. Employing the concept of a “standpoint social contract,” Evans contends that black women in the ivory tower actively contributed to “a blueprint for sustainable balance between scholarly rigor, effective pedagogy, and a service imperative” (p. 193).

The book delineates three waves of educational attainment for black women. The initial wave occurred before the Civil War, when only a few schools in the North were open to African Americans and/or women. Although the majority of the black population lived in the South, those first black women students were overwhelming northern. They were an elite group: “Approximately one hundred African Americans, including only three women, earned the B.A. before the war’s end” (p. 26). With the abolition of slavery, colleges for African Americans sprang up throughout the South, and in the second wave of educational attainment (1865–1910), most black women received their degrees from southern schools (today’s historically black colleges and universities). They were typically private, coeducational institutions that focused on providing teacher and industrial training. Black women continued to attend college in the Northeast

and Midwest and an increasing number went to western schools, but black enrollment at those predominantly white institutions was intentionally limited. “The Third Step” occurred between 1921 and 1954 when black women progressed to the doctorate. Geographically, the pendulum swung back to northern universities. The first three black women recipients of the Ph.D.—Eva Dykes, Georgiana Simpson, and Sadie Mossell Alexander—received their degrees in 1921 from Radcliffe College, the University of Chicago, and the University of Pennsylvania, respectively.

The subject of Evans’s monograph is clearly of personal as well as professional interest. In the last chapter she confesses, “This history tells my story. While attending college and graduate school over the past decade, I have identified with the feelings of helplessness, academic insecurity, victimization, and determined strategizing revealed in historic memoirs” (p. 215). The philosophies of Anna J. Cooper and Mary McLeod Bethune pervade her personal Web pages, and her teaching, research, and service commitments to African American women are apparent from her curriculum vitae.

Race and gender gave black women a unique standpoint that compelled them to work for the well-being of their campuses and communities. As scholars, they addressed issues facing black women. Regardless of their discipline, those residents of the ivory tower “sought to simultaneously uplift the black race, improve women’s status and add to human knowledge” (p. 125). Evans has written an informative, inspiring book that should be of interest to African American, gender, and educational historians.

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Wade Hampton III. By Robert K. Ackerman. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2007. xviii, 341 pp. \$39.95, ISBN 978-1-57003-667-5.)

In 1960 the historian Eric L. McKittrick wondered whether responsible leaders both North and South might have agreed on terms for Reconstruction. McKittrick speculated that