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Roads To Travel: A Historical Look At African American Contributions To Instructional Technology

by

Patricia Ann Young

M.S. (California State University, Hayward) 1994

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Education

in the

GRADUATE DIVISION

of the

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

Committee in charge:

Professor Anne Haas Dyson, Chair
Professor Lily Wong Fillmore
Professor Ula Taylor

Fall 1999
Roads To Travel: A Historical Look At African American Contributions To Instructional Technology

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by

Patricia Ann Young
DEDICATION

This Dissertation Is Dedicated To My Family

who have endured my complaining,

trials, and tribulations from 3000 miles away.

Not only did they call in support and keep their phone lines clear

for a play by play account of this week's breaking news,

but they trekked out here to California for

my moral support, their vacations, and my final graduation.

Thanks Mother (Minnie) for helping me to "keep up the good work"

your prayers were invaluable

Thanks Angel for listening to my sad songs and waiting until my rolling tears

stopped before hanging up

Thanks Deborah for keeping us all afloat in these hard times, your strength is

unyielding

Thanks Brenda for your faith in me and loving support

Thanks to my brother Johnnie the silent majority, your quiet support is always

grieved

And to Daddy (Frank) who passed on January 14, 1996, I am sorry you could not

be with us.

This has been a grueling process for me as I continue to jump through hoop

after hoop and find that there is no end

I am saddened and elated about the Roads To Travel
I further dedicate this dissertation to all black women and men who are brave
enough to tread against currents of racism, sexism,
and all those other "isms" that bind to obtain a higher education

If I can do it,

that means it can be done.
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I began my graduate studies with a naive search for knowledge and found that what I would learn was more than I ever wanted to know. Now that I have been blessed with the capacity to retain, reteach and reinvent knowledge, I am left with the challenge of influencing the education of others. This is a monumental task that I would not have voluntarily accepted four years ago or even now. Nevertheless, the task of making a difference in the field of education is part of my journey.

I am grateful for the support I have received from family, friends, professors, and strangers on the street who were impressed by what I was trying to accomplish.

My academic advisor, Professor Anne Haas Dyson has guided me through this obstacle course of knowledge. She has directed me through hurdles and encouraged me when faced with an obstacle. Professor Dyson is the best example of a master educator that I have ever witnessed in my 21 years of schooling. She knows how to make learning painless and challenge you to perform at your best. I am grateful for her warmth, intellect, but most of all her womanness that has enabled me to get through this process.

Another important woman in my graduate studies is Professor Lily Wong Fillmore. Professor Fillmore has always supported me, hugged me, and advised me. She exhibits the knowledge, humor, and professionalism that I hope to emulate as an educator. I am grateful for her continued support and encouragement and her love of students.

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I would like to thank Gary Simpkins and Charlesetta Stalling for allowing me the time to talk with them about the Bridge Reading Program. Without their insight, this study would lack the depth needed to explain the process and problems involved in producing an instructional technology.

To my friends and colleagues from the Graduate School of Education at the University of California Berkeley, thank you for your continued support, love, and friendship. I will miss you.

Writing the dissertation has been one of the most isolating, challenging, frustrating, and annoying times in my life. Not only was I going through stress with my dissertation, but I had a major life crisis and was forced to write, research, and think clearly through it all. My heart ached and tears rolled often during this time. I am thankful to God that my body and mind

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are still one. Given these trying times in my life, I am a changed person. Furthermore, I am more persistent than ever and not willing to "take any wooden nickels." I truly would not encourage anyone to seek a Ph.D. unless they have emotional support from family, financial monies from start to finish, spiritual guidance, strong writing skills, and above average will power.

The Roads To Travel are the continuous journeys through life's challenges that we must face and ultimately decide which direction to proceed.
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION & LITERATURE REVIEW

A child cannot be educated until he has come into the knowledge of the human race, for he has a right to know what others have known before he came into being. This knowledge gathered and formulated by the race makes up the school curriculum. (Wilson, 1947, p.258)

Introduction To The Problem

African Americans have been active producers throughout the history of the United States; however, during most of this history their role in such capacities has been ignored, lost, destroyed, excluded, omitted, sporadically documented or contained in books read by an elite few. This sprinkling of historical facts has made it difficult to properly organize and document their history. Therefore historians like James Anderson, Henry Allen Bullock, Herbert Aptheker and a host of others have sought to compile and document these facts as evidence of African Americans' participation in the building of the United States of America. In this vein, this paper seeks to document another area of history where African Americans have been excluded, omitted and denied full participation -- that field of study is Instructional Technology.

The present history of Instructional Technology fails to include the contributions of African Americans and other minority groups, as reflected in key publications in the field (Jonassen, 1996; Saettler, 1990). Documenting African American contributions to the technological revolution is imperative to history and to the future of African American educational research.

This research reveals critical moments in U.S. history where African Americans contributed to the field of Instructional Technology and the nature of those contributions. The instructional materials and time periods examined include: The Freedman's Torchlight (1865-1866), The Brownies' Book (1920-1921), and Bridge: A Cross-Culture Reading Program (1966-1977). In particular, this study explores approaches to the design of instructional materials that are
culturally and linguistically specific, to ascertain the needs of future instructional designs. Moreover, this research is undergirded by a desire to document the ways in which African Americans have been active participants in educating themselves and to support the inclusion of African American instructional materials into the field of Instructional Technology.

I am looking at the role of these materials in African American history, as well as in the broader history of the U.S., and the disciplinary history of Instructional Technology. Discovering the nature of culturally and linguistically specific instructional materials can enrich the designs of future instructional materials.

This is a history of ideas, innovators and incidents.

Organization Of The Dissertation

To disclose the nature of instructional materials that are culturally and linguistically specific, this dissertation provides a theoretical frame that pulls through and underlines each idea. Each chapter is designed as a single entity that is tied to the other chapters by the theoretical frame. This chapter reviews a variety of literature relevant to the disciplines of instructional technology, curriculum and instruction and African American history. Moreover, the chapter outlines the interdisciplinary nature of the theoretical perspective through the fields of instructional technology, history and critical discourse analysis (CDA).

Chapter 2 outlines the methods of inquiry used in this study. It focuses on the procedures for gathering and analyzing selected products of instructional technology (i.e., instructional materials). Then it considers the procedures for examining the process through which designers create an instructional technology.
Chapters 3, 4 and 5 follow a similar format. A historical background is presented for the particular set of instructional materials, followed by a history of the designers, and then an analysis of the instructional materials. Each chapter is summarized as a single entity and then compared and contrasted with the previous chapter(s).

In chapter 3, the historical background of *The Freedman’s Torchlight* (a newspaper/textbook) is provided through an overview of relevant historical occurrences between 1865 and 1866. Of importance for this chapter are the federal programs instituted on Freedmen and the laws known as Black Codes. The people involved in creating *The Freedman’s Torchlight* (TFT) were all black men tied to a religious convocation. The only available issue of TFT is analyzed using elements of CDA.

In Chapter 4, the historical background for *The Brownies’ Book* (a children’s periodical) emanates from the historical events documented and highlighted in its parent publication *The Crisis: A Record of the Darker Races* (a newspaper/magazine). The designers of both publications were the same ivy league educated black people; they were W.E.B. DuBois, Jessie Redmon Fauset and Augustus Granville Dill. All 24 publications of *The Brownies’ Book* (TBB) are analyzed using elements of CDA.

Chapter 5 looks at both the product and process involved in creating instructional materials. The product analyzed is *Bridge: A Cross-Culture Reading Program* (also referred to in this study as the *Bridge Reading Program*) designed by Gary Simpkins and Charlesetta Stalling (formerly Charlesetta Simpkins). The historical climate is situated in the 1960s and 1970s and explores the controversies regarding language and the African American child. Interviews with the designers and excerpts from the instructional
materials make up the remainder of the chapter. The process involved in creating these instructional materials is recalled by the designers. This chapter provides an analysis of the political, social, cultural and economic climate that fostered the production of the Bridge Reading Program as well as a critical analysis of the materials themselves.

Chapter 6, the conclusion, provides an overview of the study. Specifically, the findings are analyzed and presented. Then the characteristics for creating culturally and linguistically diverse instructional materials are defined. Last, I offer my thoughts about the study as a whole.

Literature Review

This review includes a variety of literature relevant to the fields of instructional technology, curriculum and instruction and African American history. These areas of analysis serve to provide a foundation to the entire dissertation. First, I define an instructional technology, what it means in this study and its relation to instructional materials. Next, I describe the theoretical perspective and its interdisciplinary nature as it relates to the fields of instructional technology, history, and critical discourse analysis. Then I look at the practice of instructional design; specifically, what are some of the production decisions that should be considered when designing instructional materials? The review of literature continues with a clarification of black curriculum and its design. Last, this section explores the politics of designing instructional materials and then focuses on instructional materials made by and for African Americans.

Defining An Instructional Technology

Defining and classifying the field of instructional technology is difficult because of the multiplicity of terms and definitions. Some researchers
use the phrase "instructional technology" (Gagne, 1987; Goldstein, 1978; Reiser, 1987) and others use the term "educational technology" (Rowntree, 1974; Saettler, 1990). Reiser (1987) maintains that instructional technology is usually thought of in two categories as audiovisual devices (i.e., television, films, overhead projectors, computers) or as a process called systems approach process. Audiovisual devices refer to any mechanical or electronic equipment used in the representation of audio or visual images through instruction. The systems approach process to instructional technology means that there is a "systematic way of designing, carrying out and evaluating the total process of learning and teaching" (Commission on Instructional Technology, 1970, p.21).

Within this study, instructional technologies are those products that incorporate instructional content and tool(s) of technology for the purpose of instruction. Figure 1 displays some tools of technology that have been created for multiple purposes. However, when instructional content is added to these technologies, the results are instructional technologies. The products produced from these instructional technologies are more commonly referred to as instructional materials; thereby instructional materials are products of instructional technology (see Figure 2).

For example, if instructional content is added to film, then it creates an instructional film. If instructional content is added to the printing press, then it creates an instructional magazine, textbook, pamphlet or newspaper. If instructional content is added to computers, it can yield educational software in a CD-Rom or diskette format. By studying the products of instructional technology, we can examine its historical evolution and thereby understand its nature.
In this research, the instructional materials studied are 1866 *The Freedman's Torchlight* (a newspaper/textbook), 1920-1921 *The Brownies' Book* (a periodical), and 1977 *Bridge: A Cross-Culture Reading Program* (a curriculum unit that includes student reading booklets, a teacher's manual, student workbooks and audiotapes).

Figure 1

![Diagram of Tools of Technology]

Institutional Content = Instructional Technologies

Figure 2

![Diagram of Tools of Technology and Instructional Materials]

Institutional Content = Instructional Technologies → Instructional Materials
Theoretical Perspective--A Phenomenon In Movement

The interdisciplinary nature of this dissertation requires a theoretical perspective that incorporates the fields of instructional technology, history and critical discourse analysis. This section explains each field's relation to this study. The underlining premise of technologies of instruction are based on Vygotsky's theory of a phenomenon in movement. Then, the historical framework is grounded in related events during periods in history (i.e., Reconstruction, The Harlem Renaissance, The Post Civil Rights Years) to explain the social, political, cultural, or economic happenings in which the instructional materials evolved. Last, a theoretical perspective on the role of CDA in this study is offered.

Studying The History Of A Phenomenon

My theoretical frame is grounded in Vygotsky's sociocultural theory of higher mental processes and in particular his ideas on dialectical and historical materialism (Vygotsky, 1978). Using a Vygotskian frame, I propose a framework in which to study the history of a phenomenon; in this study the phenomenon is instructional technology.

To study something historically means to study it in the process of change; that is the dialectical methods' basic demand. To encompass in research the process of a given thing's development in all its phases and changes—from birth to death—fundamentally means to discover its nature, its essence, for "it is only in movement that a body shows what it is." (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 65)

In a Vygotskian approach, psychological processes are studied in the process of change or motion. For example, in terms of psychology, the scientist would study the origin of behavior and consciousness in the course of its development; thereby seeing the phenomenon (behavior or consciousness) in its historical process of movement -- of change (Cole & Scribner, 1978). Moreover, the historical materialism hypotheses come from Marx's theory of
society and Engels' concept of human labor and tool use; these theories influenced Vygotsky's thinking and "he extended these concepts of mediation into human-environment interaction to the use of signs as well as tools" (Cole & Scribner, 1978, p. 7). A Vygotskyian perspective sees that "tool systems are created by societies over the course of human history and change with the form of society and the level of cultural development" (Cole & Scribner, 1978, p. 7).

Haas (1996) argues that this same historical [dialectical] method can be applied to technology studies. She parallels Vygotsky's study of the history of human behavior with the study of the history of "human artifacts" such as "technologies of literacy" (i.e., instructional materials) (p. 221). By "historicizing technology," we can examine the origin or historical evolution of instructional technologies and thereby understand their nature (Haas, 1996, p. 221).

Tools of technology plus instructional content create an instructional technology, and instructional materials are products of instructional technology. Thereby, instructional technologies are the "phenomenon[s] in movement" to be studied historically (Scribner, 1985, p. 120). "To study something historically means to study it in the process of change" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 65). Examining instructional materials over a period of time enacts Vygotsky's notion of studying "the process of change." Vygotsky (1978) further surmises that to discover the nature or essence of a thing, research must examine its developmental processes including its changes and phases. This research seeks to understand the historical and developmental processes of instructional materials by examining their changes and phases throughout history. In particular, this study examines instructional materials designed by
and for African Americans documenting the historical and developmental processes of these instructional technologies.

**History’s Reinvention Of Technologies**

The “reinvention [of tools of technology] demands the historical, cultural, political, social, and economic comprehension of the practice...to be reinvented” (Freire, 1987, p.133). That is, to understand the use or practice of the tools of technology those tools must be situated within their historical, cultural, political, social and economic contexts. The creation of instructional materials requires one or more tool of technology. Through an analysis of instructional materials, I aim to understand the nature of the technology and of the products themselves as historical creations. Moreover, I aim to understand technologies' transformation into other forms. For example, the instructional materials reviewed in this study (*The Freedman’s Torchlight, The Brownies’ Book and Bridge: A Cross-Culture Reading Program*) all use the printing press as one technological tool. However, the *Bridge Reading Program* uses both the printing press and audiotapes. If this study was extended, the next product examined would be a product of educational software (diskette, CD-Rom) and the tool of technology would be the computer. What is reinvented and repackaged over time are tools of technology, and we must understand the practices or uses of these tools from a historical, cultural, political, social and economic context.

The three periods in history that guide the framework of the macro and micro analysis are as follows: Reconstruction, The Harlem Renaissance, and The Post Civil Rights Years (1966-1977). These years (1865-1866; 1919-1920; 1966-1977) represent critical moments where African Americans contributed to the field of Instructional Technology. Reconstruction (1865-1877) was a
period where 3 1/2 million enslaved blacks were emancipated and left to educate, feed, shelter, and clothe themselves. Thereby, a holistic type of education (an education that involves the acquisition of knowledge about employment, laws, schooling, etc.) was imperative to their survival (Ihle, 1990; Webber, 1978; Whiteaker, 1990). The Harlem Renaissance was a period of cultural growth where artists and writers shared and developed their talents (Harris, 1986). The creation of instructional materials like *The Brownies' Book* well suited the creative aura of the time period. The post civil rights years were a time where African Americans continued to fight for equality and justice, and these factors were exhibited in their instructional materials. The *Bridge Reading Program* is a move to balance the disequilibrium that plagued language learning for the African American student. This macro analysis of periods in history form the historical framework of this study. The micro analysis examines how social, political, cultural, and economic issues mediate the text and context of the instructional materials; this analysis is informed by theories of CDA.

**A Critical Analysis Of Instructional Materials**

VanDijk (1993), a theorist of discourse analysis, contends that the study of history incorporates many discourses (like instructional materials) that enables researchers to infer the attitudes and sociocultural contexts of the past. This study utilizes CDA because it allows for an in-depth analysis of written and verbal texts that are culturally influential to society (Huckin, 1995). The study of “text in context” is the analysis of text within a larger context; the critical momentum of such an approach lies in the special focus on relevant sociopolitical issues (vanDijk, 1993, p. 96). Fairclough (1992) and Huckin (1995) conceptualize text (i.e., instructional materials) as the product
of discursive practices. Discursive practices include production, distribution and interpretation, and these discursive practices are embedded in social practices. Thereby the meaning of instructional materials emanates not just from the written or verbal words but also from how these communicative forms are utilized in their historical and social contexts.

Discourse analysis takes on a "critical dimension when the focus is on the relation of language to power and privilege" (Riggins, 1997, p.2). Riggins (1997) posits that to critically analyze a text (i.e., instructional materials), the researcher must contemplate the social impact of the text. In particular, Riggins (1997) asks, who in society do the opinions in this text benefit?

The Practice Of Instructional Design

No one specific model of the practice of instructional design applies to the instructional materials examined in this study. Moreover, contemporary models of design are more structured and formalized in ways that are applicable to all examined materials.

All designers of instructional materials must consider the tools of technology that they use to express their ideas. Given the time period in history, designers used the available "high-tech" technology. (For example, by using the printing press designers could create a newspaper, magazine, pamphlet, or book). As the tools of technology progress, designers have more choices and more medias to express their instructional content. Contemporary instructional designers can choose film, audiotape, CD-Roms, computer diskettes, videotape or other mediums.

In designing the written part of an instructional text, there are many practical considerations; this paragraph looks at a few -- page-size, type-size and readability. Page-size determines visually what can be displayed on a page.
The reader must be able to clearly read, scan, or pick out details. Page-size restricts how much detail can be presented. The choice of the page-size is determined by how the text is going to be used. Next, the layout of the text is an important aspect of the planning stage (Hartley, 1985, 1996). The designer must think of the student who can not find their place because the text is poorly formatted or the student who is confused about the sequential organization of the instructional materials. Then the designer must consider typesize as another major aspect of the design because typesize influences readability (Hartley, 1985). For example, materials for the primary grades use a larger typesize than those used for adults. More contemporary designs focus on readability as related to syntactic and textual complexity. Sentences are shortened or lengthened depending on the students' grade level, and vocabulary is judged age and grade-level appropriate. Content and its appropriateness for learners are also critical. The choice involved in content will be discussed throughout this study.

Kress and vanLeeuwen (1992) have theorized about the incorporation of text and graphics in the layout of textbooks (i.e., instructional materials). They state:

The pages of the modern school textbooks integrate the verbal and the visual by means of a visual code - the code of composition or layout. Layout, again, is not just a way of making the page attractive, of 'balancing' the elements in an aesthetically pleasing way, or of drawing attention to some parts of the page before others (although it does that too), it also contributes significantly to the overall meaning of the integrated text and to the communication of values and attitudes (Kress & vanLeeuwen, 1992, p. 95).

As technologies have become more sophisticated, their use in creating instructional materials becomes more complex. For example, audio recordings can be used as a reinforcement tool (to play repeatedly). Graphics can display
chronological processes thereby aiding students understanding of particular concepts (Hartley, 1985).

The development of multiple tools of technology has allowed instructional designers to create materials beyond their initial dreams. The practice of instructional designing with contemporary tools like the computer provides limitless ways to incorporate sound, graphics, and text.

**Designing Materials For A Black Curriculum**

Watkins (1993) argues that "Black curriculum" is connected to African Americans' experiential history in the United States (p. 322). By this, he means that African Americans' beliefs about education and in particular the curriculum emanates from their "sociohistorical realities" (Bond, 1966; Watkins, 1993, p. 322). His notion of a black curriculum is that curriculum imposed on or provided for the African American student. Watkins proposes that black education emerged due to the sub-cultural status of black people.

The quality and direction of black curriculum were also examined by Cuban (1967) in Not "whether?" but "why? and how? -- Instructional Materials on the Negro in the Public Schools. In this article, Cuban argues that there are three limitations in the development of black instructional materials. First, he believes that designers who expect their materials to improve black students' "self-concept" and behavior have a false perception. Cuban believes that this is not possible. For example, he remarks that "having Benjamin Banneker on bulletin boards or primers with little brown boys and girls will warm any liberal's heart, but it will not have any measurable effect in changing how a child sees himself and how he acts"(p. 434). Second, Cuban reasons that it is impossible for historians, teachers, and publishers to present only positive representations of blacks because this would not accurately represent their
history. Third, Cuban argues that curriculum reform in the area of social studies has focused more on skills (analysis, comprehension, evaluation and problem solving) than on the factual historical information. Cuban maintains that the school can not improve the self-esteem of black children or achieve interracial relations through instructional materials until there is an elimination of societal conditions that degrade its American citizens.

Many ethnic or urban instructional materials are thought to be supplementary curriculums that teachers can choose to use or not. Cuban (1967) argues that when the word "supplementary" is used in relation to an "ethnic curriculum" it implies that the curriculum is dispensable versus necessary (p. 436). Thereby, teachers lose interest and the use of the supplementary curriculum disappears. He adds that the development and implementation of these instructional materials must include teacher training; this training must address teaching strategies in addition to teacher attitudes.

Watkins and Cuban examine the black curriculum in terms of those materials made by mostly white instructional or curriculum designers for black students. This study, however, looks at the opposite side of black curriculum to examine the instructional materials and strategies of black designers for black people. This is not related to an Afrocentric curriculum that focuses on Africa or the black curriculum that is created by whites for consumption by black and minority communities. This research seeks to examine the nature of "black-oriented conceptual frameworks and epistemologies" as these have been applied to the design of culturally and linguistically diverse instructional materials (Sleeter & Grant, 1988, p. 120).
The Politics Of Designing Instructional Materials

The politics of instructional materials parallels that of texts and textbooks. Apple & Christian-Smith (1991) argue that texts are more than just conduits of factual information. They immediately become "the results of political, economic, and cultural activities, battles, and compromises" (pp. 1-2). Texts are products of their designers' visions and ideologies. Their publication or production depends on the designers finding a publisher, the economic and political needs of the market, resources of the designers or publisher, and the power relations of the preceding factors. Texts are pawns in battles between school communities (principals, teachers, and students) and public communities (parents, schools, and school districts). They are at the center of the war over "official knowledge" and reflect macro economic, political, cultural and historical relations and realities (p. 3).

The content and form of textbooks (like instructional materials) represent the designer's construction of reality, legitimacy, knowledge, truth and culture -- sometimes at the risk of disenfranchising another group. These texts come to epitomize canons of knowledge. They are the vessels through which histories (such as labor, women, people or color) are legitimated or de-legitimated (Apple & Christian Smith, 1991).

Texts or textbooks have been produced mainly for a commercial profit. The perceived market influences what is published and who publishes (Apple, 1991a). Thus, textbooks (like instructional materials) have become economic and political artifacts. Textbooks and their adoptions are regulated by government policies that ultimately "centralize control of educational policy and content" (Apple, 1991b, p. 8). This centralization dictates whose ideologies
are represented in instructional materials, whose knowledge is legitimated, and controls what information students acquire in schools.

Apple (1992) hypothesizes that the relationship between education and power becomes more prominent during "social upheavals;" and these relationships reveal themselves in struggles fought by people of color, women and others who desire their knowledge and history included in texts (p. 4). In 1935, Bond addressed the issue of social forces and the curriculum in his article *The Curriculum and the Negro Child*. He writes:

We have a duty to become self-conscious about the structure of our curricula, and curriculum-building has resulted from the recognition of that duty. We also have a corresponding scientific imperative which requires us to be self-conscious about the "social forces" which our own activity in curriculum-building represents. Indeed, curriculum-building has "form" and "force" no less than the finished product. (p. 159)

By this statement, Bond references how social forces set in motion the human activity of structuring the curriculum. Moreover, designers of the curriculum must be conscious of their power to guide human thought through the creation of these products. Designers must recognize how social forces influence the form and force of their product and shape their thinking in relation to the design of the product.

Bond (1935) adds that there are presuppositions to the construction of curriculum. It is believed, by the dominant culture, that curriculum construction is "elastic" and provides a "democratic social order in which there are no artificial barriers set against the social mobility of the individual" (p. 167). This type of society assumes that there is fluidity among the social classes of people and "there can be no such thing as caste" (p.167). Bond rejects this premise and argues that to improve curriculum construction,
designers must accept the social and economic changes in the world and understand the source and ultimate direction of these changes.

**Instructional Materials Made By And For African Americans**

This section briefly examines instructional materials made by and for African Americans. This history is not meant to be complete because most of the early instructional materials are still being discovered.

In Violet Harris' (1994) article *Historic Readers for African American Children (1868-1944): Uncovering and Reclaiming a Tradition of Opposition*, she begins to document the little known reading materials that have been designed by or for African Americans. These historic readers, states Harris (1994), could be considered a type of "underground curriculum" that developed in response to African Americans' discontentment with traditional curricula materials (p. 147). Examples of some of these readers include: Jane Dabney Shackleford's *My Happy Days*, (1944); Silas Floyd's *Floyd's Flowers or Duty and Beauty for Colored Children* (1905), and Carter G. Woodson's *The Miseducation of the Negro* (1933). These readers are some of the earliest sources of instructional materials made by and for African Americans. Harris' research and this study begin with an analysis of these historic readers because earlier works for the black student are still in the discovery process. (Black newspapers could be considered early instructional materials; however this research focuses on those materials where the designer specified the content was instructional). Harris' research views these readers as literature, and her work moves into the area of children's literature. On the other hand, this research begins with these early historic readers and contends that these materials were more than literature and curricula materials. This research argues that they were part of a much broader category -- instructional
materials. Instructional materials, within this study, are defined as those products that assist in the acquisition of knowledge. They include: literature (children's and adult), periodicals (magazines & newspapers), curriculum units (teacher's manual, student work books, manipulatives), textbooks, videos, films, software, audiotapes, etc.

Early instructional materials made by and for African Americans were not age graded or grade level specific with the rigidity of contemporary designs (e.g., Kindergarten ages 5 to 6, 1st grade ages 7 to 8). That is, African American designers broadly defined age grouping to meet the educational needs of the black learner. For example, The Freedman's Torchlight was appropriate for the adult or child learner. The Brownies' Book was specifically for children from ages 6 to 16 and the Bridge Reading Program was designed for youth in grades 7 to 12. This indicates a focus on the learner acquiring knowledge, not the age of the learner.

Researchers and historians who write about the history of education for African Americans describe an education that is holistically based (Ihle, 1990; Webber, 1978; Whiteaker, 1990). This education is holistic in that it is defined in terms of community life, social gatherings, family life, and things learned outside these personal settings. This holistic orientation is evident in most instructional materials designed by and for African Americans.

Instructional materials have been designed for a variety of audiences, including children, adults, and educators. For example, around 1925, Alice Howard, a public school teacher in Washington DC, wrote a book supplement entitled ABC for Negro Boys and Girls. The book contained stories and vignettes that sought to instill the concepts of race pride and racial identity into children; the book's audience was young children. This supplement appeared
in Silas Floyd's *Charming Stories for Old and Young* (1925). Floyd was a writer, minister and educator. In his first book of stories, *Floyd's Flowers or Duty and Beauty for Colored Children*, he used the texts to espouse concepts of morality, religious values, race pride and work ethics. This content is consistent with that of other instructional materials during this sociohistorical period (Harris, 1992, 1994).

In contrast to Howard who wrote for children, F. O. Woodward was a black teacher who designed instructional materials for other black teachers. In Mississippi around 1944, there was a demand for skilled labor because of the ongoing war. The government distributed monies to states and colleges like Alcorn A. & M. College in Mississippi to offer vocational education or "national defense" courses to their black student population. Woodward, a teacher trainer, taught at Alcorn A. & M. College; there he created a work manual entitled *Wood Working Work Book*. This manual was "compiled for Negro trades teachers in the State [and] was accepted immediately by the State Department of Vocational Education" (Wilson, 1947, p. 369).

Others wrote for the black learner in general; the audience could be an adult, teenager or young child. These materials were not age or grade specific. The *Atlanta University Publications*\(^3\) consisted of 18 monographs that were published between 1896 and 1914; these documents chronicled various aspects of the lives of Negroes (for example, mortality, social betterment and educational achievement). Dr. William Edward Burghardt DuBois\(^4\) researched and managed these sociological studies. In *The Atlanta University Publication*, No. 15 entitled *The College-Bred Negro American*, DuBois documents the avocations of Negroes in America. Under the publications' section, he writes: "The college-bred Negro has contributed in a small way to the literature of
America. In this contribution, we find some works of considerable importance whether viewed from the standpoint of literature, or history, or science, or sociology" (DuBois & Dill, 1910, p.75). The section continues citing names of college educated blacks who contributed to the field of poetry and those who have engaged in literary activity. This literary activity indicated that blacks were publishing a variety of books in such areas as: educating the Negro, joining the Navy, black history, fictional stories, poetry and religious sermons. These topics could be classified as instructional materials depending on their use and content. The Atlanta University Publications includes a partial list of literary works. However, the authors' intent for these publications needs further research. Moreover, these materials are difficult to find because the authors' names were abbreviated or the titles shortened in the Atlanta University Publications (Appendix A documents some those mentioned in The Atlanta University Publications Nos. 5, 6, 8, 14, and 15).

DuBois' (1935) article entitled Does the Negro need separate schools? maintains that blacks must know the history of their race in America. To support this contention, he recommended that students "study textbooks like Brawley's Short History, the first edition of Woodson's Negro in Our History, and Cromwell, Turner and Dykes' Readings from Negro Authors" (p. 333). DuBois wanted students to engage in the acquisition of knowledge from a black perspective.

James W. C. Pennington was a newspaper editor, teacher, clergyman, part-time printer, lecturer on the subject of antislavery and a former slave. He published and edited the black newspaper The Aliened American. Among his writing endeavors was a text entitled A Textbook Of The Origin And History Of
The Colored People in 1841 (Hutton, 1993). Based on the title, this text probably served an instructional purpose.

Scott Zaluda’s (1998) research, on the histories of writing instruction in the study of English and across the curriculum in America, led him to the unexplored work of African American professors at historically black colleges and universities (HBCU). His research acknowledged the forgotten African American voices who actively published writings in journals and wrote scholarly books and textbooks. These texts were "regarded as 'progressive' ideas on how education is shaped by and how it shapes community and culture, society and nation" (p. 232). For example, Benjamin Griffith Brawley, an English professor at Howard University, published his own college composition textbook Freshman Year English (1929) through Noble Publishing Company. This publication was considered progressive because it was used to educate black students in the classical curriculum. However, government agencies continued to advocate a vocational and home economics curriculum for black students. Zaluda (1998) remarks that the text addressed a neutral audience and did not address ethnicity or racial issues as it pertains to the study of composition. Through further research, Zaluda (1998) found that Brawley purposely chose this approach to ensure the publication of his book. It was common practice that African American scholars were denied publication opportunities as well as admittance to educational conferences and white colleges (Winston, 1971).

A second example of a college text published by a mainstream press is Readings from Negro Authors, for Schools and Colleges. The editors of this textbook were Otelia Cromwell (a public school teacher from Washington, D.C.), Lorenzo Dow Turner (a linguist), and Eva B. Dykes (a Howard University
professor). The text sought to provide a more "inclusive community and culture" and racial awareness (Zaluda, 1998, p. 247).

As indicated in the above examples of instructional materials made by and for African Americans, all of these materials sought to educate men, women and children with content based on black culture, language, experiences, or heritage. Moreover, some of these texts offered the reader a black perspective or view of the world. These examples demonstrate that the instructional materials were addressed to a variety of audiences, namely children, college age adults, and other professors. Instructional materials were designed out of necessity versus mainstream market demands.

This research views instructional materials as those materials that taught people about life—black life. They were meant to educate black men, women and children from a holistic perspective because there were no other materials that represented the historical, cultural, linguistic, political, social, or economic knowledge needed for a black person in America. These materials filled an educational void and served an instructional purpose in and out of the classroom. The works pertinent to this research are those where the authors' intention was to educate African American men, women or children. Moreover, these materials found their way into schools, colleges and universities. *The Freedman's Torchlight, The Brownies' Book and Bridge: A Cross-Culture Reading Program* exemplify these kinds of instructional materials.

Given this studies' interdisciplinary nature, it will contribute to the literature on educating African American adults and children, Instructional Technology, Curriculum and Instruction, and Instructional Design (in particular, designing instructional materials for culturally and linguistically
diverse populations). My hope is that this dissertation will open a critical
discourse on contemporary instructional materials presently used in urban
schools and guide instructional designers to produce more appropriate
instructional materials for culturally and linguistically diverse populations.

The research questions that I address focus on the products (i.e., the
instructional materials) and the process (what process does it take to create
culturally or linguistically specific instructional materials). I aim to answer
the following questions: How does technology influence the design and media
of instruction?; How do instructional materials disclose their nature, and how
is this nature culturally and/or linguistically specific?; How do macro and
micro social, political, cultural, and economic issues mediate the text and
context of a document?; and What elements of the design are believed to
improve the education of the African American learner?
CHAPTER 2: METHODS OF INQUIRY

The purpose of this study is to reveal critical moments in U.S. history where African Americans contributed to the field of Instructional Technology and the nature of those contributions. In particular, this study examines approaches to the design of instructional materials that are culturally and linguistically specific, to ascertain the needs of future instructional designs. Moreover, this research is undergirded by a desire to document the ways in which African Americans have been active participants in educating themselves and to support the inclusion of African American instructional materials into the field of Instructional Technology.

This chapter outlines the methods of inquiry sought to achieve the above goals. The methodology chapter is two-fold. First, it focuses on the procedures for gathering and analyzing selected products of instructional technology (i.e., instructional materials). Then, it considers the procedures for examining the process through which designers create an instructional technology.

The Products -- Critical Discourse Analysis

Background

I am an avid fan of both the communications industry (radio, television, film, computers) and the writing profession (fiction, scriptwriting, poetry). My interests in both of these areas began as I studied television production as an undergraduate at New York Institute of Technology (NYIT). At NYIT, I explored these interests by creating dramatic videos, short films and engaging in scriptwriting for radio, television and film. When I sought my masters degree in Education from California State University Hayward, I combined my
interests in communication and writing with my knowledge of education and saw the strength of these fields in the area of instructional technology.

My interest in instructional technology continued to drive me in my graduate program. I wondered how I could take these interests and incorporate them into my desire to study the history of African Americans. Throughout my 21 years of schooling, I never took a course in African American history. At most of the schools I attended, classes of this kind did not exist. Moreover, as a doctoral student this was my last opportunity to study the history of African Americans in an academic setting.

I was also interested in curriculum materials. While studying for my master's degree, I had completed a research paper on reading videos designed for adult readers and created my own video to teach kindergartners how to read.

Given my interests in instructional technology and my desire to gain knowledge about the history of African Americans, I formulated my dissertation topic. I began with the idea of wanting to know the role of African Americans in the field of instructional technology. Then, I realized that their participation had not been documented or referred to in this manner in any of the academic literature. Third, I wanted to tell the educational history of African Americans without replicating the comparative analysis of black versus white. I did not want a study about black and white issues but about the accomplishments of African Americans despite the social, political, and economic obstacles set before them.

The criteria that I was looking for were instructional materials made by and for African Americans; there was no age or grade limit to this search. The
point was to examine the different media that African Americans were able to produce.


According to the World Catalog library system and substantiated by Robert C. Morris (1980), educator and historian, there is only one issue of *The Freedman's Torchlight* in existence. It was published in 1866 in New York City, so that single issue became a paper for one of my graduate courses. I wondered if there were other materials written by and for African Americans, so I began talking about my interests in curriculum, African American history and Instructional Technology to my academic advisor (Anne Haas Dyson) and to various professors in U.C. Berkeley and outside of the school.

I was steered towards the *Bridge Reading Program* that was published in 1977 by Houghton Mifflin Company. The authors of the project were Gary A. Simpkins, Charlesetta Stalling (formerly Charlesetta Simpkins) and Grace Holt. Houghton Mifflin no longer published the reading program, so I checked the World Catalog system and was able to find a couple of libraries across the country that had the program on their shelves. However like most of these materials, many libraries do not lend them out. I finally convinced Simmons College Libraries to do an interlibrary loan with my local library. Over a 5 month period, I eventually obtained most of the components of the program.
The Bridge Reading Program consists of 5 reading booklets, a study booklet, a teacher's guide, 6 audio recordings and the teacher's edition of the study books. All the above items are examined in this research, except the teacher's edition of the study book.

Next, I searched for another document preferably between the years 1866 and 1977. I ran across The Brownies' Book, a children's magazine, and had read Violet Harris' dissertation on The Brownies' Book. However, I was not sure the publication met the criteria that I sought to meet in that it was created by and for African Americans but was it instructional? The Brownies' Book was published by DuBois and Dill Publishers, and it ran as a monthly periodical from January 1920 to December 1921. Since TFT was a newspaper, I began to think that blacks would produce instructional materials in any technology available and as far as they could afford. I believed that there were not many publication opportunities (i.e., textbook publications, curriculum units, etc.) available to blacks. I knew it would be Northern blacks who had the opportunity and means to produce instructional materials. In the late 1800s and early 1900s blacks published many newspapers, so this was their chosen form of mass communication. The printing press was their chosen technology of use. It was cheap to produce and easy to distribute. I read through The Brownies' Book and found them to include instructional content for children so this became my third text. As I looked at the instructional materials further, I saw that they were each connected to some critical moment in U.S. history that manifested the production of the materials. With TFT, it was Reconstruction. The Brownies' Book was created during the Harlem Renaissance and the Bridge Reading Program came out after Lyndon B. Johnson's infamous War on Poverty.
I wanted to incorporate my interest in Instructional Technology, African American history and the design of curriculum materials, so these documents were perfect for analysis. I knew that they possessed qualities that were excluded from mainstream instructional materials, so I used this research as an exploration into culturally and linguistically specific instructional materials.

**Data Collection Procedures**

The instructional materials were found in libraries across the country. *The Freedman's Torchlight* can be found on microfiche in the Freedmen's Schools and Textbooks series; it is a reprint of the American Missionary Society and is catalogued with their newspaper/textbook *The Freedman*. *The Brownies' Books* by W.E.B. DuBois are located on microfiche at the University of California Los Angeles. Original copies of this magazine can be found at the Schomburg Library in New York City and at the Library of Congress in Washington DC. *Bridge: A Cross-Culture Reading Program* is located at several libraries across the United States and can be found through the World Catalog library system.

**Data Analysis**

My goal through the data analysis was to discover the nature of the instructional materials by learning as much as I could about each one. I needed to know the historical, cultural, political, social or economic happenings during and surrounding the publication date. Therefore, the analysis began with a historical review of literature relevant to the time period and the instructional materials. Then each chapter included biographies on the designers involved in the production of the instructional materials. By exploring the backgrounds of the designers, I wanted to reveal
the caliber and ingenuity of the designers, and in the cases of TBB and the Bridge Reading Program, I was able to capture the designers' thoughts about educating African Americans.

Briefly, I will describe the historical literature reviews applied in each chapter, and then how the biographies were composed. For example, in TFT literature is reviewed about the following events that happened in or around 1866: The Role Of The Freedman's Bureau, Black Codes: The New Laws Of Subjugation, Freed Blacks In The North, and the following subject areas are explored: The Construction Of The American Textbook, and Curriculum & Textbooks Utilized in 1866. I considered the historical events that were central to freed blacks after Reconstruction. Additionally, subject areas were established upon further review of the context of TFT. For example, I needed historical information to support one or more points; so the sections on The Construction Of The American Textbook and Curriculum & Textbooks were added. Additionally, I added a section entitled St. Nicholas: A children's magazine utilized between 1920-1921 that served to contrast TBB against another children's publication.

In TBB, the historical climate was established by evaluating those concepts in its parent publication The Crisis: A Record of the Darker Races during the years 1920 and 1921. This offered a minute analysis because the designers of TBB and The Crisis were the same people. Furthermore, it limited the historical review to that covered in the parent publication and reported on information of importance to black people and their communities. Upon reading The Crisis, I noticed that much historical information was given in snippets of information, that is one or two sentences. Therefore, my academic advisor recommended looking at reoccurring themes. So, I coded the 24 issues
of The Crisis from January, 1920 to December 1921 and marked off the themes of racial uplift, racial prejudice and discrimination, civil rights, and men & women of the Harlem Renaissance. (The coding consisted of placing a post-it note sticker next to the theme represented and colored post-it stickers corresponded to the theme eliminating the need for writing down the theme. For example, when I began to synthesize all the information in the issues on racial uplift, I looked for all the green post-its). For each particular theme, the information in The Crisis was synthesized into a summary and supported by examples from its text.

With the Bridge Reading Program, the historical climate was established through an analysis of the political happenings with regards to educating the poor and the controversies over the language learning needs of African American children. This historical analysis was even more centralized in that it mostly relied on the research of practitioners in the field of linguistics. The areas covered under the historical climate included: President Lyndon B. Johnson's War on Poverty, The King Case, Early Studies On Dialect Readers & Transition Readers, Designing Dialect Readers, and The Future Of Dialect Readers. This historical section is based on reviews of literature in the relevant areas.

The biographies served to describe the designers of the instructional materials. For example, in TFT the newspaper/textbook was published by the African Civilization Society, an organization of pious colored men. The histories about these men were gathered from TFT and other literature that referenced TFT. Information on the designers of TBB was gathered from TBB, a biographical book on Fauset, an autobiographical book on DuBois and various other sources. Information for the biographies in the Bridge Reading Program
was obtained from the program itself and interviews with Simpkins and Stalling. The thoughts of the designers were also described in this section under the heading -- The Designers of Bridge: Beginnings, Views & Goals. The interviews are further elaborated in this chapter's field research & analysis section.

I hoped the data analysis would reveal the true essence of the product and their designers. I needed to know what these instructional materials offered and what made their designs unique. Ultimately, it would be my interpretation of the content in the instructional materials. Moreover in interpreting data, I had to consider that "meanings are produced through interpretations of texts and texts are open to diverse interpretations" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 89).

In the next section, I describe how the data analysis proceeded. In particular, how are the text and context analyses delineated? The text analysis is divided into the areas of genre, omission and backgrounding, foregrounding, framing and visual representations. There are no additional subsections to the context analysis.

**Text Analysis**

Fairclough (1995b) maintains that texts need an analysis that is "multisemiotic," meaning that the analysis includes photographic images, layout (the visual structure of the page), form (film, video, audiotape), and sound (p. 58). "A key issue is how these other semiotic modalities interact with language in producing meanings, and how such interactions define different aesthetics for different media" (p. 58). Moreover, I believe this type of analysis is one that is multisensory, in that the analysis of text is a visual, tactile, verbal and auditory experience.
I view the text analysis as a surface survey of the instructional materials, therefore the amount of analysis is minimal. I believe the text analysis gives a broad view of the design of the instructional materials. I did not realize this until I had completed all three analyses. Moreover, the materials began to dictate their analysis. By this I mean that, I could not make the materials give more than was there, or I was forced to deal with too much information and had to synthesize it into an understandable format.

The approach used comes from an area of linguistic research called critical discourse analysis (CDA). The analysis of written text is the primary activity of CDA; so it seemed appropriate for this project. According to Huckin's (1995) interpretation of CDA, the text should be approached through a series of stages. First, the text should be read in an open-ended manner; the instructional materials are read through without any interpretation or analysis. This "cold" reading allows you to survey the contents and gauge how you will approach or organize the materials. I will explain how I approached each text under this stage.

With the issue of The Freedman's Torchlight (TFT), I read it through for content information. After the first reading of The Brownies' Book, I organized how I would approach the text on the second reading. There were 24 monthly issues, and since the magazine was already departmentalized, I divided each issue according to the departments in the magazine. The divided sections included: The Judge, The Jury, As The Crow Flies, The Grown-Ups Corner, Little People of the Month and Playtime. Each coded section was marked off by a post-it sticker for easy access and organization. There were also materials that did not fit into these headings so they were organized as follows: literature (fiction, nonfiction and poetry), advertisements and graphics. I used a large
yellow post-it for the date and year of publication. Stage One of the text analysis for the Bridge Reading Program involved a read through of the teacher's manual and the reading booklets. Since these materials were more contemporary, they were well indexed. I placed hard copies of the document in a large black binder. The text analysis had to be adjusted to address the media needs of the audiotapes in the Bridge Reading Program. In this case, I listened to the audiotapes and read through the transcripts provided in the teachers' manual.

In the second stage of analysis on the text level, again the purpose is to do a surface analysis revealing the overall design of the materials. Huckin (1995) identifies several elements during this second stage of text analysis; they include the following: genre, omission and backgrounding, foregrounding, framing and visual representations.

Genres. Researchers of language and linguistics offer conflicting views about genre especially in terms of CDA (Fairclough, 1995a; Kress, 1991; Swales, 1990). Fairclough (1995a) defines genre as “a socially ratified way of using language in connection with a particular type of social activity (e.g., interview, narrative, exposition)” (p. 14). Kress (1991) believes genres should be understood as products of specific social occasions; texts' organizations and structures are shaped by and shape those of occasions. Swales (1990) sees genre as a set of communicative events, whose members share the same communicative purposes. Huckin's (1995) definition offers a practical purpose of genre in relation to instructional materials. Huckin (1995) asserts that genres represent “text types” and these text types “manifest a characteristic set of formal features serving a characteristic purpose” (p. 98); genres are the media through which groups communicate (Berkenkotter & Huckin, 1995).
Genres are tied to a field's "methodology, and they package information in ways that conform to a [fields] norms, values, and ideology" (Berkenkotter & Huckin, 1995, p. 1). For example, the genre or media of communication could be represented as a newspaper, magazine, book, pamphlet, or educational software.

The genre analysis entailed establishing that the instructional materials were of a certain "text type" and then supporting this assertion with evidence. For example, The Freedman's Torchlight (TFT) was described as a newspaper/textbook by a historian and the characteristic features of the materials indicated that it was a newspaper format. Moreover, other characteristic features (i.e., alphabets, spelling lessons, reading lessons) illustrated the instructional aspect of TFT and supported its interpretation as a newspaper/textbook. The Brownies Book (TBB) was identified as a magazine by primary and secondary sources (i.e., journal articles, The Crisis [its parent publication] and the publication itself). The genre of the Bridge Reading Program was identified as a reading program by the designers; during the interview Stalling indicated that she saw Bridge as a reading program. I saw the program as a curriculum unit or instructional materials, because of its multiple instructional components.

**Framing.** Another aspect of text analysis is what Huckin (1995) terms framing. Framing means how the content of the text is presented. The presentation of the content could have an angle or a slant. Other researchers offer complementary theories on framing. Berkenkotter & Huckin (1995) define framing as how a "topic is selected and problematized" (p. 109). Fairclough (1995b) argues that the analysis of framing "draws attention to how surrounding features of the reporting discourse can influence the way in
which represented discourse is interpreted. Framing can be blatantly manipulative" (p. 83) In other words, framing can point readers towards a particular interpretation.

Within this study, the framing entailed establishing what angle or slant emanated from the materials. For example, in TFT, I argue that the frame is its status as a newspaper/textbook written by and for black people; I support this notion with evidence in the document. In TBB, I maintain that the frame is its status as a magazine created by Ivy league educated blacks. Moreover, the magazine was based on black culture based ideologies, and it was designed, in particular, for black children. This argument is supported by information from TBB and backed by the research of DuBois on educating black children. Finally, in the framing of the Bridge Reading Program, I contend that it was designed specifically for inner city black children who failed academically in reading. This point of view is supported by an excerpt from Stalling's interview, information from the teacher's guide, and content in Simpkins dissertation.

**Omission and Backgrounding/Foregrounding.** Fairclough (1995b) in his research on media discourse argues that texts (including instructional materials) do not simply mirror reality but they represent versions of reality that are dependent on the "objectives," "social positions," and "interests" of those who produce them (p. 104). These representations of reality in texts denote choices made by the producers to include or exclude, to make implicit or explicit, or to foreground or background.

Fairclough (1995b) and Huckin (1995) agree that the analysis of a text must include an analysis of what is there and what is not there in the text. Fairclough (1995b) identifies it as "presences" and "absences" (p.106). He
argues that there are degrees of presences to absences that include the following: absent (not stated or implied), presupposed (exists implicitly in the text), backgrounded (explicit but de-emphasized) or foregrounded (emphasized and is present).

In this study, I use Huckin's interpretation of text analysis because it provides a practical approach to the examination of instructional materials. Huckin (1995) defines omission as the best form of backgrounding because what lays in the background of a text is what has been intentionally or unintentionally omitted. Foregrounding means to emphasize specific concepts and de-emphasize other concepts. In particular, those things in the foreground may receive textual distinction (Huckin, 1995).

The omission, backgrounding and foregrounding analyses entailed establishing what idea, theme or concept was omitted, backgrounded or foregrounded. In the analysis of the instructional materials, the areas of omission, backgrounding and foregrounding were combined or separated given the materials. For example, in TFT, omission and backgrounding were analyzed as one concept because what lays in the background of a text is what may have been omitted. After reading TFT again, I infer what I think is missing and what the designers may have backgrounded. In this case, I thought it was their true feelings about Freedmen; I support this theory with evidence from TFT. With TBB, I searched the text reading and re-reading to surmise about things that were omitted or backgrounded. In TBB, the designers omitted opposing points of view from the public. I argue that their parent publication *The Crisis* presented these perspectives, but they were omitted from TBB. Moreover, I state why I thought the designers chose this path. In the Bridge Reading Program, I offer Stalling's perspective on what she
thought was missing or foregrounded in the program. Furthermore, I argue that what was missing from the design of the program was an assessment of the public's reaction to the program; I support my argument with literature.

The foregrounding analyses required determining what concepts were emphasized and those that were de-emphasized, and in particular, those things in the foreground may receive textual distinction (Huckin, 1995). Again, this required reading and re-reading to see what idea was pushed forth more than other concepts. For example, in TFT the concepts emphasized were the elementary curriculum (i.e., reading lessons, alphabets). Moreover, the placement of the text in the newspaper made the elementary curriculum emphasized over the news articles. I support this argument by providing examples from TFT. In the *Bridge Reading Program*, I present two arguments of what was foregrounded in the materials. Simpkins thought that the *Bridge Reading Program* was a skills based program. However, the public thought the program focused on Black English\(^{10}\) (BE). These arguments are supported by excerpts from the Simpkins and Stalling interviews and the teacher's manual of the *Bridge Reading Program*. (The foregrounding and visual representations analysis for TBB are combined and included as part of the visual representations.)

**Visual representations.** Huckin (1995) argues that visual representations assist in the framing of text. This notion is supported by the work of Kress & vanLeeuwen (1992) in their article *Structures of Visual Representation*. Kress & vanLeeuwen (1992) assert that the "literary text[s]" "semiotic medium" is that of language and "its mode of representation that of verbal literacy" (p. 91); therefore, it may seem that the literary text has nothing to do with the visual. However, they argue that in general terms that
the text must more and more take into consideration the "visual semiotic" (p. 91).

The verbal text is in question as are definitions of a text. Kress & vanLeeuwen ask us to consider two cases:

One is that of a verbal text accompanied or illustrated by one or more images. Clearly both image and verbal text must each be read in relation to the other; this immediately problematizes the simplistic notion of 'illustration.' Both the meaning of the image and of the verbal text will be affected in some way by that relational reading. But if that is the case are we not then forced to treat the two as a new entity, as a complex text? The other is a subtler example. The printed page is itself a visual object, and as such is subject to the rules and meanings of the visual semiotic. The attention given to typefaces, and the meanings either inherent in or attached to their shapes is one instance. The changes in layout practices, and the implied differences in reading practices and readers is another. Literary texts are no more immune from this than are the pages of a tabloid newspaper. And layout practices - with their implied readers - have effects on the writers of texts, whether they are producers of concrete poetry, reports in tabloid papers, or novels. (p. 91)

Kress & vanLeeuwen (1992) describe the dynamics of verbal text and images as complementary to the other. Images, or graphics as referred to in this study, do more than just "illustrate"; they are an essential part of the text and often "convey contents – meanings, values, attitudes" – that may not be a part of the written text or in contradiction to the written text (p. 92).

Within this study visual representations are labeled as written text, diagrams, sketches, film, video, photography, or graphics.

The visual representations analysis required demonstrating how the visual representations assisted in the framing of the text. I accomplished this by describing what the visual representation was in terms of whether it was a photograph, sketch or symbol. Then I briefly described the visual representation and its location in the instructional materials. For example, in TFT I went through the newspaper/textbook and analyzed all of the visual representations like symbols and typeface; then I described where they were
located in TFT. With TBB, I combined foregrounding and visual representations because these areas of analysis overlapped. I maintained that the concepts foregrounded were the written text and the graphics (i.e., photographs of black children and adults, sketches). I support this argument by referencing the visual images in TBB. The visual representations that assist in the framing of the text, as it pertains to TBB, I contend were the photographs of black people. Moreover, it was the novelty of these photographs that framed the text. Additionally, I argue that the text was de-emphasized not because it was unimportant, but because graphics of this nature took visual preference by default. I support this contention by citing literature from DuBois. The visual representations in the Bridge Reading Program were limited to Reading Booklets 1 through 5. I briefly describe the photographs as a whole indicating that the photographs and sketches depicted black men, women, and children in the garb of the 1970s. To support this notion, I reference the reading booklets.

The text analysis provides an overview to the design of the entire program. It is a model of how these instructional materials could be reinvented in contemporary instructional designs. Moreover, the text analysis begins to reveal the nature of these instructional materials; in that they were structured according to the tool of technology, the needs and goals of the designers, and the designers' financial resources.

In the context analysis section, the inquiry delves deeper into the micro worlds of these instructional materials. The instructional materials are dissected and evaluated through, in some cases, a detailed analytical critique. Then my analyses are supported by the historical literature review preceding each chapter, additional literature reviews, the instructional materials
themselves, or interviews from the designers. This analysis seeks to further reveal the nature of instructional materials that are culturally and/or linguistically specific.

**Context Analysis**

The last stage in approaching the text involves analyzing the context, on a micro level, to identify the social, political (vanDijk, 1993), cultural, or economic occurrences within the text. This section parallels macro issues as represented in society with micro issues as represented in the context of the instructional materials. This analysis is consistent with the aims of critical discourse analysis; that is to provide a:

systematic theoretical and descriptive account of (a) the structures and strategies, at various levels, of written and spoken discourse, seen both as a textual "object" and as a form of sociocultural practice and interaction, and (b) the relationships of these properties of text and talk with the relevant structures of their cognitive, social, cultural, and historical "contexts." (vanDijk, 1993, p. 96)

In sum, this is the study of a "text in context" (vanDijk, 1993, p. 96).

The context analysis seeks to demonstrate the social, political, cultural, or economic contexts within the instructional materials. In each section, I argue a point, provide excerpts from the text, evaluate the excerpt, and support my point through examples from the historical climate section, other literature, or the document itself. All sections were coded in terms of issues that were social, political, educational, cultural, or economic. Moreover, throughout my coding there were concepts and themes that were repeated and emphasized; in these cases, I let the text determine the coding. By this I mean, that the text addressed a concept or theme that was not among my initial coding (social, political, educational, cultural, or economic), and the concept or theme required a voice of its own given its emphasis in the text.
Examples of how the context analysis proceeded follows. In TFT, the context analysis began by summarizing each article or section in one or two word phrases (e.g., commentary on little children, educational progress, employment, education, or self discipline). All notes (i.e., summaries and coding) were handwritten in the margins of TFT. Then, I read through each summary and categorized it according to the codes. (As an example, the summary statement "commentary on little children" would be coded under the category of social. The summary statement "employment" could be coded as educational, social, economic or political, so in this case I had to re-read the text and code it based on the context). Once all sections of TFT were coded, I looked at each coding category and determined which ones had enough information to include in the analysis. If there was not enough information for a code it was excluded. I determined I had enough data about the following coding categories: educational, social, political and economic issues. These areas became the headings Academic Lessons, Sociopolitical Actions, and Financial Stability. Furthermore, during the coding, certain themes or concepts are reiterated, and in these cases, I let the text determine the code. For example, two additional categories of analysis were dictated by the text; they were Religious Instruction and Designers for the People. When I began to write, I read all the corresponding coded sections for the category (e.g., political), synthesized the information, and incorporated excerpts for an indepth analysis. The first section in TFT's context analysis is Designers for the People. I argue that the designers supported black people and black progress, and I used examples from the text to support my argument. The second major heading is Sociopolitical and Economic Occurrences in TFT; under this heading are the sections Academic Lessons, Sociopolitical Actions, Financial Stability
and Religious Instruction. In the context analysis for the Academic Lessons (education), I argue that the academic lessons had a Christian slant and offered through its words — self empowerment, self elevation and self identification. I support my argument with examples from TFT and an analysis of the examples. In the sociopolitical actions analysis, I maintain that the text addresses not only ACS's Christian slant and self empowering agenda, but it also paints a picture of post Civil War emancipation as viewed by the government and freed blacks. This notion is backed by references to the historical climate, excerpts from TFT, and an extensive analysis of the excerpts. In the financial stability analysis, I speculate that the designers were ill prepared and underfinanced for taking on this publication, and I again support this point with excerpts from TFT and an analysis of the excerpts. The final section briefly analyzes TFT's references to the tenets of Christianity, and how they encouraged freed blacks to have faith in God.

The Brownies' Book context analysis began with an analysis of the departments. I tackled each section methodically and chronologically. I began reading the divided sections as a unit. For example, I read all The Judge articles from January 1920 to December 1921. I coded according to my areas, and I also let the text determine other coding categories. Many times, I could not use all the coding categories in an article, so I let the text dictate to me the themes or concepts most emphasized. As an example, in The Judge the central theme that came forth was women's rights; under my coding this would be a social issue. Therefore, I argued that a central issue in The Judge was women's rights. I support this argument with examples from different issues of TBB, DuBois' educational philosophy about educating black children, and academic literature. In this section, the text dictated three other categories: Language
Use, Curriculum Materials and Teacher-Child Dynamics. In my analysis of coded areas for Language Use, I contend that Black Dialect is both accepted and rejected in African American culture. Moreover, its acceptance or rejection demonstrates the stigma associated with Black Dialect in its spoken form and its tolerance in its written form. I support this notion with instances from TBB and reviews of literature from linguists who research Black English. In the Curriculum Materials analysis, I maintain that the mainstream curriculum in the 1920s did not accurately represent the histories and geography's of African people and their descendants. I support my point with excerpts from TFT and academic literature. In terms of the teacher-child dynamics analysis, I argue that the context imparts a teacher-child dynamic that models social interaction. Again, I support my point by referencing TFT. This methodical and chronological analysis of the context repeated for all the departments and areas in TBB.

The context analysis for the Bridge Reading Program entailed an analytical examination of the components of the program – that included Reading Booklets 1 through 5, Study Books 1 through 5 (Activities: Story Questions, Skills Lessons, Word Bridging Lessons, Feedback Records), the Teacher's Guide, and the Audio Recordings. This analysis included excerpts from the interviews, examples from the Bridge Reading Program, references from the historical review, and citations from academic literature. The analysis began with Reading Booklet 1. I described the five stories in the booklet and interjected with literature from the designers and practitioners. Then I excerpted parts of the stories and presented my argument. For example in Reading Booklet 1, the emphasis was on black culture, consistent with the political period of the seventies. I discussed how the four stories came from
black folklore, and I included supporting material from Simpkins' dissertation and practitioners. Then, I maintain that the story *Shine*, written in Black Vernacular, included idiomatic expressions used in some black communities. I present the excerpt for analysis, and I follow with an analysis of the excerpt. I support my point with literature and examples from the other stories in Reading Booklet 1. Moreover, at the end of each booklet, I connect my arguments to the historical review at the beginning of the chapter. This pattern continues throughout the context analysis of Reading Booklets 1 through 5.

The remaining sections of the *Bridge Reading Program* are analyzed similarly. For example, in the analysis of Study Books 1 through 5 and its activities, I briefly discuss the purpose of each component as specified by the designers of the program. Then I briefly analyze the goals of the activity by referencing literature, the historical review of literature, and/or excerpts from the interviews.

In the next section, I outline the Field Research and Analysis conducted in this study and its incorporation into the structure of the paper.

**The Process – Field Research & Analysis**

**Participants**

The designers of *The Freedman's Torchlight* and *The Brownies' Book* are no longer living. Therefore, the designers of the *Bridge Reading Program* were interviewed (Gary Simpkins and Charlesetta Stalling); Grace Holt is deceased. Interviews give insight into the process taken to create the *Bridge Reading Program* and the social, political, cultural and economic contexts through which these instructional materials evolved.
Data Collection Procedures

Interviews were conducted in May 1999. These formal interviews lasted 1 hour in length. Each interviewee was asked to provide a historical view of the time period. They responded to interview questions about their role in the development of Bridge: A Cross-Culture Reading Program. Prior to the interviews, I read Simpkins' and Stalling's dissertations and the Bridge Reading Program.

I was able to contact Simpkins and Stalling through a little detective work. I read an article by Rickford & Rickford (1995) on dialect readers. In their endnotes, they state that Gary Simpkins and Geneva Smitherman are now working on revising the Bridge Reading Program. I contacted the school where Smitherman is employed and obtained her e-mail address. I e-mailed her and told her about my dissertation and that I wanted to interview Simpkins. Later, Smitherman contacted me and indicated that Simpkins agreed to speak with me. I called Simpkins and kept in contact with him over the next year. When I was ready to interview, Simpkins put me in contact with Stalling, and this is how I arranged the interviews. I would be remiss if I did not state that I was persistent but not pushy. I wrote letters, and called (politely begging), and wrote letters until I got the interviews. The interview with Simpkins took place over the phone, because of his health. The Stalling interview was conducted at her home in a suburb of Northern California. With both interviews, I had to deviate from my line of questions, because they did or did not apply to that person's role in the Bridge Reading Program. For example, Simpkins was more involved in the overall production than Stalling who was involved in the Peer Control Readings. Moreover, I was limited by time in which to conduct the interviews. With the Simpkins interview, I taped his
interview over a speaker phone. I asked general questions about his background and then for a historical view of the time period. The responses to the historical view answered many of the questions on my list. As he spoke, I looked down my list checking those questions that were not answered and asked those questions between periods of silence. During Stalling's interview, I sat in her den on a soft couch surrounded by African art (sculptures, pictures). She was a tall chestnut colored woman who appeared to be in her mid 50s. She wore an ankle lengthen royal blue dress. I interviewed her while dinner was in the oven (baked chicken and potatoes, corn on the cob) and for dessert there were strawberries and rum raisin ice cream. Of course, I had dinner and dessert. This interview proceeded similarly to Simpkins' interview.

Data Analysis

Each interview was transcribed and categorized to parallel the structure of the previous chapters of TFT and TBB. The categories were as follows: the designers, a historical perspective, information about the text analysis of Bridge, and information about the context analysis for Bridge. Throughout the chapter, I intertwined snippets of the interviews where the response matched the coding categories. Moreover, the transcripts manifested their own concepts and themes that matched the coding categories; they included: The Origins of Bridge (sociopolitical), Reactions to Bridge (political), The Problem with Black English (sociopolitical) and Filling the Gaps in their Learning (social). The responses to these coded categories are included in the section that describes the designers' biographies entitled The Designers of Bridge: Beginnings, Views and Goals. This section offers a perspective on the process of designing instructional materials that are culturally and linguistically specific. Moreover, I include excerpts from the interviews and offer an
analysis of the excerpts. I support this analysis by referring back to the historical literature review, and I include additional literature to reinforce my arguments.

This method of inquiry examines the products and the process involved in creating an instructional technology to thereby disclose the nature of culturally and/or linguistically specific instructional materials.

This is not an exhaustive analysis of instructional materials produced by and for African Americans but a critical analysis of several important works. The chapters will not attempt to explicate all of the historical, social, political or economic events in each time period. The focus of this study is on the instructional materials as technologies of instruction. The next chapter begins with *The Freedman's Torchlight*. 
CHAPTER 3: THE FREEDMAN'S TORCHLIGHT

"If God be for us, who can be against us?" Romans 8:31

Below the heading of the instructional newspaper, *The Freedman's Torchlight* (TFT), read the above biblical verse. This verse captures the hope and plight of freed men, women, and children as they journeyed toward emancipation. This chapter looks at the historical landscape of 1866, the designers of TFT and the content of the instructional materials.

The Historical Climate

*The Freedman's Torchlight* was published in January 1866. A year before its publication Abraham Lincoln signed The Thirteenth Amendment to abolish slavery but not until December 1865 was the Amendment ratified calling for the entire dismantling of slavery ending the Civil War (Foner, 1988). But what did freedom really mean or look like for African Americans?

The Civil War was fought by the confederate South and the Union North. The South housed almost 4 million enslaved blacks who were isolated from the world. Enslaved blacks' subjugation confined them to the plantation and prevented them from communicating with the outside world and acquiring information. The acquisition of knowledge in the way of reading, writing, or a school oriented education was prohibited. All slave states except Kentucky forbade the teaching of reading and writing to enslaved blacks. If caught reading or writing, blacks were likely to be maimed, killed, flogged or fined (Webber, 1978; Whiteaker, 1990). Some enslaved blacks stayed informed about events outside the South by overhearing conversations between whites and then relaying that information to others in the slave quarters. News might be relayed during unsupervised church services or through the "grapevine telegraph" that reportedly contained a coded language enabling blacks to
communicate about taboo subjects while in the presence of whites (Litwack, 1979, p. 23).

When the announcement about emancipation seeped through the cotton curtain, freed blacks\textsuperscript{12} responded in their own way. Some chose not to speak with their masters about it, while others feared retaliation in the form of harsh treatments or flogging. When possible freed blacks fled to the Union lines in hopes of refuge. Many who fled plantations returned due to homesickness for their families, frustration with the lack of employment, starvation, or exhaustion in trying to reach Union lines. Others faced death by cholera or smallpox or became victims of murder. These situations scared others from leaving the plantation. However, there were many brave souls who sought autonomy despite the odds and the mysteriousness of freedom (Litwack, 1979).

The next sections elaborate on the historical climate with a review of literature about the events surrounding the year 1866. In particular, research in the following areas is reviewed: The Freedmen's Bureau, The Black Codes, Northern Blacks, The Construction Of The American Textbook, and Curriculum & Textbooks Utilized in 1866. Most of the areas are situated in the history of educating black people and provide background to understanding texts like The Freedman's Torchlight.

**The Role Of The Freedmen's Bureau**

Pressured to provide for blacks who escaped or abandoned their plantations heading for Union lines in search of freedom (Bullock, 1967; Foner, 1988; Litwack, 1979), Congress enacted the Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees and Abandoned Lands Act (known as The Freedmen's Bureau) on March 3, 1865. The Freedmen's Bureau addressed matters pertaining to
confiscated property, white Union refugees and freed blacks. Legally, it was in charge of relief work, education, the control of labor and the management of justice (Butchart, 1980). Foner (1988) points out the transitory nature of this act in that it was renewed on July 6, 1866, enacted again on July 6, 1868 for one more year, and discontinued on January 1, 1869 (except for the education and bounty divisions). The act was finally abolished on June 30, 1872. The transitory nature of this act exemplifies the ambivalence of the government to provide for the needs of freed blacks and the temporal assistance given to black people after almost 250 years of slavery.

The legislation of this act was assisted by the Freedmen's Aid movement that began as an effort of secular societies and denominational boards to provide relief to former slaves. The Freedmen's Aid Societies, as they were called, provided basic supplies, food, clothing, and medicine. In 1863, the secular societies petitioned the government for assistance with providing for the needs of freed blacks, and two years later the government formed the Bureau (Butchart, 1980). The aid societies acted as conduits through which the Bureau could distribute relief monies and supplies.

The Bureau's ability to properly administer its duties were always precarious. There were reports of corruption and incompetence (Bond, 1966). Litwack (1979) argues that the Bureau performed poorly in their efforts toward education, housing, food, employment and other needs of the mass number of freed blacks. As an example when freed blacks sought refuge in the Union cities where there were Freedmen's Bureaus, they were turned away and forced to return to their former masters. Litwack (1979) and Butchart (1980) report that the Bureau operated to reestablish the labor of blacks back to the plantations from which they escaped. This action appeased planters
need for labor and kept the economic and political structure of the south intact.

Bond (1966) and Bullock (1967) contend that the Bureau's main purpose was to educate. Butchart (1990) argues that initially the education of freed blacks meant the education of black adult men and women. (During most of the 1860s, the South's black school house "lacked age-specificity"; adults and children learned in the same classroom (Butchart, 1990, p. 47)). There was a rush to educate the black adult before he or she retaliated (Butchart, 1990). Butchart (1990) further argues that schooling became a system of control and a road through which white ideologies and agendas regarding emancipation’s political and social effects were channeled. He adds that the crux of the educational goals of these aid societies was to create obedient, moral, Christian blacks. The school would serve as the place of social discipline where the ideologies of the dominant society would be perpetuated. Educational reformers (like the American Missionary Association) perceived education for blacks as a panacea (Butchart, 1980). According to Butchart (1980) education was thought to accomplish such goals as preparing blacks for participation in civilized American life and restructuring the South; however, the belief that there was a need to "civilize" freed blacks assumes that they were uncivilized. "The purpose of education was to teach self-restraint, submission, sublimation. It was education to bind, not to liberate" (Butchart, 1980, p. 54).

This educational infrastructure was attacked in several areas by whites who disagreed with supporting blacks and their education. First, the Bureau was criticized for its involvement in helping blacks. Second, black schools were burned, and northern white and black teachers were threatened, beaten and expelled from communities (Bond, 1966; Butchart, 1980). Bond (1966)
argues that there was no other reason for these actions besides a hatred of blacks and the fact that they were being educated.

Bullock (1967) and Bond (1966) concur that the Bureau assisted in the establishment of Southern schools, colleges, universities and the development of a teaching force. Moreover, their research indicates that freed blacks contributed financially to the Bureau through taxes and tuition. By 1867, freed blacks were ordered to subsidize the cost of building schools or forfeit the construction of their schools. In some cases, freed blacks had to obtain land (that was held by trustees), construct schoolhouses and pay teachers; then the Bureau would help by providing a teacher and building supplies (Butchart, 1980). Bullock (1967) and Bond (1966) agree that the residuals of the Bureau left a burgeoning financial structure to support a Freedmen's educational system. However, given the financial situation of freed blacks and the transitory nature of the Freedmen's Bureau how burgeoning was this financial structure?

The secular aid societies wanted to assist in the reconstruction of the South and used black schools as the vehicle to achieve their goal of "redefining black roles" (Butchart, 1980, p. 26). They sought a common school system modeled after that developed in the North. These Common schools (also called day schools) were referred to as such because they provided a common education. Common in the sense that they were attended in common by everyone, maintained in common by everyone and everyone learned a common curriculum. In essence, there was no "special education" (the education provided to blacks at that time was called a special education) (Butchart, 1980, p. 27). Common schools were supposed to provide an education to the rich and poor as they learned in the same classrooms. Due to the
religiousness of the 19th century, these schools were based on mainstream Protestant tenets, and came under the control of local communities. Secular societies sought to provide racially integrated schools that were free and tax funded schools. However, integration was the "policy of radical egalitarians, not the majority of aid societies or most northern whites" (Butchart, 1980, p. 163).

The American Missionary Association (AMA) opened night schools for adults. After the Civil War, night schools became the place of instruction for black adults. There were one third more night students than there were day students. This number declined in the following years. The decline in night schools may be attributed to teachers' unwillingness to teach both in the day and evening, increasing educational opportunities in other secondary educational institutions (i.e., normal schools, academies, institutes, advanced classes in freedmen's schools, and black colleges), decreasing finances, and the lack of time allotted Freedmen to schooling after a long day in the field (Butchart, 1990).

Another type of school established through the missionary societies were Normal schools. These schools provided training and instruction specifically for black teachers. Upon entrance, many students possessed an elementary education; they were not required to complete a secondary school (high school). The Normal school provided two to three years of schooling. Upon completion, students qualified for a teaching certificate; bachelors' degrees were not granted in Normal schools. Students completing the Normal school program usually left with around a tenth grade education. The students who attended Normal schools tended to be economically disadvantaged, older, and less educated than college students (Anderson, 1988).
Other types of educational institutions established through the Freedmen's Bureau were, for example seminary schools, colleges (e.g., Morehouse College and Berea College) and universities (e.g., Fisk University and Howard University).

There were also Plantation schools that sought to provide schooling for the children of adults who worked on the plantation. The Bureau promoted the implementation of Plantation schools; however this worked against freed blacks. First, the Plantation schools, teachers and the curriculum were controlled by southern whites. Second, Plantation schools locked blacks into laboring the agricultural land from which most sought escape. Third, these schools isolated blacks on the plantation (Butchart, 1980, p. 110).

The Industrial schools can not be forgotten; these were also developed in the 1860s. Industrial schools served mainly women and girls teaching them home economics (i.e., sewing, cleaning and cooking). Few Industrial schools taught reading and writing. The Industrial schools sought to teach the black female skills she already knew as a slave thereby binding her to servitude positions (Anderson, 1988).

Lastly, the Sabbath school system was sponsored by churches. They provided basic elementary and Christian instruction in the evening and on weekends reaching those who could not attend a school during the day. After the Civil War, these schools could be found in and supported by ex-slave communities throughout the South. Their teaching staffs were generally all black. The Sabbath school in some southern states represented the only place to obtain a free education (Anderson, 1988). Statistical records were not maintained on the Sabbath schools.
Former slaves advocated for universal education before the establishment of the Freedman's Bureau. By 1870, with the assistance of the Freedmen's Bureau and the Freedman's Aid Societies, the institutional structure of the free or public school system was almost complete. This movement for universal public education, supported by the state, was the innovation of northern and southern blacks (Anderson, 1988).

Black Codes: The New Laws Of Subjugation

The physical presence of blacks in all aspects of white life came to be seen as an invasion — an intrusion many whites could not accept. In the fall of 1865 and the winter of 1866, “Black Laws” also known as Black Codes were passed by the legislature of the former Confederate states during the presidency of Andrew Johnson. The Black Codes were a legislative answer to the labor problem (Foner, 1988). The provisions of the civil and legal rights relating to freed blacks surrounded their rights as far as citizenship, property, the legal system, and family relations (i.e., marriages). Blacks had the right to protect their person and property and to have access to the courts of law (to sue or be sued). However, many of the Black Codes worked against freed blacks and their emancipation. For example, these laws forced blacks to establish a place of residence, find employment, marry, and fulfill work contracts. Black Codes limited blacks' ownership of land, sought to control their morals and conduct, and safeguarded whites from blacks not following these laws. (Foner, 1988; Litwack, 1979). The Black Codes were to replace Slave Codes.

The states that had specific Black Codes included: North Carolina, Mississippi, South Carolina, Virginia, Florida, Louisiana, and Alabama. It is important to note that each state enforced Black Codes, but some enacted their own Black Codes. For example, in Mississippi Black Codes prohibited interracial
marriages and gave death sentences to any black man who raped a white woman. Moreover, blacks were forced to work; those who did not possess lawful employment were considered vagrants and subsequently imprisoned or fined. The goal was to gain control over blacks (Bullock, 1967).

After vehement protests from northern politicians about the poor wording and the continued subjugation of laws based on color, the Black Codes were never enforced and later repealed (Foner, 1988). Contrary to this point of view, Litwack (1979) contends that despite legal repeals Black Codes remained in effect in areas where officials of the Freedmen's Bureau refused to intercede and where blacks' protest was curtailed (Litwack, 1979). Clearly, racial discrimination continued during "freedom."

**Free Blacks In The North**

In 1850, there were around 200,000 blacks in the North. Many Northern blacks were legally free; however, they remained victims of racial discrimination. Some northern blacks were able to acquire land, improve their political and economic status, organize and petition, publish tracts and newspapers, and join with benevolent abolitionists. All of this was directed towards improving their position in society (Litwack, 1976).

Most of the northern states (Vermont, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York and New Jersey) abolished slavery or set in motion its termination between 1777 and 1818 (Litwack, 1979). By 1860, almost all northern states provided a public school system for blacks, because blacks were excluded and barred from attending schools with whites. Black and white teachers in Northern schools were met with acts of violence and ridicule. The establishment of schools for blacks caused some whites to destroy schools and
protest their establishment. Segregated schools for black children, remained a source of contention during the early 1800s, in that they provided poor school facilities lacking in equipment and ventilation, and an inferior education. These deficient educational facilities were supported by an equally deficient curriculum (Litwack, 1961). According to Litwack (1961), this elementary education aided the exclusion of blacks from most professions and supported the prevailing assumption that blacks were intellectually inferior and incapable of advanced academic studies.

Black adults seeking a college education were met with the same racial prejudice. Some were barred from attending certain colleges and for others their enrollments were protested (Litwack, 1961).

In New York, the place of publication of The Freedman's Torchlight, free adult blacks created and maintained churches, businesses and organizations including reading rooms, libraries, literary, benevolent and debating societies, poetry reading groups, fraternal lodges, and charity services. Black churches of different denominations (Methodist, Baptists, Presbyterians, Episcopalian) grew quickly in congregation and distinction by social order. Episcopalian churches attracted those with money. The Presbyterian church pulled in older people. Methodist churches brought in the working class, and Baptist churches drew young women and men. In the North, blacks (free blacks as they were called) maintained a thriving community in the midst of discrimination and poverty (Ihle, 1990).

The Construction Of The American Textbook

The American textbook remains a symbol of what the dominant culture views as an important educational source; in fact, it is the key to who receives what kind of education. This section gives an overview of the textbook and how
it is situated at the center of American education (Perkinson, 1985). The school textbook has maintained an omniscient role by determining the content of the curriculum, guiding the method(s) of instruction and directing the course of assessment (Nietz, 1961; Perkinson, 1985). According to Perkinson (1985), most of the early textbooks tried to be comprehensive in that they attempted to include an entire elementary curriculum consisting of grammar, readings, spelling and religious material (e.g., Webster's Spelling Book).

Characteristically, these textbooks also exerted moral and religious content (Beare, 1976). Even their size would be deemed unusual by contemporary standards. For example, the New England Primer was 3 1/4 x 4 1/2 inches in size. The type sizes on these earlier textbooks were also small ranging between 3, 7, 8, and 9 points. Elementary books were bound in pliable paper covers, wood boards, stiff cardboard with leather spines or in full leather. After the 1800s, leather bound books were rare on the elementary levels; however, secondary texts were found leather bound until 1850. The paper in these early textbooks was made of a rag paper thereby preserving its condition for many decades even centuries in some cases. Most of these earlier elementary texts contained a preface and/or introduction or table of contents and/or an appendix. The secondary texts included the same sections as the elementary texts with the addition of a Table of Contents in some texts. These texts commonly used visual representations such as: pictures, tables, illustrations, maps, charts or graphs. Of course, color pictures were rare (Nietz, 1961).

By the 1840s, with the creation of more schools, textbook publishers had to present marketable materials for textbook adoption. This led publishers to improve the quality of printing, include larger type sizes, produce larger books (around 4 1/2 inches x 7 inches), decrease the number of pages, and
incorporate graphics (e.g., illustrations, engravings, drawings). Even the content of textbooks improved. The content was made easier or simpler and more interesting (using a question–answer or conversation approach). Appealing textbooks were easily adopted by local school districts. However, the increased production of these easier, simpler books led away from intellectual rigor to poorer quality curricula (Perkinson, 1985). During this time textbook content was not subject to evaluation by professional organizations; authors were free to create (Nietz, 1961).

According to Elson (1964), besides the bible, the second most commonly read books in the nineteenth century were textbooks. Textbooks were not written by elite intellectuals but by printers, teachers, ministers, journalists, graduate students, and in particular lawyers, working their way through college. Although these writers of early American textbooks may have been unqualified in terms of subject knowledge by contemporary standards, these people were instrumental in shaping the political, social, economic, cultural and moral ideologies of Americans. This small minority of writers saw their function as contributing to the “creation of an American Nationality” (Elson, 1964, p.2). The goals of nineteenth century public schools were to “train citizens in character and proper principles;” thus, the textbook remained at the center of public schooling (Elson, 1964, p.1).

All curriculum must have a theory to support its method. In the 1830s and 1840s, these newly reformed textbooks were based on the Swiss educational reformer Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi’s (1746-1827) theory of child-centered pedagogy. Perkinson (1985) argues that Pestalozzi’s theory translated into the curriculum in the form of improved graphics and type faces, the inclusion of interesting material, ordered learning from the easiest to the more complex,
and from the specific to the general. Textbooks incorporated progressive learning steps. This precipitated market expansion because there were textbooks to meet the needs of children based on learning levels.

Graded textbooks, made possible and necessary the following policies, practices and procedures: promotion and demotion, tests and examinations, marks and grades, regular attendance, and the classification of children as average, below average, above average, as well as backward and defective. Without graded textbooks, there could be no graded schools and therefore, no educational bureaucracy. (Perkinson, 1985, p. xiii)

By the 1840s and 1850s, textbook publishing was big business. Publishers frequently advertised their catalog of books in textbooks (Nietz, 1961; Perkinson, 1985). Through the publishing ingenuity of W. B. Smith, The McGuffey Readers sold over 122,000,000 copies. By the end of the Civil War, textbook publishing was monopolized by 5 or 6 companies. During these times, textbooks were purchased by families for use by their children. If parents moved to another area, they had to purchase new textbooks if their other texts were not in use. By the end of the nineteenth century, free textbooks would be provided to all students.

Curriculums & Texts Utilized In 1866

In the post Civil War South, some black elementary, Normal and collegiate schools adopted the New England classical liberal curriculum. This curriculum emulated the curricula used in the North. Elementary school children, in the South, received instruction in spelling, reading, writing, grammar, diction, history, geography, music and arithmetic (Anderson, 1988; Butchart, 1980).

Jacqueline Jones (1980) documents the schooling of Georgia blacks during 1865-1873. She discusses the classroom of Mary K. Colburn, who chose to divide her class according to their reading ability. Beginning students
would learn their alphabets and then move into reading the *National Primer* (a standard New England textbook). Then students moved through similar classical liberal curriculum materials such as *the Pictorial Primer*, the *Sander's Speller* and the *First National Reader*. Other school books (*McGuffey’s Reader, Webster's Dictionary and Davis' Primary Arithmetic*) utilized in the classrooms of Georgia blacks conveyed messages about patriotism, thrift, temperance, piety and the goodness of manual labor. Jones' (1980) research found that in Georgia northern white teachers became so concerned about the poor environmental conditions (e.g., poorly heated and lighted rooms located in church basements and missions) that they failed to ascertain the appropriateness of the curriculum for black students. These northern teachers considered moral instruction more important than academic instruction; they became preoccupied with eradicating habits of slavery and instilling habits of moral conscience. This exhibited itself in the curriculum when northern teachers read stories about "good children who loved God and obeyed their parents," geography lessons that "contrasted the energetic North with the lazy South" and songs of patriotism (Jones, 1980, p. 122). The Northern teacher sought to instill concepts of right and wrong, inculcate self discipline and promote the love of manual labor; they believed this curriculum would help freed blacks in their transition from enslavement to emancipation.

Normal schools, that specialized in training teachers, included a curriculum that consisted of the fundamentals of elementary instruction, pedagogy, discipline and subject areas such as map drawing, geometry, algebra, Latin, Greek, orthography, and physiology (Anderson, 1988; Butchart, 1980).
College curricula leading to the Bachelors of Arts varied from college to college; however, it contained some of the classical courses such as mathematics, philosophy, science, Greek, and Latin (Anderson, 1988). This classical curriculum was viewed by some black leaders as "the best intellectual traditions of their era and the best means to understanding their own historical development and sociological uniqueness" (Anderson, 1988, p. 29).

Some of the texts utilized by freedmen's schools were McGuffey's Reader, Webster's Speller, and Greenleaf's Arithmetic; these were the same texts used by white students (Butchart, 1980). Butchart (1980) notes that the education of freed blacks did not attract major publishers because it was not a "large field" (p.136). However, maybe the detraction was not publication numbers but that freed blacks could not buy these texts, and the education of freed blacks was protested by many whites.

The American Tract Society (ATS), a group of white Congregationalists (Butchart, 1980), organized in 1814. Their goal was to provide a good cheap religious tract that could be distributed at no charge to people in their communities. Over the years, they published a Christian almanac for families, a tract magazine, a children's periodical, and volumes of diverse Christian materials. The Boston and New York Wings of ATS also published a series of instructional materials exclusively for freed blacks and for use in freedmen's schools (American Tract Society, 1855). This was a set of readers, primers and spellers modeled after mainstream texts; they included: The Freedmen's First Reader, The Freedmen's Second Reader, The Freedmen's Third Reader, The Freedmen's Primer, The Lincoln Primer and The Freedmen's Spelling Book. The primers and readers had pictures and stories aimed at children's experiences and imagination but the bulk of the material spoke to the adult
(Butchart, 1990). Anderson (1988) contends that these books promoted racial and economic subjugation by advocating social values that accepted these conditions. He adds that blacks were portrayed in subordinate roles and as mentally and morally inferior. According to Butchart (1990), there was dissension about the instructional materials produced for Freedmen and those of whites. White people questioned why Freedmen needed separate instructional materials; they believed that a separate curriculum would perpetuate caste distinctions. The American Tract Society ignored the public's cries and continued its publications and their abolitionist mission. The use of texts like the Freedmen's Reader series was criticized (by the American Freedmen's Union Commission) because these readers supported the notion of a "special education" for blacks (Butchart, 1980).

Southern American Missionary Association schools utilized ATS publications for Freedmen in addition to the following mainstream texts: Fetter's Primary Arithmetic, Wilson's Primary Speller, Goodrich's Pictorial History of the United States, McGuffey's Reader, Greenleaf's Arithmetic, Montieth's United States History and Webster's Speller. In addition to these standard texts, teachers instructed blacks in their responsibilities to their country, family, society, and God. Many school subjects included lessons in honesty, thrift, punctuality and religion.

In January 1864, ATS commenced publication of The Freedman. According to Morris (1980), the periodical was given freely to former enslaved blacks or sold annually for 25 cents. He adds that this document, like The Freedman's Torchlight, was to address the thirst of blacks who desired to read magazines and newspapers. The Freedman sought to give adult blacks their primary readers, lessons in geography, reading, handwriting, history,
spelling, morality, temptation, prayer, the Bible, personal demeanor, sharing, temperance, domesticity and discipline (Butchart, 1980; Morris, 1980). The children portrayed were almost always white, good and pious. *The Freedman* was also supplied to black children in freedmen's schools (Butchart, 1980). Butchart (1990) viewed the publication of *The Freedman's Torchlight* after *The Freedman* to be a competitive move by the African Civilization Society (ACS). On the other hand, the move to create a black instructional newspaper could have been to counter the racial subjugation prevalent in mainstream white presses.

By 1880, the idea of universal schooling was halted by white southerners; they objected to a universal education for whites and blacks. According to Anderson (1988), elite Southern whites fought for a special education for blacks that could not be derived from the classical liberal curriculum. The content of this special education curriculum focused on manual labor and was already being developed by Samuel Armstrong at the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in Hampton, Virginia (Anderson, 1988). In the South, the movement towards a higher education in the classical liberal curriculum was suppressed by influential people who could only view black folks working with their hands on the land.

The next section examines the history behind the designers of *The Freedman's Torchlight*. In particular, who were these people and what were their thoughts about educating freed blacks.

The Designers Of *The Freedman's Torchlight*

*The Freedman's Torchlight* was published by the African Civilization Society (ACS) “an organization officered and managed entirely by colored men” (*The Freedman's Torchlight*, 1866, p. 2). The ACS was founded in 1858
with the goal of encouraging the settlement of black missionaries in Africa. During the Civil War 1861 to 1865, ACS reconstituted itself as a Freedmen's aid society. The members of the organization consisted of black ministers from churches of varied denominations (African Methodist, Episcopal, Congregational, Presbyterian, Baptist and Methodist). Of their members, three participated editorially in the production of *The Freedman's Torchlight*. Rufus L. Perry was the editor and Amos N. Freeman and Henry M. Wilson, the associate editors. Perry was educated for the ministry at Kalamazoo Theological Seminary in Michigan; he served as a pastor at several Baptist churches in various states. Freeman was a pastor of a Presbyterian church in New York. Wilson and Freeman were active participants in the ante-bellum National Negro Convention movement (Morris, 1980). The goals of ACS were self help and pride in one's race (Morris, 1981; Richardson, 1986).

According to Morris (1981), ACS's philosophy of self help emanated from the National Negro Convention movement. This was particularly evident in a transcript of the 1853 National Negro Convention held in Rochester, New York. The National Negro Convention took on a nationalistic point of view in promoting Negro self-help in the areas of business, employment, education, and publishing. During this convention, committee members on social relations delivered a report advocating that Northern blacks develop their own educational policy. They stated:

> We are more than persuaded...that the force of circumstances compels the regulation of schools by us to supply a deficiency produced by our condition; that it should be our aid to direct instructors, regulate books and libraries; in fine, the whole process to meet entirely our particular exigencies. (cited in Morris, 1981, p. 118)

Morris (1981) infers that these contentions among others contributed to the development and philosophies of the ACS. He argues that the content
emphasized in *The Freedman's Torchlight*, like morality, order, middle-class values and forgiveness, were attributes that Freedmen already possessed. Morris (1981) further contends that the emphasis on this content was an effort to maintain a stable social environment in the post Civil War era and that the Freedmen's education paralleled that of Northern public schools in its curricula and instructional materials. The goal of this education, states Morris (1981), was in "preparation for citizenship and a drastically altered place in society" (p. 212). This was a time where teachers, writers, and designers like ACS addressed the needs of blacks. Educating freed blacks was the beginning of a far reaching educational plan.

The next section looks at the design of TFT focusing specifically on the text and context analysis. This detailed analysis reveals the educational content and the design of TFT.

**The Product And Its Design**

*The Freedman's Torchlight* was the earliest educational periodical produced by and for blacks (Bullock, P.L., 1971); it was both a newspaper and a textbook (Morris, 1980). This newspaper/textbook was a four page monthly with a subscription price of 50 cents per year -- double the price of their rival magazine *The Freedman* (Morris, 1980). *The Freedman's Torchlight* was published once a month by the African Civilization Society in their Brooklyn, New York office (*The Freedman's Torchlight*, 1866). Unfortunately, archivists and researchers have only found one issue in existence --Volume 1 No. 1 (Bullock, P.L., 1971; Morris, 1980).

The evidence to support *The Freedman's Torchlight* as an instructional tool can be found in the document itself. The designers clearly state their objectives for Freedmen. It states that *The Freedman's Torchlight* was...
...devoted to the temporal and spiritual interests of the Freedmen and adapted to their present need of instruction in regard to simple truths and principles relating to their life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. It will carry to and teach them the simplest elementary principles of the English language; of moral science and political ethics; and guide them in their mental, moral, social and political duties.

It contains the alphabet, the most simple combinations of the vowels and consonants, spelling lessons of simple words that are afterwards formed into reading lessons, and such reading matters as directly tends to benefit the classes for whom it is intended. The Torchlight will be found suitable for beginners in day schools and families of the...Sabbath schools all over the country. It has two columns reserved as "Rolls of Honor" -- one for males and one for females--in which the name of the best scholar in behavior and scholarship in every day and Sabbath school North and South will be registered and published as the names may be sent by the different teachers and superintendents.

This doubtless will be a stimulus to schools and awaken an interest and foster a rectitude that will prove a durable blessing. (The Freedman's Torchlight, 1866, p. 2)

The designers of TFT designed this newspaper/textbook to meet the immediate needs of Freedmen -- that of enculturation. This enculturation would be from a black perspective incorporating all that was good for Freedmen's survival in this "new" world of freedom. The designers thought Freedmen needed spiritual guidance. Freedmen needed to be told the truth and principles about what Freedom meant in relation to their ability to fulfill the American dream of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The designers academic goals were to instruct Freedmen in "elementary principles of the English language"-- to include mastery of the alphabet, phonics and reading words in isolation and then in context. This newspaper/textbook could be used in any classroom where Freedmen were found. The designers sought distribution as instructional material to Freedmen's schools; they desired a national distribution of TFT. They formatted TFT to include the accomplishments of scholars; students were called scholars. Scholarship was praised. This feature would hopefully excite others to become involved in the newspaper and send in names of their scholars. The designer's moral goals
were to provide instruction in the science of morality and the ethics of politics. This would provide Freedmen with a foundation of the ideologies of the dominant society and instruct Freedmen to accept these ideologies if they were to survive. *The Freedman's Torchlight* would guide Freedmen throughout their life's work with mental, moral, social and political support. It was to instruct them in all aspects of their life.

**Text Analysis**

The text analysis examines the areas of genre, framing, omission and backgrounding, foregrounding and visual representations. This inquiry provides an overview of the design of *The Freedmen's Torchlight*; it is a broad or general analysis based on easily accessible information in the text.

**Genre**

Huckin (1995) asserts that genres represent “text types” and these text types “manifest a characteristic set of formal features serving a characteristic purpose (p. 98).” The characteristic features of TFT visually represent the newspaper genre in its headings and four column format. For example, some of the headlines read: *A Colored Baptist Paper Wanted, Home Missionary and Educational Work and A grand baptising occasion*. However, a closer analysis of the headings reveals that this newspaper also contains content that may be found in an elementary curriculum. For example, some headings read: *Alphabets, Spelling and Reading Lessons, Lesson No. 1*, etc.

The genre of this document has been labeled as a newspaper/textbook by Morris (1980). Newspapers represent the news in a top down structure where the most important articles appear first to the least important (vanDijk, 1988). However, this is not the case with TFT. This paper is divided into sections with each section representing a different idea or topic.
The Freedman's Torchlight appears to represent the layout of its text type (i.e., newspaper); however, its content differs from traditional newspapers. Thereby, this document broadens the concept of traditional newspapers and the content in them. In 1866, this genre served its purpose of providing news and an elementary curriculum in the most inexpensive and fastest distribution format possible.

**Framing**

Another aspect of text production is what Huckin's (1995) terms framing. Framing means how the content of the text is presented. The presentation of the content could have an angle or a slant. The slant of TFT was its status as a newspaper/textbook that was written by and for black people. Throughout this document ACS pointed out that they were black people who were devoted to improving the education and future of Freedmen. On page 2 column 1, in the section entitled The African Civilization Society, they write “This society is officered and managed entirely by colored men...,” and on page 3 in An Appeal they open with, “The African Civilization Society is an organization of pious and educated Colored people who believe, and always have believed, that the black man of education can best instruct, direct and elevate his race.” This frame set TFT apart from other newspapers and instructional materials.

**Omission And Backgrounding**

Given the brevity of this newspaper/textbook, undoubtedly many topics and issues were omitted. Therefore, I will examine omission as the best form of backgrounding (Huckin, 1995), because what lays in the background is what has been intentionally or unintentionally omitted.
Considering the information in TFT, what was omitted or what laid in the background of this document were the true feelings or motives of the designers (editors). Were they angry about the plight of Freedmen? Were they frustrated about their inability to touch the lives of more Freedmen? Did they feel that TFT was a sufficient tool to educate Freedmen? The treatment of African Americans during slavery and the Civil War was an atrocity in history and in the lives of these people. The designers of TFT, however, espoused benevolence and morality as opposed to retaliation. For example the titles of some of the articles and materials read: *The Way to be Happy, Amusements and Religion, The Amiable Little Girl and Good Boy, Maxims to Guide a Young Man, and Hitherto the Lord Hath Helped Us.*

**Foregrounding**

Foregrounding means to emphasize specific concepts and de-emphasize other concepts. In particular, those things in the foreground may receive textual distinction (Huckin, 1995). In TFT, the concepts emphasized were the elementary curriculum. These instructional lessons were placed on the first, third and fourth pages. The academic lessons were the first items presented to the reader, and they were emphasized in a variety of typefaces (bold, script, print) and sizes (14 pts. or larger). The majority of these lessons appeared on the front and back pages of the newspaper/textbook. This is an important layout strategy since the front and back pages may be read first before opening a newspaper. This may also speak to the designers' goals of emphasizing this document as first an instructional paper and second a newspaper. The designers placed newsworthy articles on the interior pages and used the rest as fillers on the fourth page. The strategic placement of articles was not necessarily to de-emphasize news as unimportant but to

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emphasize that being able to read the news was more important than reporting it.

**Visual Representations**

Visual representations assist in the framing of text (Huckin, 1995). In the context of this newspaper/textbook format, graphics and written text collectively form the layout of the newspaper (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996). For example, *The Freedman’s Torchlight’s* first page carries its name in capital bold letters. In the middle of the words Freedman’s and Torchlight is the Great Seal of the United States. An open winged eagle sits in the middle of the seal. A flag of the United States in the rear and below on a strip of ribbon reads *E Pluribus Unum* meaning *Out of Many, One*. This symbol was selected by Benjamin Franklin, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson on the fourth of July 1776. This motto was to represent the union of the 13 original states. A version of the Great Seal is also printed on the back of U.S. currency. For the designers of TFT, the Great Seal may have symbolized freedom of mind and body and citizenship.

An example of how the visual qualities of the written text assist in the framing of the text is exemplified in the textbook sections of TFT. The textbook sections of the newspaper are interspersed throughout the paper, but as already noted, the majority is displayed on the front and back pages. The designers used a variety of type sizes to emphasize a word or letter. For example, on the front page, the capital letters of the alphabet are in large typeface and dark bold print. The lowercase letters are in a smaller bold print. The letters of the alphabet are also written in script below the printed version. I believe that the variation in print would prepare freed blacks to read and write in print and script. Below the alphabet written in script are phonetic
pronunciations in a large bolder typeface (i.e., ba, be, bi, bo, bu, by). The spelling and reading lessons are in the same typeface as the rest of the document. The only other section written in a script typeface is a prayer entitled Looking to God. Italics were frequently used to emphasize a word or phrase. Throughout the document, headings and text are used in a combination of lower and upper case letters.

The visual representations in this document took on the form of written text and graphics. It is evident that visual representations aided in emphasizing what the designers thought were important and in this case it was the elementary curriculum.

**Context Analysis**

The last stage in approaching the text involves analyzing the context, on a micro level, to identify the social, political (vanDijk, 1993), cultural, or economic occurrences within the text. This section parallels macro issues as represented in society with micro issues as represented in the context of the instructional materials.

As a microcosm of the community, TFT is thereby a reflection of the community and can be viewed as a living document of 1866. By living document, I mean that you can see, hear, and feel, the events evident in this document as if they were happening before your eyes, heard as a story, or felt as an emotion. Through TFT, the designers and their perceptions of reality are relived.

In the next sections Designers For The People and The Sociopolitical & Economic Occurrences In The Text, the context tells the story of how the designers of TFT viewed freedom differently than the government or the American Tract Society. The government saw freedom as an opportunity to
once again control the behavior, education and future of black people; they would begin with the Freedmen's Bureau and institute laws and policies to continue their discrimination practices. The American Tract Society saw freedom as an opportunity to educate freed blacks with religious values and morals. However, the designers of TFT saw freedom as an opportunity to educate freed blacks their way. The knowledge they sought to teach was spoon fed whereas the knowledge taught by the Black Codes was forced. The designers of TFT sought to work on the whole person through messages of self-elevation whereas The Freedmen's Bureau's work toward self-elevation became a crippling version of subjugation.

**Designers For The People**

*The Freedman's Torchlight* is an example of a product produced by a group of people who chose to support black people and black progress. It exemplifies how a community of people gathered their resources and formed their own world within the world. Thereby, this document sought to construct a community of designers and learners by advocating the tools to accomplish those goals. The ACS believed themselves to be:

...an organization of pious and educated Colored people who believe, and always have believed, that the black man of education can best instruct, direct and elevate his race. We have come together in an organized and incorporated body, commenced the work of self-elevation and are now successfully carrying on the work of education among the Freed people of the South. The history of civilization testifies that the most homogeneous instrumentalities are the most effectual in accelerating a people's elevation. The parent is the best person to lead and teach his own child, and fit it for the duties and responsibilities of mature age; and if the child be orphan, it is generally conceded that the nearest relative is the fittest guardian. This rule holds good when applied to races. Hence we have concluded that the black man is the better leader and teacher among his own people than the white man; that while we can do this work just as well, we can do it under fewer disadvantages and far less expense than he. We already have several flourishing schools in the South, taught by efficient
Colored teachers and doing incalculable good.... (The Freedman's Torchlight, 1866, p. 3)

The designers believed that since they were educated and godly black men they were the better people to "instruct, direct and elevate" their people. They concluded that based on their education and religious status that they could best provide academic and religious content that was "good" for Freedmen. The black elite should assist in the education of the black masses. ACS believed that they as black people could best nurture Freedmen based solely on their racial and cultural identification. They gathered, in what we now call a think tank, to brainstorm the best way to educate and support the needs of Freedmen. They knew that the future of their people, their existence, relied on the elevation of nearly 4 million souls. If black people were to gain in social, political, and economic status they needed leaders who had their interests at heart. ACS foresaw the future and wanted to guide the direction of Freedmen. They believed that their racial and cultural identification assisted in the transference of knowledge and that this racial identification assisted in self-elevation, self-identification and ultimately self-empowerment.

This concept of tying one's racial and cultural heritage to one's learning was and is still an innovative instructional strategy. One's blood relative, ACS hypothesized, could best prepare a black child for a white world. A black child can best learn about his identity, culture, race and how his people are viewed in the American society from one of his own. This environmental race based thinking is good for all races, said ACS. Therefore, they concluded that the black man, versus the white man, can best lead and teach their own people. The black man can educate his people with equal skill, less money, and offer a positive enculturation. ACS organized and financed their own schools, hired teachers and purchased supplies as proof of their
convictions. They demonstrated to themselves and others that they were active participants in the education of freed blacks. *The Freedman’s Torchlight* is a living document of their efforts as designers and participants in the education of freed blacks.

**The Sociopolitical And Economic Occurrences In TFT**

*The Freedman’s Torchlight*, a historical record of the sociopolitical and economic occurrences of 1866, promoted the acquisition of knowledge and empowerment through academic lessons, sociopolitical actions, financial stability, and religious instruction. These areas tie into the ultimate goal of freed blacks—Freedom. Moreover, they reveal how the context is mediated by macro sociopolitical and economic occurrences.

**Academic lessons.** The context of the academic lessons reveals a curriculum contrary to that produced in Freedmen’s schools, in that the Freedmen’s school curriculum contained content that ridiculed blacks. The academic lessons with the Christian slant offered its readers self empowerment, elevation and identification. The curriculum was not vocational or agricultural thereby implying that freed blacks should just seek manual labor positions. The designers of TFT offered a classical elementary curriculum conducive to progressing forward in this line of study.

*The Freedman’s Torchlight* was an instructional tool whose content sought to uplift Freedmen. The lessons covered in TFT included the following subject areas: alphabets, handwriting, phonics, spelling, sentence structure, reading, Christianity (i.e., man, God, Adam, Eve, the bible), and the elementary curriculum (i.e., arithmetic, geography, history, grammar [nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, interjections, syntax, prosody], hours, days, weeks, months, land and water, The United States,
President's of the United States, orthography, vowels, consonants, words, and etymology,). *The Freedman's Torchlight* also contained a set of questions for self assessment of the materials in this issue (e.g., "How many letters does the English alphabet contain and what are they? What is Geography? How many Presidents of the United States have we had? Name their order of service. How many states are in the Union?" (p. 3)). In TFT, Freedmen had access to the basics of the elementary school curriculum. Mastering this curriculum could give Freedmen the reading and writing basics to daily survival.

Embodied in the spelling and reading lessons #3, 4 and 5 are ACS's political agenda of self elevation. In spelling lesson #3, the words are listed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>free</th>
<th>life</th>
<th>live</th>
<th>lives</th>
<th>took</th>
<th>love</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>love</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>now</td>
<td>will</td>
<td>thank</td>
<td>God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>work</td>
<td>hard</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>house</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>right</td>
<td>learn</td>
<td>land</td>
<td>made</td>
<td>free</td>
<td>slaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stand</td>
<td>God</td>
<td>should</td>
<td>ought</td>
<td>serve</td>
<td>read</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stand</td>
<td>union</td>
<td>ever</td>
<td>now</td>
<td>and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(*The Freedman's Torchlight, 1866, Lesson 3, p. 1*)

These words support ACS's contentions and reaffirms the life that Freedmen will finally embrace, which was denied under slavery. "Now" Freedmen are "free" to "live," "love," "read," "work," and "serve" themselves. "Thank" "God." By learning these words, the learner could begin to read sentences, paragraphs, and eventually pages of text. The previous example demonstrates the instructional strategy of learning a word in isolation; the next examples demonstrate reading in context. The designer's Christian ideologies for freed blacks are also included in the text:

*I am free and well. I will love God and thank him for it. and I must work hard and be good and get me a house and lot. (The Freedman's Torchlight, 1866, Lesson 4, p.1)*

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God made all men free. Then we should not be slaves to sin nor man. But we ought to love God and serve him. We should learn to read and write and be good. We will stand up for the Union, now and for ever. (The Freedman's Torchlight, 1866, Lesson 5, p.1)

These sentences are designed to teach Freedmen to read, but they also have many underlying implications. Freedmen could interpret these words to mean that they should utilize their new found freedom by taking advantage of the opportunities before them. Their freedom and health are all that was needed. Freedmen must love God and thank him for their many blessings (freedom, health, life). Freedmen must behave, find industry (work), and labor hard in order to someday own land and a home; and eventually Freedmen will achieve the American dream of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. These ideas challenge those laws of subjugation implemented under the Black Codes.

God sees no difference in men; we are all equal in his eyes. God has always loved and supported Freedmen, and Freedmen should return God's love. Freedmen were never meant to be captives of man nor of sin. This was not God's will. We must again love and serve God, educate ourselves, and control our behavior. God will always be with us as we face our freedom. The last sentence, "we will stand up for the union, now and forever" indicates the support that freedman should have for the Union. The Union that fought for their freedom.

The use of repetition of ideas and words is a basic pedagogical strategy and frequents some instructional materials. Continued repetition helps people remember and memorization strategies are basic to an elementary education. The designers saw repetition as an instructional strategy conducive to the medium available (i.e., a newspaper).
Throughout the document, the designers' sociopolitical ideologies are espoused under the cloak of Christianity -- "If God be for us who can be against us."

**Sociopolitical actions.** The sociopolitical actions exhibited in the text address not only ACS's Christian and self-empowering agenda, but they paint a picture of post Civil War emancipation as viewed by the government and freed blacks. The elusiveness of freedom is apparent as these groups, the government, ACS, and free blacks, search to comprehend this thing called freedom. For the government, it meant continued subjugation through a new set of laws—the Black Codes, and individual states implemented their own institutionalized discrimination practices. For Freedmen, freedom meant imprisonment under a similar system of subjugation as that implemented during slavery. ACS, however, saw freedom as an opportunity for self-elevation, self-identification and self-empowerment. The text reveals ACS's goals for Freedmen included changing individuals' mindset; emancipation of the mind is where they would begin. However, it must be understood that ACS saw conforming versus resisting (Fordham, 1996) the laws of the dominant culture to benefit freed blacks.

For example, ACS hoped to influence freed blacks into accepting the messages exhibited in the poem entitled “The way to be happy” (*The Freedman's Torchlight*, p.3):

1. How pleasant it is, at the close of the day;
2. No follies to have to repent;
3. But reflect on the past and be able to say,
4. That my time has been properly spent.
5. When I have done all my business with patience and care,
6. And been good, and obliging and kind,
7. I lie on my pillow and sleep away there,
8. With a happy and satisfied mind,
9. But instead of all this, when it must be confess'd,
10. That I careless and idle have been,
I lie down as usual, and go to my rest,
But feel discontented within.
Now, as I don’t like all the trouble I’ve had,
In future, I’ll try to prevent it;
Since I never am naughty, without being sad,
Nor good, without being contented

In this poem, lines 1 and 2 support the idea of behaving well so that you do not have to repent, probably to God, for misbehaving. If you have a good day you can say that your day went well (lines 3 and 4), that you were tolerant and did not behave poorly. Freedmen must be well behaved and good.

In line 7, the poem assumes that good behavior will yield a clear conscience and a restful sleep. Lines 1-8 imply that “The way to be happy” is to ignore the injustices of the day or in society. However, lines 9 through 12 reveal the essence of the poem. It reads: “But instead of all this, when it must be confess’d, That I careless and idle have been, I lie down as usual, and go to my rest, But feel discontented within.” The truth is that the characters (freed blacks) do not care about being “good;” this is a behavior forced upon them their whole lives. To be good was not an option; it was legally mandated by the Black Codes and its predecessor the slave codes. Unlawful behavior would result in jail or a fine as defined by the Black Codes in individual states. Although the Black Codes were legally repealed, discrimination continued, and Black Codes were eventually replaced by Jim Crow laws.

The character does not know what to do, and when he rests, he is terribly unhappy inside. His unhappiness is hidden as he works in the day, and because he doesn’t like trouble he won’t make trouble about the injustices before him. In fact, he will try to avoid all trouble (lines 13 and 14). In lines 15 and 16, “Since I never am naughty, without being sad, Nor good, without being contented,” the character realizes that the best way to be happy is to continue
living a conforming life. You will not challenge the dominant culture or there will be consequences (i.e., jailed, sued or fined).

This poem indicates that ACS and freed blacks were bound by law but mostly by their own psychological limitations of what freedom meant. Although freedom of body had been provisionally granted, freedom of mind would take many Roads To Travel.

In this second example of the sociopolitical actions evident in the text, ACS espouses their opinions about the long awaited emancipation of their brethren in the Address to our Southern Brethren. This address is a call to action; it is a call for survival. It read as follows:

Brethren awake! The Sun of life is up and the sky is lit up and brilliant with its brightness and glory. The crack of the slave driver's whip and the sound of the day break horn are heard no more. But hark; the voice of Duty calls you. It says, arise! to work!
Not for a master without pay; but for yourselves and your families.

Duty says, get up! dress, and wash, and pray; order your children to prepare for school, and proceed to work.

When we were slaves we were made to work for others; but now that the God of Israel has given us freedom—destroyed the whip, broken the handcuff, locked the jaws of the bloodhound, and commanded us to go and do for ourselves; we must not be idle.

The idle, worthless freeman is worse in the sight of God and has less sympathy from an enlightened and Christian public, than an industrious and well-meaning slave.

The meaning of freedom is to work for self; to enjoy the fruits of one's own labor.

God is for us. Then let us be for God, ourselves and our country. Inasmuch as we have spent our best days working for others it is now necessary for us to work the harder for ourselves.

We could not attend school in our youthful days, and now we cannot spare a day for school. Yet we must learn how to read and write and to understand figures.

Therefore we must work during the day and go to school at night. Let us resolve and say by the help of God. I will and then the work will be half done. We will guide you in the dark hours of night by the Torchlight; and during the day the Torchlight shall drive away the mental and moral darkness of your children. (The Freedman's Torchlight, 1866, p.2)
This address demonstrates how this living document personifies itself through the context. "Brethren awake" means brother and sisters awaken from the eternal darkness of your subjugation and your ancestors. "The Sun of life is up" visually evokes the dawning of a new day, a new era, for blacks in white America. Freedmen can wake up to the dawning of their day — not the days of others. Freedmen can wake up to the hope of a new and better future; but I am sure Freedmen wondered what this future entailed. The words, "the crack of the slave driver’s whip" rings in my ears as I am sure it rang in the ears of the readers. I can hear the "break horn" and see the slouched images of dark brethren sauntering slowly out of the fields. They move slowly with colored rags tied around their heads and baskets of their labor in their arms. "But hark, the voice of duty calls you" gives the feeling of hope where men, women and children can stand straight and proud. This call to action asks Freedmen to reach deep inside themselves and bring up the strength of JOB (a character from the bible). Freedmen, women, and children must start a new life by working for themselves, educating themselves, and supporting themselves. Freedom does not mean that the Freedmen’s work is over, but that it is just beginning. Since "God is for us" then the Freedmen has nothing to fear because "who can be against us" (Romans 8:31). "Freedom—destroyed the whip, (the) broken handcuff, (and) the locked jaws of the bloodhound." Can you picture freedom, like Freedmen, where a whip that is being raised to strike the bare back of a black boy disappears from white master's hand, but the crack of the whip rings forever in your ears? Picture a pair of silver "broken handcuffs" falling from the wrists of a shirtless burly charcoal black boy in barefoot. Picture the “locked jaws of a (salivating) bloodhound” unable to devour a sweaty chocolate colored wide eyed boy. Was this what freedom looked
like? Was this what freedom sounded like? Was this what freedom felt like?
What was freedom? The address states, "we must not be idle." The perception of
time is altered for Freedmen. Where time once stood still now it is propelled
forward. Freedmen must rush and act. They must rush and educate themselves
in academics, work, and daily survival--"then the work will be half done."
Freedmen must begin to catch up on what they have lost; although 250 years
could never be recovered. The Torchlight symbolized a guiding light that
Freedmen could follow out their mental, physical, and moral bondage.

The ACS realized the mysterious term called freedom was tied to a
sociopolitical structure far greater than any black man, woman or child. They
knew that for some blacks freedom meant the opportunity "to work for self."
Other Freedmen were still bound by forced labor contracts, by their own
enslaved thoughts, and by masters who continued to enslave blacks despite
emancipation (Litwack, 1979). The ACS understood that in some Southern cities
non-working blacks were labeled vagrants and jailed; so all Freedmen must
work for themselves. They knew that the sociopolitical structure of society had
its own warped perception of freedom and that Freedmen must ultimately
define the fate of their emancipation.

**Financial stability.** The text revealed the designer's financial plan; it
illustrated how they were ill prepared and under financed for taking on this
publication. ACS promoted the idea of economic stability; however in their
first issue they were already financially unstable. Although ACS's plan was
well intentioned, they did not examine the factors that impinge on production,
distribution, and consumption of their product. *The Freedman's Torchlight* was
financially doomed from the start.
Throughout TFT, the designers provide instances of economic progress. This progress is demonstrated through the possession of land, property (i.e., schools) and employment. For example, a column is devoted to documenting Home Missionary and Educational Work. Listed is the American Home Missionary Society whose yearly report is summarized in terms of church business and church service. The church business accounted for the number of missionaries and teachers employed, children in Sabbath schools, scholars in day schools, and additional parishioners. The service that the church provided to the community included: service sermons, family visits, prayer and conference meetings, baptisms, and the building of homes. The American Missionary Association reported their educational progress in terms of the number of teachers and preachers employed and the number of pupils instructed. The ACS listed their accomplishments including the number of colored persons employed, scholars in day schools, scholars in Sabbath school, bibles and testaments distributed and copies made of other books. The American Freedmen’s Union Commission and Reverend J. W. Alvord reported on the number of teachers employed, schools in operation and pupils served. The ACS believed that this work exemplified the progress of Freedmen through the guidance of God. They write the following:

Now let preacher and people and teacher and pupil, thank God for what has been accomplished in this important field of labor and still preach, pray and give and teach and study with an eye single to the glory of God, and the blessings that must result in such labor, gifts and study. (p. 2)

By reporting ACS’s financial status, the designers may have hoped to illustrate to Freedmen that economic progress was possible. Schools were built to educate Freedmen. Teachers were hired. Freedmen could hopefully feel empowered to move forward along this same road or provide a path for their
children. Moreover, the list of missionary support documents the help of benevolent whites in educating, feeding and clothing Freedmen.

Another financial factor that must be pointed out was ACS's lack of long term financial support. In TFT, there were notices about their financial situation. The first section lists the cost of the newspaper, as this is typical of most newspapers. However, they add "payment always in advance." In the section of TFT entitled, An Appeal, ACS appeals to its readers knowing that without funding they can not sustain their valiant efforts to help Freedmen become self-empowered and academically educated. "We ourselves must elevate our own race to the status of self-reliance, the fundamental element of which is Education" (p.3). The appeal further reads as follows:

Of whatever else we may be ignorant and in whatever else we may be 'inferior' as Negroes, we claim with due modesty to be learned and 'superior' in a knowledge of the wants of our own race; and the fittest persons to have the management as far as possible of interests carried on for our temporal prosperity. We have brain sufficient for the management of such interests, but the pecuniary means we have not, and in order to be aided in this respect we make and send forth this appeal. We send it to all who desire to see us (though physically dissimilar as we are) ...well fitted intellectually, as we are by our well tested loyalty to be useful citizens of the United States. The fitness we require is a mechanical and mercantile education, as well as that afforded by our schools. This we are giving to all under our immediate instruction, on a large practical scale; which indeed is a new page in the history of our race in America (The Freedman's Torchlight, 1866, p. 3)

Several points are apparent from this appeal. First ACS, plays into the dominant society stereotyped assumption that the black man is inferior (in all ways). Given this assumption, they acknowledge their presumed inferiority and then affirm that despite their shortcomings they know what is best for their race. The designers saw themselves as leaders given their education, status as free northern men, and their means to publish. They felt they had the expertise to guide freed blacks and needed to guide them for their

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"temporal prosperity" (*The Freedman's Torchlight*, 1866, p. 3). However, financially they did not have the wherewithal. The designers' message went out to all who read their paper -- blacks and whites. ACS argued that blacks were "fitted intellectually" and loyal to the United States. The monies they needed to sustain themselves would run their educational enterprises and provide industrial and vocational training to others. (This appeal addressed industrial and vocational training; however, I believe ACS sought a classical curriculum for some if not all freed blacks, because it matched the curriculum taught to elite groups of whites). In the last line, ACS states "this..." (meaning TFT) "...we are giving to all under our immediate instruction, on a large practical scale." This statement assured benefactors that Freedmen would be the readers of this text and that financial support would aid freed black's education and continued emancipation. Moreover, ACS's desire for financial support stems from their awareness that some people (white and black) did not want desegregated schools, and that some white people preferred that blacks not be educated at all or have their own schools in which to do so. Thereby blacks and whites who supported segregation might also support ACS's financial endeavors.

**Religious instruction.** The text consistently made references to the tenets of Christianity and encouraged freed blacks to have faith. This repetitious strategy may have been effective for Freedmen who had lost hope in God, society and themselves.

*The Freedman's Torchlight's* many religious messages suggest that ACS thought that Freedmen needed more than hope to get them through this transitional period. They needed faith in a power much greater than man; they needed a God. In the instructional lessons, there were prayers and
definitions of God. Throughout the document, God was utilized as a guiding force that could help Freedmen in every aspect of their lives. ACS espoused the belief that through the Christian faith all was possible.

**Summary**

I began with the quote, "If God be for us who can be against us" Romans 8:31. This verse represents the designers' Christian ideologies and their religious goal of acquiring believers in Christianity by advocating an instructional slant. Although their plan seemed self-serving, I believe they thought they could save lives and souls through their messages.

The sociopolitical and economic climate of 1866 fostered the production of *The Freedman's Torchlight*. The Thirteenth Amendment brought forth the need for the Freedman's Bureau that was immediately followed by the Black Codes; thereby continuing to subjugate black people. *The Freedman's Torchlight* sought to guide freed blacks who came in contact with their newspaper/textbook. Distribution was of course minimal but like the "grapevine telegraph" knowledge would domino through the African American community until everyone knew about reading and writing. *The Freedman's Torchlight* assisted in sparking the fire of knowledge through men, women, and children thereby emancipating information—setting loose the secrets to written literacy.

*The Freedman's Torchlight* is a microcosm of the sociopolitical and economic happenings in the United States in 1866. As an instructional text, *The Freedman's Torchlight* exemplifies what was necessary for educating freed men, women and children. The designers espoused ideas of self-determination, self-identification, and self-empowerment. They incorporated religion, an elementary curriculum, politics, economics, community news, morality and
benevolence as content necessary for blacks enculturation into the dominant society. The pedagogical strategy of this instructional material is holistic, because it incorporated all aspects of black life, including: politics, morality, ethics, religion (Christianity), freedom, happiness, language, identity, social actions, and mental health. All of these elements aided freed blacks in defining and living their individual emancipation. Thereby, the content of instruction is not limited to content area academics but encompasses all aspects of life.

The next chapter focuses on another instructional document concerned with educating blacks about all aspects of life, *The Brownies' Book*. 
CHAPTER 4: THE BROWNIES' BOOK

"Education...must teach life" (DuBois, 1903, p. 75).

This chapter looks at The Brownies' Book a children's periodical designed for all children but especially black children. The publication ran for two years and focused on William Edward Burghardt DuBois' educational philosophy that "Education...must teach life." DuBois understood this statement to mean that the education provided by Negro colleges must prepare the black learner to lead his people—intellectually and culturally. In terms of children, DuBois believed that children should know about concepts such as: self love, racial identity, black history, race pride, character, conscience, happiness, love, education, and self sacrifice. Education must teach the adult and child all that they need to know to be future leaders of black people.

The chapter begins with an outline of the historical landscape between 1920 and 1921, then considers biographies of the designers of The Brownies' Book, and finally examines the content of the instructional materials.

The Historical Climate

In this section, I use The Crisis newspaper to outline the historical landscape during 1920 and 1921; the same years of The Brownies' Book publication. Moreover, the designers of both publications were the same people (W.E.B. DuBois, Jessie Redmon Fauset and Augustus Granville Dill), and these people held the same positions in both publishing ventures. DuBois published the magazines. Fauset held the position of Literary Editor, and Dill was the Business Manager. An examination of the social, political, and economic happenings in The Crisis, provides an overview of the African American experience throughout the world. In contrast to The Brownies' Book,
St. Nicholas: *Scribner's Illustrated Magazine for Girls and Boys* is discussed as a children's magazine that speaks in its absence of black children.

*The Crisis: A Record Of The Darker Races (1920-1921)*

*The Crisis* was a newspaper created by DuBois under the auspices of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). This newspaper was often referred to and seen as a magazine because of its cultural content; however academic literature references it as both a newspaper and a magazine (Sylvander, 1981). *The Crisis* publication exposed the "danger[s] of race prejudice" that was directed towards colored people (*The Crisis*, November, 1920, p. 5). For example, it sought to document events around the world that involved colored people and affected inter-racial relations. *The Crisis* also critiqued public opinion and the opinions of the black and white press; they sought to maintain an honest purpose in representing persons from the North or South and those who were white or black. Last, the publication was very much devoted to the review and documentation of black literature (*The Crisis*, November, 1920).

DuBois felt that the black race was in a bad condition and at risk of being destroyed. Through a united effort, DuBois believed black people should be provided education for the long term. His original idea was to provide a journal for black intellectuals that would acknowledge the actions of themselves and their community, explain the news of the world in relation to black folk, and motivate blacks to achieve (DuBois, 1940). *The Crisis* fulfilled this idea. An analysis of *The Crisis* revealed several themes that speak to his theory that education must teach life; however in terms of *The Crisis* the audience was adults. Those themes included: racial uplift, racial prejudice &
discrimination, civil rights and the men and women of the Harlem Renaissance.

Racial Uplift

One of the important issues espoused in The Crisis was racial uplift. DuBois documented any and all information about the accomplishments of black men and women. He saw this reporting on the black experience as a form of racial uplift. Theoretically, if one black person was successful, that would motivate others to succeed.

Ideas of racial uplift presented itself in many forms. In these examples, the following issues are addressed: black migration, racial pride, the woman's vote, property and business ownership, voting, black achievements (Men of the Month department), and black progress throughout the world (The Horizon department).

DuBois believed that if blacks migrated to the North it would improve their opportunities for success thereby uplifting the race. He pressed upon this issue in The Crisis urging blacks to come North. For example, in the North, blacks would be able to vote, hold office, earn a good wage and acquire a good home and school environment for their children. Opportunities for black labor, urged DuBois, were endless (The Crisis, January, 1920, p. 105). Approximately 250,000 blacks migrated north in search of a better life and increased opportunities (DuBois, 1917). DuBois (1917) contends that the reasons for this massive migration included economics, demands for laborers, outbreaks of violence, and discontentment with the poor conditions in the South. Individual accounts cite the following conditions as the cause of the migration: low wages, oppression, the right to vote, fear of lynchings, unemployment, the curtailment of civil rights, bad treatment, lack of
protection of life, liberty and property, Jim Crow cars and poor educational facilities.

DuBois perceived the ratification of The Women's Suffrage Act as an uplifting event for black women. It enabled 3 million black women to vote in the next presidential election. DuBois participated, for example, in spreading the news in his monthly editorial section of The Crisis; he urged women in the North and South to form study clubs with teachers and gather reading materials. DuBois told them to educate themselves in the government district, county and state. Then they should master the qualification laws, register and pay any taxes. "Get ready," urged DuBois (The Crisis, March, 1920, p. 234).

Between 1915 and 1920, DuBois noticed the remarkable accomplishments achieved by blacks. In particular, he was excited about their property and business ownership, augmented capital investments, renewed participation in labor unions, improved work conditions, and the increased attendance of children attending school; these types of activities DuBois believed uplifted the race.

Monthly, The Crisis reported on the black men and less frequently women in the Men of the Month department. These men and women, deceased and living, had in some way contributed to the black experience. The accomplishments of these people were judged on educational attainment, social class, religious association, or political affiliation. For example in the Men of the Month department, Joseph S. Cotter Jr. was a young man who died at 23 years of age. At 17, his health began to fail him, and he spent the next six years bedridden. During his sickness he wrote 32 sonnets and lyrics, a book of one act plays, and a volume entitled The Band of Gideon. Opposite this story was an excerpt about Horace Bumstead, professor and President of Atlanta
University. He was a Yale graduate and fighter for equality among men (The Crisis, January, 1920).

The Horizon\textsuperscript{16} section of The Crisis defined black progress as it happened throughout the world. The editor Madeline G. Allison compiled these snippets of news and departmentalized them into monthly columns. In essence, the news presented in The Crisis covered every aspect of black life; its reporting was holistic. For example, the Music and Art column of The Horizon covered subjects like the establishment of music or art organizations, announcements of graduates from music or art institutions, musical and theatrical performances of black folks, and the erection of new theaters.

On the economic scene, the Industry column documented increases in property investments, number of employees employed in businesses and revenues earned. For example, the column reported on the accomplishments of blacks who worked over 25 years on a job (most without losing many days of work). Also, it would be remiss to not include the progress of the black church. Although it is mostly a social institution, the black church provided financial support in many ways. The Church column of The Horizon gave several examples of the churches' involvement in uplifting the race. There were reports of purchases of edifices and organs, monies spent on black education, and monies raised to sustain the church (The Crisis, 1920-1921).

Examples of what was happening politically appeared throughout The Horizon in the form of reports on the National Urban League organizations. In particular, the National Urban Leagues were involved in health (sponsoring child health centers, organizing athletics for boys, and implementing family rehabilitation), employment (providing job placements, monitoring the employment and unemployment of blacks) and education (offering
educational scholarships, reducing juvenile delinquency, and conducting courses in race relations, sewing, needlework, beading, folk dances, and social hygiene) (*The Crisis*, 1920-1921).

Socially, many things were happening for blacks around the country. For example, some of the progressive and positive happenings in the black community were reported in the *Meetings* column, of *The Horizon*. black women's clubs, churches, beauty hair culturists, and associations devoted to Negro improvement (i.e., dressmaking, dentistry and teaching) announced the happenings in their organizations.

DuBois saw racial uplifting as a global community event. The success of black people in one part of the world influenced all black people but more importantly black history. DuBois hoped to spark in others the same desire for success. No accomplishment was too small or too unimportant.

**Racial Prejudice & Discrimination**

Racial prejudice and discrimination were as much a part of the social fabric of the 1920s as it is today; however it manifested itself in different forms and situations. I have summarized instances of racial prejudice and discrimination as described in issues of *The Crisis* (1920-1921); the areas covered included: the South's racial prejudice, the NAACP, racial prejudice in newspapers around the world, the issue of black identity and a critique of the white press.

DuBois condemned the South's racial prejudice and discrimination and viewed it as the primary place of anarchy. For example, the South had the highest rate of murder, poorest quality of education (e.g., short school terms, fewest children enrolled), and highest percentage of child labor. Moreover, the South engaged in lynchings, burnings, and the torture of its citizens for
more than fifty years. The attitudes of white people contributed to the racial prejudice in the South. For example, some white people in the South assumed that all land was their property. Others believed that they gave blacks work, allowed blacks to walk their streets, and paid for black schools. The political power of whites was exhibited in their ability to pool together their political constituency and deny black men seats in Congress.

Examples of discrimination as described by DuBois included: the South's denial of 8 million black laborers the right to an education, the prevention of black participation in public organizations, and the refusal to let blacks contribute to the discourse on private property (The Crisis, 1920).

Another example of discrimination was portrayed in the May 1920 issue of The Crisis. The NAACP was accused of being a white association by blacks instead of a Negro association. DuBois responded that there will never be a time where blacks will not need the help of whites; to exclude whites from the organization would be an act of discrimination. It would indicate that blacks refuse to or can not work with white people. At that time, there were 80,000 Negroes and 10,000 whites in the NAACP. DuBois expressed the organization's plans to work with people of different racial and ethnic backgrounds, nationally and internationally. "We cannot refuse to cooperate with white Americans and simultaneously demand the right to cooperate!" (p. 8).

The designers of The Crisis also devoted another section, entitled The Looking Glass, to news that included national and international information about blacks throughout the world from the black and white press. Racial prejudice was a world phenomenon not just a domestic problem as exhibited in these examples. In terms of international news, one report questioned why black soldiers were good enough to fight for France but not good enough to
guard France. This statement was followed by several excerpts from national and international newspapers; one report was supportive while the other three were negative. For example, the press (The New York Globe and The London Nation) characterized black men as being "primitives," "imperfectly civilized natives of Africa" and "mercenaries" for a government in which they had no allegiance (The Crisis, July, 1920, p. 141-142). A second example of racial prejudice was written by an unknown person to the Daily Baltimore American newspaper. The reader made the observation that American white woman had been "duped" into believing that the black man was a prurient and malicious "creature" (p. 28). However, the black man had no more proclivity to commit crimes against women than any other man. Of note, stated the commentary, was the over 4,000,000 mulattos in the United States. White men advised white women about "Negro rapists" yet the white man violated the Negro woman. "Why are our men not punished for intimate relations with colored women? No! This would interfere with the white man's social freedom" (The Crisis, November, 1920, p. 28).

In the next example, DuBois comments on the issue of black identity as it relates to black people and their prejudices. During a speech by John Haynes Holmes, a white man described two children "...one as fair as the dawn—the other as beautiful as the night" (The Crisis, October, 1920, p. 263) The listening audience laughed amusingly; the audience was a group of black people. DuBois found this incident pathetic. He argued that the black man had been taught to be ashamed of his color and to laugh at himself. The world had abhorred and mistreated the black man for 500 years. DuBois added that colored folks were afraid to see white caricatures of themselves; those depicting blacks grinning, happy and looking like Aunt Jeminias. Because of this character portrayal,
stated DuBois, when "The Crisis puts a black face on its cover our 500,000 colored readers do not see the actual picture—they see the caricature that white folks intend when they make a black face" (The Crisis, October, 1920, p. 263). DuBois believed that colored folk feared images (i.e., photographs, cartoon drawings) of black people because they reminded them of the "crimes of Sunday 'comics' and 'Nigger' minstrels" (The Crisis, October, 1920, p. 266). DuBois advocated that black folks free their minds and learn to see "black" as beautiful (The Crisis, October, 1920).

These examples of how racial prejudice and discrimination manifested in The Crisis speak to the sociopolitical conditions prevalent in 1920 and 1921. Although issues of racial prejudice and discrimination conjure negative connotations, in the context of this retelling of history it should be viewed as facts that constructed the period that became known as the Harlem Renaissance.

Civil Rights

The NAACP played a significant role in Civil Rights. The organization's March 1920 annual report lists their accomplishments to date. For example, the NAACP had been instrumental in fighting segregation, defeating legislation that addressed Jim Crow marriages, drafting a model civil rights bill in New York State, contesting lynchings publicly and in the courts, and bringing the issue of color discrimination to the attention of the world through the Pan-African Congress--Peace Conference. The NAACP fought for color discrimination in all venues (e.g., labor unions, the Congress and Legislatures, and civil rights cases). They secured resolutions for Congressional investigations of race riots and lynchings and pursued national support for these resolutions (The Crisis, March, 1920, p. 241).
Discovering Men & Women Of The Harlem Renaissance

*The Crisis* discovered many talented Negro writers and artists—adults and children that white publishers refused to publish. This was one of their goals. *The Crisis* sought to express black ideas and thoughts. DuBois wrote, "A renaissance of American Negro literature is due; the material about us in the strange, heartrending race tangle is rich beyond dream and only we can tell the tale and sing the song from the heart" (*The Crisis*, April, 1920, p. 299). This exemplifies DuBois' belief that the creative material developed in this era was unique. He anticipated this renaissance of artistic expression, and saw *The Crisis* and *The Brownies' Book* as contributors to this artistic legacy.

**St. Nicholas: A Children's Magazine Utilized Between 1920-1921**

Forty seven years before the publication of *The Brownies' Book* another famous children's magazine entitled *St. Nicholas: Scribner's Illustrated Magazine for Girls and Boys* was published by Scribner & Co. (and later by The Century Co.) from 1873 to 1943 (Erisman, 1984). According to Erisman's (1984) initial analysis, *St. Nicholas* offered its juvenile audience high caliber entertainment. Moreover, the content focused on "the style, attitudes, and values of an established, secure, upper middle class [white] culture, creating a sociointellectual pattern that touched several generations of readers" (Erisman, 1984, p. 377). This sociointellectual pattern seems directed toward the ways of thinking, acting and being evident in the life of upper middle class, well educated, and well endowed white groups. Like *The Brownies' Book*, or vice versa, *St. Nicholas* was modeled after an adult magazine—Scribner's *Monthly*. The designers of *Scribner's Monthly* sought to guide children's physical and intellectual developmental but ultimately their overall well-being. Their goals were first and foremost instructional, then cultural, and last
entertainment—contrary to Erisman's initial analysis; these goals were documented in the November 1873 issue of Scribner's Monthly. St. Nicholas prospered for 70 years. It grew from forty-eight pages an issue to ninety-six with a circulation of around 70,000 issues per month. The magazine also promoted writers and illustrators throughout the country (Erisman, 1984). The magazine sought to teach its readers their version of life.

Elinor Desverney Sinnette (1965), a librarian at the time for the New York Board of Education, reported that the purpose of the magazine was to imbue the spirit of St. Nicholas (Santa Claus) in boys and girls to help them be good. She adds that St. Nicholas contained no visual representations of black people. Just leafing through the pages of St. Nicholas, "volume after volume, one looks in vain for a brown face, a black face, evidence of that part of the United States history conveniently swept under the rug" (Sinnette, 1965, p. 134).

The next section presents brief biographies of the designers of TBB. Moreover, these biographies reveal their connections to each other and DuBois' educational philosophy.

The Designers of The Brownies' Book

The creators of The Brownies' Book possessed ivy league education's; they represented DuBois' notion of The Talented Tenth. The Brownies' Book was produced by William Edward Burghardt DuBois. Augustus Granville Dill held the position of business manager, and Jessie Redmon Fauset was the literary editor.

DuBois, The Cultural Theorist

William Edward Burghardt DuBois (also known as W.E.B. DuBois) was born on February 23, 1868 in Great Barrington, a small town in Massachusetts.
He died in 1963 in Ghana, West Africa (Johnson-Feelings, 1996). DuBois thought of his existence from a global or worldly perspective. In his autobiography, or what he refers to as "an autobiography of the concept of race," he spoke of all the events across the continent that transpired the year of his birth (p. viii). He saw his existence or birthright tied to world events—that his being was connected to the universe not just Great Barrington, Massachusetts (DuBois, 1940).

DuBois attended Fisk University in Tennessee between 1888-1889 where he received an A.B. degree (Bachelors of Arts). Thereafter he entered Harvard College where he earned a B.A. in philosophy (1890) and then an M.A. in history (1891). In October of 1892, he entered Friedrich Wilhelm University in Berlin where he studied economics, history, politics and political economy. He was denied his doctoral degree at the Friedrich Wilhelm University supposedly due to his short period of attendance. DuBois returned to the United States and completed his doctorate at Harvard College in 1895; he was the first black person to receive a Ph.D. from Harvard (DuBois, 1940).

DuBois (1940) gained his political knowledge from reading outside the curriculum. He taught himself knowledge schools failed to offer or did not think to offer. He writes, "I therefore watched outside my textbooks and without reference to my teachers, the race developments throughout the world" (DuBois, 1940, p. 29). DuBois understood that the curriculum he learned in school would only satiate a part of his intellectual thirst. He knew that his acquisition of knowledge was limited by the curriculum content and pedagogical practices of those in the dominant society, so he sought knowledge outside his visual range and physical space.
DuBois taught for sixteen years. He wanted to teach young people the ways and meanings of the world. He questioned what he knew about the world and how he could teach his knowledge. At Wilberforce (1894), a small black denominational college, he taught a static curriculum of Greek, German, Latin and English. However, he desired to teach sociology but was not permitted to do so. After two years, given Wilberforce’s strict religious dogma, limited financial resources and bleak future, DuBois moved on to a temporary assignment as an Assistant Instructor at the University of Pennsylvania. Knowing that the job was beneath him and paid low wages, he used the opportunity as a stepping stone. DuBois did not teach at the University of Pennsylvania; instead he completed his ethnographic work on black Philadelphian’s. Later, this research was published in his well-known book *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899) (DuBois, 1940).

In 1897, DuBois was invited to Atlanta University by the school President, Horace Bumstead to work in the area of Sociology and to lead the Atlanta conferences on the problems of urban Negroes. DuBois turned the conferences into a social study of the American Negro. Annually, Atlanta University and DuBois published reports of their findings; these publications became known as the Atlanta University Publications and consisted of 18 monographs. The monographs addressed issues such as Negro mortality, social and physical conditions of Negroes in Cities, social betterment, morals and manners, the Negro in Business, the Negro common school, church, crime, family, health and physique, the Negro artisan, and a bibliography about the Negro (DuBois, 1940).

The controversy between Booker T. Washington and DuBois reigned between 1903 and 1908. DuBois believed the educational status of *The Talented*
Tenth (10% of the black educated population) could lead and guide black people to a higher condition. Without this Talented Tenth, the Negro would have to accept the leadership of white folks; thereby blacks need for self-realization and cultural elevation would be stifled. DuBois interpreted Washington as a man who believed in the elevation of the black man through training in trades such as sewing, plowing, working as laborers or engaging in industry (DuBois, 1940).

DuBois' outspokenness worked against him. He attributed his successive employment at Atlanta University as an obstacle hindering continued educational funding to the University, so DuBois left Atlanta University. DuBois founded and edited The Crisis newspaper in 1910 under the auspices of the NAACP (originally known as the National Negro Committee). Augustus Granville Dill came aboard as business manager in 1913 (DuBois, 1940).

DuBois' Educational Philosophy

In DuBois' (1903) essay, The Talented Tenth, he defined his ideologies about educating blacks. The Talented Tenth, or "college-bred Negroes" (as DuBois called them) were the most exceptional people in the black race (p. 51). They acquired positions such as teachers, physicians, clergymen, lawyers, artisans, farmers, business men, designers and civil service positions. DuBois believed that the College-Bred Negro should take the role as leader and social organizer in their community. Culture filters from the top down, believed DuBois; thereby, as The Talented Tenth ascended they would bring all who were worth saving to their level—in essence the best of the race would be supported by their present leaders. Those left behind would be guided by the talented tenth, saved from intellectual and cultural assimilation by the dominant culture, and rescued from lures of the worse men in their own race.
DuBois (1903) asserted that the Talented Tenth needed an education in colleges and universities, not a trade or industrial school. This university training provided *The Talented Tenth* with the intellectual tools to elevate their race. *The Talented Tenth* must be educated by schools that provide a life-based curriculum. This curriculum must teach blacks how to be men. It must educate men in the acquisition and application of knowledge (i.e., intelligence). It must educate them in how to be broadly compassionate and knowledgeable of world histories past and present. It must educate them with knowledge of man's (men's, women's, and children's) relation to these histories. "...This is the curriculum of that Higher Education which must underlie true life" (p. 34).

DuBois (1903) argued that "... each soul and each race-soul needs its own peculiar curriculum" (p. 46). What DuBois meant by this statement is not defined. However, it could be interpreted to mean that every person, in particular black people, have a purpose and that purpose is predetermined. For some, they are meant to lead and others to follow. The curriculum, or what they come to know, is therefore tied to their purpose in life—their reason for being.

DuBois (1903) defined education in a broad perspective in that he saw education beyond subject matter or content areas. DuBois viewed education as "a whole system of human training within and without the school house walls..." (p. 58). DuBois (1903) elaborated on this educational idea by saying that:

...human education is not simply a matter of schools; it is much more a matter of family and group life—the training of one's home, of one's daily companions, of one's social class. Now the black boy of the South moves in a black world—a world with its own leaders, its own thoughts, its own ideals. In this world he gets by far the larger part of his life training, and through the eyes of this dark world he peers into the
veiled world beyond. Who guides and determines the education which he receives in his world? His teachers here are the group-leaders of the Negro people—the physicians and clergymen, the trained fathers and mothers, the influential and forceful men about him of all kinds; here it is, if at all, that the culture of the surrounding world trickles through and is handed on by the graduates of the higher schools. (p. 61-62)

This "culture training" is indicative of the life-based curriculum DuBois espoused (p. 62). Learning is holistic not decontextualized. The acquisition of knowledge is fed by many avenues but first by family and group interactions. Children learn in their interactions with their community and the people in their community. In one's community you learn how to be a man or a woman. Your community is where you learn how to acquire and apply knowledge. Your community is where you learn about compassion and character. Your community is where you learn about your history past and present and your relationship to the world. Community learning is the foundation to all learning. The education of children must be guided by the group leaders and the Talented Tenth. The Talented Tenth must teach the children inside their world about the outside world. They must prepare them for survival in the dominant society. Thereby, culture training must come from black people in the community to black children. The entire community must thrive and perform as an educational unit. Learning is decontextualized when the units (i.e., parents, schools, community leaders, black professionals) stand alone or are isolated from the whole.

His philosophy of education was translated into his children's magazine The Brownies' Book. This magazine reveals DuBois' ideologies that education must teach about life and that The Talented Tenth, like himself and the designers of TBB, must be instrumental in guiding the education of the black race. Throughout TBB, DuBois sought to provide children with vicarious experiences of human education and culture training.

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Fauset, The Female Force

Jessie Redmon Fauset was born on April 27, 1882 in Camden, New Jersey and died in 1961 at the age of 79. Fauset was a novelist, poet, essayist and journalist. She attended Cornell University between 1901 and 1905 and graduated with a Bachelors of Arts degree. She was one of the first black women at Cornell. Her college curriculum indicated an extensive focus on language. In particular, she studied Latin (4 years), German (4 years), English (4 years), Greek (2 years), French (2 years), Ethics (2 years), Bibliography, Psychology, and Logic (Sylvander, 1981).

According to Carolyn Wedin Sylvander (1981) who has written a comprehensive history of Jessie Redmon Fauset's life, Fauset was first introduced to DuBois through a letter sent in May of 1903, by Professor Walter Wilcox the Head of the Department of Sociology and Dean of Arts and Sciences at Cornell. The letter sought a summer teaching position for Fauset. In December of 1903, Fauset wrote DuBois inquiring for a summer teaching position in the coming summer of 1904. For five weeks in 1904, through DuBois, Fauset taught at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee. From 1905 to 1919, 14 years, Fauset taught French and Latin at M Street High School (later named Dunbar High School in 1916). By 1919, Fauset acquired her Master of Arts degree from the University of Pennsylvania; she studied French. Fauset wrote to DuBois twice in 1903 and again in 1905 about her feelings of respect for his work. Sylvander (1981) understood the relationship developing between DuBois and Fauset as one of "mutual admiration and support, mutual learning and teaching" (p. 38).

From July 1918 to July 1919, Fauset did some freelance writing for The Crisis. By July 1919, DuBois offered Fauset $100 per month and the position of
Literary Editor of *The Crisis*. Fau set was literary editor from 1919 to 1926. According to Sylvander (1981), Fau set's literary work has been underrepresented by critics and historians. Fau set ran many of the publication duties at *The Crisis* such as corresponding with subscribers, members of the NAACP, and writers. Fau set nurtured the many writers and artists who submitted material to *The Crisis* and *The Brownies' Book*. In particular, Fau set assisted notables like Langston Hughes, Claude McKay, Countee Cullen, and Jean Toomer. Fau set was a compassionate and caring woman. She gave up her writing to promote others talent (Sylvander, 1981). Sylvander (1981) believes that Fau set should be credited with discovering and nurturing young black writers, and thereby contributing to the development of black American literature during the Harlem Renaissance.

Fau set left *The Crisis* in 1926. She went back to teaching French in the New York Public School system at DeWitt Clinton High School from 1927 to 1944. Fau set published four novels *There Is Confusion*, 1924; *Plum Bun*, 1929; *The Chinaberry Tree*, 1931 and *Comedy, American Style*, 1933. Fau set's essays and novels emphasize her cognizance of the struggles of blacks from an international perspective.

As stated earlier, Fau set was literary editor for *The Brownies' Book* the first year, and beginning with the January 1921 issue, she became the managing editor. After nurturing adult writers for *The Crisis* magazine, *The Brownies' Book* was Fau set's opportunity to do the same for both the child and adult writer. Besides editing and corresponding with subscribers in *The Brownies' Book*, Fau set wrote the department *The Judge*, several fictional stories, and a few poems (Sylvander, 1981).
In *The Judge*, one of the discussions centered on the meaning of an education. During this conversation, Fauset reveals her ideas on education through the voice of the Judge. *The Judge* says:

...the value of education consists not in what you take in but in what it brings out of you. If a person has to study hard to get his lessons and does it, he develops will power, concentration and determination, and these are the qualities which he carries out into life with him. (October, 1920, p. 306).

...all education is for...[is] to produce knowledge. (April, 1921, p.108)

...the reason why they [children] must learn from books...[is that books] are short cuts to the knowledge gained by actual experience. (April, 1921, p. 109)

Fauset supported the theories and work of DuBois. She sacrificed herself so that others would shine and succeed. Fauset's success was limited not by her inability's in her profession, but because of her race and her womanness.

**Dill, The Silent Partner**

Augustus Granville Dill (1881-1956) was the business manager for *The Brownies' Book* and *The Crisis*. He was born in Portsmouth, Ohio in 1881. His educational endeavors earned him a B.A. from Atlanta University in 1906, a bachelors degree from Harvard in 1908, and an M.A. degree from Atlanta University in 1909 (DuBois, 1913). Dill also taught social science at Atlanta University succeeding DuBois' position (DuBois, 1940). While at Atlanta University, Dill was co-editor on many of the Atlanta University Publications and an organist for the university. Later, Dill joined DuBois in New York and formed DuBois and Dill Publishers (DuBois, 1913). The publication efforts of DuBois and Dill Publishers demonstrated their commitment to improving the education of black children (Johnson-Feelings, 1996). They published magazines (*The Brownies' Book*, 1919-1920), biographies (Elizabeth Haynes' *Unsung Heroes* 1921), fiction (Mary White Ovington's, *Hazel*), and poetry (*Complete poems of Paul Lawrence Dunbar*). The work of DuBois has out shined
that of Fauset and their work has out shined Dill's. Dill's silent partner relationship seems to have downplayed his contributions as a business manager and educator; moreover little is known about the specifics of Dill's role.

Above all, DuBois, Fauset and Dill were educators. They realized their vision of educating for life through publications such as *The Crisis* and *The Brownies' Book*. They saw these publications as contributing to the education of blacks but especially to humankind. Their vision was to reach as many blacks as possible and educate them in the ways of the world, black culture, black identity and black life.

The Product and Its Design

*The Brownies' Book*, a monthly periodical, was published from January 1920 to December 1921. It sold for 15 cents per issue or $1.50 per year. There are a total of 24 publications and each issue has a 32 page format with 9 to 10 pages of graphics. The magazine is divided into departments that include *The Judge, The Jury, Playtime, As The Crow Flies, Little People of the Month, Playtime* and *The Grown-Ups Corner*. Other materials include: poems, fiction and nonfiction, graphics (i.e., sketches, photographs), and advertisements.

The micro analysis entails analyzing the text and context. On the text level, all 24 publications are examined using elements of CDA (i.e., genre, framing, omission and backgrounding, foregrounding and visual representations). The context analysis explores all 24 publications for their social, political, cultural, and economic contexts. Sections of the magazine with direct participation from DuBois or Fauset will receive more emphasis because the content in these sections speaks to the educational philosophy of the designers.
Text Analysis

I believe the text analysis gives an overview of the entire design of TBB. This design structure provides a model for comparing, contrasting, and recreating versions of this design.

Genre

As in the previous text analysis, this analysis is defined by Huckin's (1995) definition of genre. He asserts that genre represents "text types" and these text types "manifest a characteristic set of formal features serving a characteristic purpose (p.98)." The characteristic feature of TBB visually represents the magazine genre. It has a cover page, contains a consistent series of monthly publications, includes a table of contents, requires a fee for purchase, solicits the work of writers in-house or outside, and seeks subscribers. *The Brownies' Book* appears to be a magazine, because it was a spin-off of DuBois' earlier newspaper/magazine *The Crisis*. *The Crisis* had one issue per year devoted to children; then the concept for the children's issue became a monthly serial entitled *The Brownies' Book*. Moreover, each interior cover of TBB includes the words "a monthly magazine," which indicate the designers' perception of the genre they were creating.

*The Brownies' Book* appears to represent the layout of its text type (i.e., a magazine). However, I argue that the content of *The Brownies' Book* differs from traditional magazines and that DuBois visually represented it as a magazine but thought of it as an instructional text. This "magazine" is in fact entitled as "a book," DuBois could have called it *The Brownies' Magazine*. The term "book" suggests longevity. Magazines are kept on the shelf for a period of months; whereas a book may be on a shelf for years. Books are usually passed on to others and read or reread for their content. They serve repeatedly to
instruct and entertain. Magazines are typically read within a certain time period and discarded once the material is outdated.

Most of the content of *The Brownies’ Book* has not lost its readability (e.g., fiction, poetry). Even today much of the content of this periodical has been reprinted in a book entitled, *The Best of The Brownies’ Book* (1996), edited by Dianne Johnson-Feelings.

**Framing**

Framing is another aspect of the text analysis that determines how the content of the text is presented (i.e., does it have an angle or slant) (Huckin, 1995). The slant of TBB was its status as a magazine created by college educated blacks. Moreover, the magazine was founded on black culture based ideologies, and it was designed, in particular, for black children. Culture based ideologies are those social features, specific to a particular group, community or population, such as customs, beliefs, behavior patterns, artistic activity and intellectual development.

The interior cover of the first four issues (January, February, March, and April, 1920) read as follows:

**THIS IS**

**The Brownies’ Book**

A Monthly Magazine

For the Children of the Sun

DESIGNED FOR ALL CHILDREN.

BUT ESPECIALLY FOR OURS

It aims to be a thing of Joy and Beauty, dealing in Happiness, Laughter and Emulation, and designed especially for Kiddies from Six to Sixteen.

It will seek to teach Universal Love and Brotherhood for all little folk—black and brown and yellow and white.

Of course, pictures, stories, letters from little ones, games and oh—everything!
The type size represented is not exact; however it demonstrates the framing of the magazine as one that is designed for children, especially black children. The word “brownies” represents the color or race of people that the magazine is geared towards. The word “ours” is in italics emphasizing the reference to black children.

DuBois wanted children to experience feelings of happiness, to laugh and to challenge themselves as they experienced The Brownies’ Book. In the article, The True Brownies from The Crisis magazine, DuBois (1919) reiterates a story from a twelve year old black girl who writes that she hates the “white man” as much as he hates her. DuBois felt that “to educate them [black children] in human hatred is more disastrous to them than to the hated; to seek to raise them in ignorance of their racial identity and peculiar situation is inadvisable—impossible” (p. 285). DuBois sought to intervene on this type of race hatred by publishing a monthly children’s magazine—The Brownies’ Book.

DuBois wanted to “teach” universal love and brotherhood. This corresponds with his global ideas on education. He saw each person’s existence uniquely tied to the world but in particular to that moment in time. DuBois wanted to teach all children or anyone who would listen.

DuBois’ (1919) mission was in part to entertain but to also teach about self love, racial identity, black history, race pride, character, conscience, happiness, love, education and self sacrifice. He laid out this mission in the article The True Brownies by listing 7 goals; they were as follows:

1. To make colored children realize that being “colored” is a normal, beautiful thing.
2. To make them familiar with the history and achievements of the Negro race.
3. To make them know that other colored children have grown into beautiful, useful and famous persons.
(4) To teach them delicately a code of honor and action in their relations with white children.
(5) To turn their little hurts and resentments into emulation, ambition and love of their own homes and companions.
(6) To point out the best amusements and joys and worth-while things of life.
(7) To inspire them to prepare for definite occupations and duties with a broad spirit of sacrifice. (DuBois, 1919, p. 286)

Again, the frame of TBB was its position as a magazine created by college educated blacks. Moreover, the magazine was based on black culture based ideologies, and it was designed, in particular, for black children.

Omission And Backgrounding

Huckin (1995) defines omission as the best form of backgrounding because what lays in the background is what has been intentionally or unintentionally omitted. The most prevalent omission in The Brownies' Book is the lack of opposing views to the publication. In The Crisis, opposing points of view contributed to the creative dynamics of the publication. It provided a spring board to opposing perspectives about the black experience. This omission is not known to be intentional or unintentional. However, I am sure the white and black press had perspectives on a black children's magazine created by black elite's. DuBois wanted the content and image of The Brownies' Book to remain as pure as possible. He did not incorporate hard core adult versions of racial prejudice, discrimination and civil rights but instead offered a tame view of these issues. For example in the section As the Crow Flies, DuBois offers snippets of the macro sociopolitical and economic issues prevalent throughout the world. DuBois seemed to want children to be informed but not overwhelmed with the politics of injustices.
Foregrounding & Visual Representations

Foregrounding means to emphasize specific concepts and de-emphasize other concepts. In particular, those things in the foreground may receive textual distinction (Huckin, 1995). In The Brownies’ Book, written text and graphics were used to emphasize elements of the magazine. The graphics were primary in importance and the written text secondary. Examples of the graphics emphasized images of beautiful black children. The cover pages contained images of black children or black art. The layout sometimes situated one or two photographs per page or as many as 24 to a page. The frontispiece, the page following the title page, usually featured a graphic. DuBois was captured by the beautiful skin color of blacks and displayed 8 to 10 pages of photographs of black people, but especially children, throughout each issue of The Brownies’ Book (DuBois, 1940). "From my childhood I have been impressed with the beauty of Negro skin-color" (DuBois, 1940, p.272). Examples of the written text were emphasized in a variety of typefaces (bold, print, italics), sizes, and fonts. The combination of graphics and written text visually emphasized concepts or ideas the designers thought were important.

Visual representations also assist in the framing of text (Huckin, 1995). One of DuBois’ goals was to encourage the use of graphic images in newspapers, magazines and books. Moreover, his focus was to represent images (i.e., faces, bodies) of black people. He chose to use illustrations in his magazines because in 1910 one rarely saw any images of black people represented in the media (newspapers and magazines). Black newspapers seldom used illustrations and white papers never did (DuBois, 1940). According to DuBois (1940), it was a given or rule that no black images were to appear in

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American newspapers. Whenever he could afford to, DuBois represented images of black people (DuBois, 1940).

The visual representations stood out based on the novelty of published photographs of black people. The text, however, was de-emphasized not because it was unimportant but because graphics of this nature took visual preference by default. Depending on one's preference the text or the visual images may attract one to pick up or buy a magazine. In the case of The Brownies' Book, the images were emphasized based on their modernity to the world of publishing.

**Context Analysis**

The last stage in approaching the text involves analyzing the context, on a micro level, to identify the social, political (vanDijk, 1993), cultural, or economic occurrences within the text. This section parallels macro issues as represented in society with micro issues as represented in the context of the instructional materials. In other words, how does the document represent the time period? How does it bring to life the people, places and events of 1920 and 1921? This living document should reveal what the designers of this document felt were the important sociopolitical and economic issues of the time. Below I analyze the major sections of The Brownies' Book, as well as: Literature (poems, fiction and non-fiction), visual representations (e.g., text, graphics, sketches, photographs), and advertisements.

**The Judge**

From the context of The Judge emerged issues about women's rights and the actualization of DuBois' educational philosophy. The social status of women and their continued desires for equality was also represented in The Crisis with the Women's Suffrage Act that gave black women the right to vote.
DuBois' educational philosophy that education must teach life manifests itself throughout the text as the child characters are exposed to social, political, and economic issues similar to those represented in *The Crisis*. Furthermore, *The Judge* exposed issues surrounding the use of language, curriculum materials and teacher-child dynamics. These latter sections parallel macro social issues for black people in terms of mastering Standard English\(^1\) (SE), recognizing racial prejudice, and acquiring the skill of social interaction; all of which educate children about life.

*The Judge* department appeared in every issue of *The Brownies' Book*. The author of this section is unspecified to magazine readers; however Jessie Redmon Fauset is the reported author (Sylvander, 1981). The Judge is described in the text as wearing a white wig and being very old. His ethnicity is assumed to be black given his knowledge about black culture, language, and literature.

The graphic that accompanied this section was a penciled sketch of the head and shoulders of a person sitting in a high backed chair at a desk. The Judge wears rectangle glasses and a white shoulder length wig. The complexion of the Judge appears to be that of a fair skinned person.

Fauset has intentionally hidden that the author of The Judge is a woman. The Judge is referred to as "he" or "him." Fauset's choice of a male versus female character was probably dictated by the status of women at that time. In the early 1920s, black women held more working class positions such as domestics, laundresses, servants, nurses, midwives, charwomen\(^2\) (Hunter, 1997) than professional positions like teachers, physicians, and lawyers (DuBois, 1910). Moreover, DuBois' (1910) *Atlanta University Publication, No. 15: The College Bred Negro* reveals only 1 person, the gender is not indicated, who held the title of judge out of 1/4 of the black college graduates living in the

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United States in 1910. This indicates that it was uncommon for a black man or woman to hold the role of a judge in fiction or in real life (DuBois, 1910). Moreover, Fauset's biographical history indicates her inability to acquire positions suitable to her acquired knowledge and skills. When Fauset left The Crisis in 1926, she asked Arthur B. Spingarn, to assist her in finding work as a publisher's reader, social secretary or with a Foundation in New York (Sylvander, 1981). Sylvander (1981) writes, "In a rare note of defeat on her principles, she [Fauset] indicated that if the question of color came up in a job as a publisher's reader, she could work at home" (p. 65). Reluctantly, Fauset returned to the profession many black professionals defaulted to — teaching. Although TBB promoted professional positions for women, certain professions were still limited by gender, class and in many cases race.

Fauset's feeling about the unequal status of women and girls is evident in this statement that she writes in The Judge. She remarks, "This world has long been unfair to women and girls. It is doing a little better now, but it is not yet doing well" (February, 1920, p. 50). In the 1920s, women fought to achieve equality in status, salary and voting rights. Fauset saw the role of women slowly improving in society and the role of black women lagging far behind (e.g., black women were still earning lower salaries than white women21).

The Judge is viewed as an impartial adult who brings insight between the adult world and the child's world. Fauset has created fictional characters whose role it is to represent real children and real interactions; she has skillfully accomplished this goal. Fauset begins the first issue with an introduction from the Judge:

I am the Judge. I am very, very old. I know all things, except a few, and I have been appointed by the King to sit in the Court of Children and tell them the Law and listen to what they have to say. The Law is old and
musty and needs sadly to be changed. In time the Children will change it; but now it is the Law (January, 1920, p. 12).

The introduction to the department lets children know who is in charge—the Judge and what they must learn—the Laws or rules of Life. The Judge will listen to what children have to say but ultimately the law is the law. (The idea that the law is the law is also consistent with the dominant cultures subjugation of black people. As reported in The Crisis, black men were denied seats in Congress and other public organizations. Therefore, without the political power to change laws blacks had to obey these laws). Children can change these laws when they become adults but right now The Judge's law is the truth.

In ensuing issues, there are returning child characters who include: Billie (age 10); Billikins (age 5 or 6—in the January 1920 issue he is six, then in the March 1920 issue he is 5. The April 1920 issue identifies him as six years of age); William (age 15), Wilhelmina (age fifteen—in the July 1920 issue she is 16). Each section begins with the Judge or the children posing a situation or a question. The children engage in a discussion, and the Judge responds with answers to the questions or poses other questions.

The information presented throughout The Judge set up situations and questions that can help teach children about life. For example, the types of situations posed throughout the 24 publications related to the meaning of: social issues (working together, equality amongst races of people, and gift giving), educational issues (choosing books to read, black history, and acquiring knowledge), personal issues (pain, good hygiene and appearance), and political issues (wealth and politics). The questions presented throughout the 24 publications were as follows: What is fun?; What shall I read?; What are wages?; Why is there so little work for laboring people?; and Suppose we have
a lesson in English? These situations and questions are discussed by the children and the Judge. This interaction creates a situation where children learn about a variety of issues relevant to living life.

DuBois' ideas about universal love are expressed in the August 1920 issue in which the Judge defines the meaning of politics. For example, the Judge suggests that the world or the interactions between countries relies much on politicking. However, between individuals, the Judge says, "If we are just honest and kind and try and teach to each other we can get the Best for All and yet keep the peace and our own self-respect" (p. 240). The belief here is that Universal love can be taught. If people work together then, we can have a peaceful loving society; however universal love will take the conscious efforts of each individual.

The February, 1921 issue began with the question, "Isn't it a shame that there's so little work for laboring people?" This is an example of Fauset's use of social issues for discussion with the children and her continued support of DuBois' educational philosophy—that education must teach life. The children discussed these issues in relation to what they knew about the world. They formed opinions and elicited comments. The Judge challenged their perceptions of the world in addition to offering his own sociopolitical stance. In this example, the Judge gives his political views on Faith and Hope from an international perspective.

...if we had Faith that Germany would pay for the food we could send her, in addition to her other vast debts—and if Russia had Faith that England would give her wool for wheat instead of seizing it to pay the Czar's old debts; and if France had Hope that Germany did not want to fight—see? Always, everywhere, Faith and Hope must underlie human action. The world is not founded on a rock, but on Spirit—the Spirit of Peace and Good Will. And they who kill the Spirit, put men out of work, and freeze women, and starve children, and lynch Negroes, and bait Jews, and raise the thing that we rightly call Hell. (February, 1921, p. 41)
The question, "Isn't it a shame that there's so little work for laboring people," may have been a venue to discuss these social issues without objections from parents because the Judge offered the adult perspective but not always the parental perspective. In other words, children (as represented by the child characters) felt they could talk with the Judge about any topic without repercussions. This excerpt begins to look at the political structure of other countries (i.e., communism, socialism) and how those structures impede who gets fed and who gets needed supplies. Ultimately, it is the individual who is responsible for faith and hope and who can foster peace and good will. However, there are those who kill the spirit of men, women and children and make the world a hellish place to live. I am not sure the children understood the Judge’s sociopolitical ideologies, but I am sure a discussion or reaction like this was not common in their classrooms.

Language use. The context of language use in The Judge revealed how Black Dialect is both accepted and rejected in African American culture. Moreover, it demonstrated the stigma associated with Black Dialect in its spoken form and its tolerance in its written form.

The issue of language use is addressed in several of The Judge's articles. In particular, Billikins and Billie are schooled about their use of the English language.

In the example below the Judge asks the children, "WHAT IS FUN?"

1. Says Billikins—"What is the mostest fun?"
2. "You mustn't say,-----" [says Billy]
3. Never mind, Billy. [says the Judge]
4. Billikins has a great idea and when you think something, never mind how you say it, --at least, never mind just then.
5. The question, then, which is brought before the Judge this morning,
6. Children is
7. WHAT IS THE MOST FUN? [says the Judge]
Yes, but I did it gently, so as not to disturb him. [says the Judge] (April, 1920, p. 108)

This is a great example of an adult kindly correcting a child about their language usage and then correctly adjusting to the language needs of a dialect speaker so that the speaker can identify the standard form of the language. Billikins uses the word "mostest" instead of "most." This may be indicative of his age (5 or 6) versus the use of a dialect. In line 2, Billy yells, "You mustn't say that------." The Judge quickly redirects the conversation and praises Billikins' idea and gently prods him to think before he speaks in the future. The Judge uses Billikin's suggestion in asking the question, what is the most fun? Billy calls the language correction to the Judge's attention. The Judge informs Billy that correcting language is okay as long as it does not hurt a child's self esteem. The correction of language use, in particular for second language learners that includes speakers of a dialect, must be done gently and with forethought (Fillmore, 1992).

In the June 1920 issue, the Judge discusses how and what to read. For example, the Judge suggests the children read Joel Chandler Harris' Uncle Remus. Then in parenthesis the article reads: "although to really enjoy 'Uncle Remus' you ought to have a grown-up tell it to you in dialect" (June, 1920, p. 176). This exemplifies Fauset's understanding that Black Dialect is a language form distinct from Standard English. She realizes that to fully understand Uncle Remus it must be read in dialect. Fauset suggests that the children go to an adult who is fluent in Standard English and Black Dialect (i.e., bidialectical). She understands that although most children have been exposed to Standard English in written and oral forms that they may not have been exposed to Black Dialect in its written form.
In the May 1921 issue, the topic for discussion was equality amongst races of people. In this example, Billy responds in defense of Billikins' action. Billikins along with some other boys were teasing a Chinese shop owner. The Chinese shop owner threw things at the kids and chased them away from the store. Wilhelmina tells Billy not to go near the shop owner again and that he should be ashamed of himself. Billy responds:

"Why what difference does it make?" Billy queries, open-eyed, "he's only a Chinaman ain't he?"
"You mustn't say ain't," begins William but the Judge interrupts.
"Why do you say 'only a Chinaman', Billy, aren't you 'only an American'?" (May, 1921, p. 134)

The Judge does not correct Billy's use of the word "ain't." It seems, in this case, that the Judge was more concerned with addressing the content of Billy's answer versus his language. In this example, Billy is presenting his prejudiced feelings about the shop owner. In the example below, Billy's use of a dialect of standard English is viewed by Fauset to be ungrammatical. He is responding to the Judge's question:

"...Suppose you, William, and a man from India, and a man from Ireland, and one from Venezuela, one from France, and one from Liberia were all wrecked on a desert island. Suppose not one of you possessed a single thing, which one of you would be the best man?"
"No one," Wilhelmina answers for him promptly.
"Which one would own the island? The Hindu, the Frenchman, th--?"
"There wouldn't none of us be owning that island, if it was me on it," says Billy ungrammatically." (May, 1921, p. 134)

In this example, Fauset has written that Billy responded ungrammatically. Billie is using a double negative "wouldn't none" that is indicative to Black Dialect (Dillard, 1972). In the previous example, of Uncle Remus, Fauset indicated that there was such a language form as Black Dialect. This perception led me to believe that she respected the language in its written form as literature. However, in this conversational script, Fauset indicates that
the spoken form of Black Dialect is ungrammatical or a nonstandard form of English. This exemplifies how Black Dialect is respected in its written form as literature and rejected in its spoken or conversational script form. Although the written form of Black English or Black Dialect has been widely accepted, its oral form remains stigmatized and scrutinized. Black Dialect is viewed as not proper or a broken form of the English language. People who speak Black Dialect are also viewed as being illiterate, lacking in education of the formal structure of the English language, or lower in class (Dillard, 1972; Williams and Brantley, 1975).

In the October 1921 issue, the Judge suggests a lesson in English. The events that led up to this topic of discussion are exemplified below:

1. On Saturday afternoon Billie reminds the Brownies [children of color] of their visit to the Judge. "Ain't you ready, Wilhelmina?"
2. exclaims Billie, in disgust.
3. "Why is it that you will not speak correctly, Billie?" asks Wilhelmina.
4. "Aw, you know what I said—so what's the difference, Miss Know-It-All!"
5. "Wilhelmina is right to correct you, Billie," says William. "Ain't is not a proper word to use."
6. The children then go ask the Judge.
7. "...When they are all seated, Billie casts a revengeful look at Wilhelmina and William. Then, very proudly, he says, "Mr. Judge, it don't sound—"
8. "Wait a minute, Billie," interrupts The Judge. "You should have said—tell him, Wilhelmina."
9. "It doesn't!" exclaims Wilhelmina, with a haughty toss of her head." (October, 1921, p. 294)

In the above example, Billie uses the words "Ain't you ready" instead of the more Standard English form "Are you ready." He is corrected by Wilhelmina for his language usage. William reiterates that "ain't" is not the "proper word to use." Then the children proceed to ask the expert — the Judge. In lines 12 and 13, Billie responds with, "it don't sound." With some prompting by the Judge, Wilhelmina tells Billie how he should have said it in Standard
English. Wilhelmina tells him he should have begun the sentence as “It doesn’t sound.” The Judge uses this interchange as an opportunity to teach the standard form of the language. Although the above examples ("ain't" and "don't") are spelled correctly in standard English they parallel Dilliard's (1972) research that indicates that "from the simple negative structure of Plantation Creole and the antecedent pidgin, decreolized Black English, there developed three negators (dit'n, don', and ain')" (p. 102). Smitherman (1977) would take a more practical approach positing that the expression, "Ain't you ready, Wilhelmina..." uses "black rhythmic speech" and thereby plugs into the "style of Black Dialect" (p.3). In terms of the phrase "it don't sound," the Black English speaker will use both *it do* and *it does* although the *it do's* will dominate. It is normal for speakers of Black English to speak at any point on the range from Black English to Standard English (Smitherman, 1977).

Other views of language use are demonstrated in this example. The Judge asks Billie whether he should use the word “is” or “are” in the sentence “two and two.” Billie says, “Two and two is four” (October, 1921, p. 294).

Billikens responds:

"Two and two are four!" chirps in Billikens.
"There, Smarty! says William. "And do you know, Mr. Judge--this afternoon Wilhelmina corrected Billie when he used 'ain't.' Billie told her that she knew what he meant, so what difference did it make if he did say 'ain't.'"

The Judge beckons to Billie.
"It makes a world of difference," he says. "I know a boy who goes to school and pays attention to his lessons. He learns, Billie-boy. He is a cultured lad, with a bright future." He pauses. "Do you know the other boy, Billie?"

"Yes Mr. Judge," answers the guilty Billie. "but from now on, I'm going to pay attention to my lessons and be a cultured boy, too!" (October, 1921, p. 294)

The implication here is that learning standard English "makes a world of difference" to society and to one's perceived place in society. The child who
speaks Standard English is viewed as a "cultured lad." The "cultured lad" can look forward to a bright future educationally, financially and socially based on his cultural astuteness. The uncultured child ends up uneducated and with a meager future.

**Curriculum materials.** References to curriculum materials in *The Judge* illustrate how mainstream curriculum content does not accurately represent the histories and geography's of Africa. Moreover, it demonstrates how racial prejudice manifests itself in mainstream curriculum materials and how children must be knowledgeable about racial prejudice to understand it in multiple contexts.

For example, in the June 1921 issue, the following question is posed in *The Judge*: What is the greatest continent? Each child responds by discussing the continent of their choice. The Judge is the first to mention Africa as the greatest continent. The children are in disbelief that Africa is the greatest continent. Billy responds with the following:

...but how on earth can you say that Africa is the greatest continent? It is stuck way in the back of the Atlas and the geography [book] which Billy uses, devotes only a paragraph to it. (June, 1921, p. 168)

Although the Judge is a fictional representation of real life, this exemplifies how Fauset felt about the content and design of curriculum materials in the 1920s. The geography curriculum materials of the 1920s poorly portrayed the continent of Africa to "perpetuate the stereotype of the 'dark continent'" (Sinnette, 1965, p. 135). In school books, Africa was given little representation. Wilhelmina comments on this point:

"I was just wondering," mused Wilhelmina, "who the guys are that write our histories and geographies."
"Well you can bet they're not colored," said William.
"No—not yet," said the Judge.
"Do they tell lies? asked Billy.
"No they tell what they think is the truth."
"And I suppose," said Wilhelmina, "that what one thinks is the truth, is the truth."
"Certainly not," answered the Judge. (June, 1921, p. 168)

This example represents Fauset's knowledge of the curriculum and its writers in the 1920s; she was not aware of any blacks who produced curriculum materials. Wilhelmina questions who are these curriculum writers that write "our histories and geographies?" William thinks that the inclusion of "colored" people as curriculum developers would improve the representation of African and African American history in school books. Billy asks, "do they tell lies?" The Judge responds that they tell what they think is the truth. By limiting the truth, the curriculum developers imply that there is nothing of importance in Africa; thereby policing the acquisition of knowledge.

**Teacher-child dynamics.** The context imparts a teacher-child dynamic that models social interaction; socializing is a skill that all children need to learn for life. Many of the situations in *The Crisis* dictated the need for social skills and social interaction (e.g., the fraternities and social organizations).

At times the Judge, appears to be more of a teacher than a judge. He is in constant interaction with the children. His interactions with adults are limited. The Judge is constantly asking and answering questions that are characteristic of the role of a teacher; he is viewed as an authoritative figure. The following is one example of the Judge assuming the role of a teacher. The Judge chatters to the children:

James, you may sit here. *Please* don't be so stiff in that collar. Try to look natural. Adelaide may sit beside you—never mind the powder puff, Adelaide. Now Billikins, after you're through squirming, here's my knee; and Billie, to amuse you; yes, I know, Billie you'd like to put in a word to Father, but you won't—I shall do the talking. And even little Gertrude will refrain from comments and making faces. (March, 1920, p. 81)
In the above example, the Judge admonishes the children one by one. He prepares them to listen to what is forthcoming. The Judge speaks to each one individually commenting and advising on their behavior, directing and redirecting actions and thoughts, and teaching norms children need to educate themselves about life. This interaction with the students emulates what teachers do in a classroom setting when they are preparing children to learn. The Judge is also preparing the children to focus on their learning.

Beginning with the September 1920 issue, the turns between the Judge and the children are very similar to that in a classroom. For example, the Judge talks, then a child talks; the Judge talks, then a child talks. These kinds of turn-taking often happen in classroom situations where the teacher talks, then the child talks; the teacher talks, and then the child talks. For example, the following conversation happened in the September 1920 issue:

Billie: But is ALL wealth made by work?
Judge: No, some wealth is made by Nature, like coal, oil and diamonds.
Billie: And who does that belong to?
Judge: It ought to belong to the Nation, but it often belongs to the man who finds it first.
Billie: That's lucky, ain't it?
Judge: Yes it's luck. (p. 280)

Fauset continues with this question answer turn-taking in later issues. This allowed the children and the Judge to continue to discuss a diversity of topics in a predictable format. Moreover, this also allowed the topic to be clearly defined and understood. In the first couple of issues, the Judge tries to establish a framework or format for the column. By the September 1920 issue, the article settles into a consistent Question-Answer-Question-Answer format that provides a predictable flow and organization to the column. The topics in this department focused on educating children about life.
As The Crow Files

In *As The Crow Flies*, the context was made textually visible as it began to define DuBois' educational philosophy by describing social, political and economic events throughout the world. This news format of snippets on the world news parallels that depicted in *The Crisis*.

*As The Crow Files* was a department in *The Brownies' Book* written by DuBois. The section usually ran two to three pages in length. In *As The Crow Flies*, the crow is the main character; he is described as a black bird who shines with “dark blues and purples, with little hints of gold in his mighty wings” (January, 1920, p. 23). The crow is anthropomorphized with the human characteristic of speech. In most of the publications, the crow introduces two subsections—the international news and the domestic news; these introductions are brief, usually consisting of 1 to 2 paragraphs with 2 to 5 sentences per paragraph. The introductions are followed by a listing of historical facts. The crow flies around the earth and reports what he sees on his journeys. He informs readers of the social, political, and economic happenings around the world. The format provides a brief snippet of historical facts on national and international news and events.

For example, the news provided readers with an avenue to current events not yet available in school books. This point is supported in the first section of *As The Crow Flies* (January, 1920). The crow engages in a conversation with a character called Little Boy with the Big Voice; this character only appears in this issue. They briefly discuss the destructiveness of the war and then move into describing 1919 as the year of great peace. In the following conversation, the crow informs the reader of the instructional purposes of *As The Crow Flies*:

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"O me, O my" said the Little Voice with the Big Boy\textsuperscript{28}, "I hadn't heard of 1919."
"That's because it's so near."
“Well, tell me quick before they stick it into my history and make me study it three times a week at 2:45 p.m. and examination Thursdays, with dates."
“I don't remember dates,” said the Crow, “but here are the facts.”
(January, 1920, p. 23)

As The Crow Flies was meant to provide children, students, and learners with facts on the current events of the time period. These current events were timely in that they reported what was happening in the years 1919 (January 1920 issue only), 1920 (February-December 1920 issues) and 1921 (January-December 1921). The information is based on facts and not yet biased with the dominant culture's perspective; however DuBois does offer his own perspectives in several examples. Moreover, these current events educated children about the world in which they lived. As The Crow Flies exemplifies what DuBois meant when he stated that education must teach about life.

DuBois provided information on the economy that included issues such as: cotton prices, the high cost of living, food prices, and the national debt. He noted international news, not just domestic news. For example, the international news featured stories about peace relations with Russia, hunger strikers in Belfast, a revolution in Nicaragua, world hunger, a world wide crime wave, and the debts owed by England and France to the U.S. Domestic reports covered the president’s health, deaths of famous people, American soldiers killed and wounded, women's right to vote, liquor prohibition, race riots, lynchings, the eight hour work day, child labor, railroads and assassinations.

Most of the historical facts were just reported; however several included DuBois' opinions. For example, in the September 1920 issue DuBois expressed his thoughts on Japanese people in the U.S.:
In the United States there are 80,000 Japanese in California. They are thrifty and honest and are the best farmers in the state. For this reason the whites hate them and are trying to keep them from buying land and working. Their excuse is that the Japanese want to marry the whites, which is, of course, untrue. (p. 274)

The fact is that "there are 80,000 Japanese in California." Next, the statement moves into DuBois' opinion or unsupported information about Japanese people. DuBois states that Japanese people are honest, thrifty and good farmers, and therefore whites hate them. White people, DuBois adds, are trying to prevent Japanese people from progressing economically; miscegenation is a false assumption of white people. Given the brevity of the historical facts presented, these assumptions are not supported through statistics or other research. I gathered that DuBois made these assumptions based on patterns of behavior or patterns of documented or undocumented facts. In this example, there is no pattern of facts to support DuBois' opinion. This historical fact exemplifies how the ideologies of the designers of instructional materials become a part of the instructional product. It is not only important to recognize what is presented but how it is presented.

Initially, I viewed the reporting of these historical facts as a negative influence on the education of children. I thought it contradicted DuBois' educational philosophy that included providing an education where children could be happy. These events did not seem to invoke feelings of happiness; on the contrary they seemed disheartening. DuBois' educational philosophy sees good and bad as complementary versus opposing factors. For example, DuBois expresses his beliefs about happiness as the crow in the July 1921 issue. He states, "Happiness is not something to seek, it is something in us. I am happy, yet as I fly and fly, I cannot find happiness" (p. 206). DuBois believed that happiness is not found in the world but within ourselves. Although there are
negative things happening in the world, we must find happiness in ourselves. We must learn how to make ourselves happy. On the other hand, "sorrow," states the crow, "is not in us, but about us. I find sorrow everywhere, but there lies no sorrow in my light and flying heart" (July, 1921, p. 207). Sorrow, therefore, is reproduced by our interactions with society and whether we buy into it determines our level of happiness. How then can we teach children to view happiness and sorrow as circumstances of life? Children's literature attempts to address these issues, but how can these important humanistic issues be supplanted in the K-12 curriculum without espousing any one group's political, social, moral or religious values? In any instructional material, some groups ideologies are always expressed, and they are usually those of the dominant culture.

The crow also symbolized intellectual freedom—in particular the freedom of thought and the freedom to acquire knowledge. This intellectual freedom is tied to knowledge of the world and the people in the world. Through an anthropomorphic character, the crow, DuBois was able to narrate the history of the world. He saw the acquisition of knowledge parallel to how the mind can travel vicariously to different places in the world through the act of reading. DuBois characterized this intellectual freedom for children in this department. For example, in a paragraph introducing the international news, the crow says, "How wonderful it is to be a crow? But how much more wonderful it is to be a little Brownie? And may I take you on a flying trip, Brownie-dear? There are so many things of interest across the sea. Caw! Caw! Caw!" (October, 1921, p. 296). In this excerpt, the crow adopts a positive stance on being himself and on the Brownies being themselves. The crow can go any where on earth and experience freedom. It is also wonderful to be a Brownie,
but more importantly it is wonderful to be alive and free. The crow offers to take the Brownies with him on his journey across international waters. They can explore parts of the world they are unable to physically visit. The crow thus offers the Brownies' intellectual freedom—the opportunity to leave their present state of affairs. Through reading, the Brownies can travel the world. They can be free.

The same vicarious intellectual experience is offered as the crow journeys back to the United States. Crow introduces the domestic news: "And now that we are home again, shall we see what has been going on here? America, you know, is a very important place. Caw! Caw! Caw!" (October, 1921, p. 297). Again, the children can journey places in their country through the power of words. They can experience what is happening in other states and enjoy the knowledge they have acquired. DuBois viewed knowledge of national and international events important for intellectual development.

Responses to *As The Crow Flies* are exemplified in this letter written by a child in *The Jury* section. It read:

When I grow up, I am going to have a newspaper or a magazine—I don’t know which, yet. I think *The Brownies’ Book* has a lot of class and I’m awfully glad you started it. I am sure it will be a success, because so many colored folks want to read the things colored people do and say. The part I like, though, is *As The Crow Flies*; you can learn such a lot about the whole world in those little paragraphs. We have a class in Current Events in our high school, and if you always publish that part, I’d be willing to buy it just for that. You bet I’m going to shine along the line of Current Events. (March, 1920, p. 83)

Evidently, DuBois’ use of *As The Crow Flies* has inspired this young man to pursue the newspaper or magazine business where he can report on current events. *As The Crow Flies* contained information that this student could use as intellectual fuel to compete with others in the area of current events.
The Jury

The context of The Jury contained concepts from DuBois' educational philosophy that includes self sacrifice, race pride and racial identity. These concepts were also expressed in The Crisis.

The Jury is another department in The Brownies' Book that appeared in all publications except the August 1921 issue. It was printed on one to two pages of the magazine. The Jury section printed letters from children who wrote to the magazine. This section provided a window into the lives of the readers of The Brownies' Book. The Jury received letters from children in the Philippines, the United States and Cuba. The child in the Philippines was sent several issues of The Brownies' Book from her aunt. Other children received subscriptions from family members who also read The Crisis, as a gift from a loved one, and some children worked jobs to earn enough for a single publication or a year's subscription. For example, Mary Perkins writes, "I make pennies by sewing rags together to make rag carpets and I am going to buy The Brownies' Book" (January, 1920, p. 15). A boy writes:

I have been reading The Brownies' Book since it first came out. I buy it for myself, too. You see, the boys on my street have a club, and we go errands for people. We don't charge, but nearly always they give us a nickel and sometimes a dime.

I always save enough to buy The Brownies' Book when it comes out; then I buy tops and marbles and kites." (July, 1921, p. 208)

Another boy writes:

I paid for my year's subscription by selling lemonade last summer on a very hot street. I am going to get my dollar and a half the same way this year. (July, 1921, p. 208)

The child writers reported working towards the purchase of this publication as if it were a valuable commodity they must possess; the need to read about other black children and connect with their culture motivated these children.

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It is important to note that the children who wrote letters seemed to come from a variety of socioeconomic levels. Children who had to work by running errands for people, sewing rags together, and making lemonade did not have the financial resources to purchase the magazine. These children demonstrate the act of self-sacrifice and a strong work ethic.

Classroom use. The context of The Jury reveals how the classroom use of The Brownies' Book motivated children to want to learn. Moreover, the context instilled in children concepts of race pride and racial identity.

The Brownies' Book was used by teachers in many classrooms, brought to school by children and found in school libraries. The Brownies' Book was not just a magazine; it was an instructional tool. As an example, one child writes; "It's a magazine so merry and instructive that I keep all the numbers that I have received in my little library like the most valuable books that I have" (July, 1920, p. 215). Another child writes that he came upon The Brownies' Book in his school library and immediately read it from cover to cover (July, 1920, p. 215).

Two young men indicate in their letter how The Brownies' Book became a part of their academic curriculum. They write:

English is our main study, and our lessons are practically from The Brownies' Book which we find very interesting and amusing.

Our teacher, Mrs. Caroline Bond Day, has written several stories in The Brownies' Book. We find that this magazine broadens our ideas and increases our vocabularies. We are advising every boy and girl to read it (May, 1921, p. 156).

In the above example, the students are exposed to The Brownies' Book as a part of their classroom curriculum because of the magazine's influence on their teacher. Moreover, their teacher published in this magazine and considered the material instructional. The Brownies' Book was used during their English instruction, and students believed that the content expanded
their knowledge and vocabulary. This belief of the boys meant that the content of The Brownies' Book was conducive to educating children; it motivated the students to want to learn. Motivation is an independent construct above and beyond intelligence (Gottfried, 1990). Gottfried (1990) argues that motivation is "positively related to achievement, intellectual ability, and perception of competence" (p. 535). Thereby, children who are motivated by the content of instructional materials are more likely to be academically successful, increase their intellectual ability and expand their perception of competence.

Children's feelings about The Brownies' Book. The context of The Jury revealed how children felt about the use of The Brownies' Book. Moreover, the context instilled in children concepts such as race pride, black history, happiness, and racial identity.

For example, several letters mention that The Brownies' Book contained "real" stories (March, 1920, p. 83). One letter read:

...Miss Pocahontas told me about a story you wrote about some children in a French class and she said it was so real. And that's just why I like the poems you wrote, because they were so real. Won't you please write some more? (June, 1920, p. 178)

I don't care so much about reading but I do like to read The Brownies' Book and real things. And I read some to my little sister about the Judge, so now when I ask her who is the Judge, she says the man who wears ermine capes and knows lots of stories. She's only three years old and I am ten." (June, 1920, p. 178)

The children perceived real stories to be those that related to their lives; these stories authenticated their history, culture and communities. Even fiction and poetry can be conceived as "real" if the content of the materials relates to that child's social experiences. Things are "real" to children when the situation has happened or could happen within their reality of the world. Therefore, it could be a real folktale because the child may have heard a
similar story from a family member. It could be a real poem, because the poem discusses a subject familiar to the child. Creating authentic instructional materials that represent the cultural, historical and social dynamics of a community of people is imperative but uncommon. *The Brownies' Book* has captured elements to designing curricula that are culturally diverse.

Many of the children’s letters expressed their appreciation for the publication of this magazine. They were happy, expressed feelings of race pride, and identified with the black images in the magazine. For example, a girl writes that her little sister walks around hugging the magazine and they have to persuade her to give it up (March, 1920). Two girls write that they enjoy the magazine and wish it were thicker so they would have more to read (August, 1920). A sixth grade girl writes:

> Please allow me space in your paper to tell how I enjoy reading *The Brownies’ Book*. I have received three copies and they are the most interesting books that I ever read, and I love them because they tell about my own race. (April, 1921, p. 121)

Other examples of children letters state the following: “I am proud of THE BROWNIES’ BOOK” (November, 1920, p. 350). “I’m very glad to see that *The Brownies’ Book* gets better and better each issue” (July, 1921, p. 208). The children enthusiastically welcomed the magazine but more importantly its content. They found the magazine addressed their needs, and they desired more of *The Brownies’ Book*. The magazine represented information for children from ages six to sixteen. This is a broad age range to address in one magazine. It also crosses many grade levels. This material was not bound by classroom grades or children’s age. In the example above, the young girl describes how her younger sister held the book and refused to let it go. The child was captured by the beautiful pictures of children of all ages even though she could not yet read. The magazine captured children of all ages.
In this example, a child comments on the concepts of black history, race pride and racial identity in TBB. Claudia Moore of Pittsburgh, PA writes:

I get so tired of hearing only of white heroes and celebrating holidays in their honor. I think every year we ought to have parades or some sort of big time on Douglass' birthday and on the anniversary of Crispus Attucks' death. I wish you'd say something about this in *The Brownies' Book*. All the colored girls in my class said they wished so too when I told them I was going to write you. (March, 1920, p. 83)

The children wanted more than just the expression of their culture in written form but felt that the world should know about the many accomplishments of African Americans. They urged *The Brownies' Book* to get the word out. Through exposure to *The Brownies' Book* these children noticed other omissions of African Americans in their social worlds. They experienced the exclusion of black [heroes and heroines] and the lack of celebrations in honor of black people. These children were critical of the inequality in their social worlds. They recognized their responsibility to speak out and did so in *The Brownies' Book*.

Another point to note is that most of the children who wrote to *The Jury* seemed to be very confident and strong minded children. The children aspired to be writers, musicians, doctors, nurses, teachers, and business owners (e.g., newspapers or magazines businesses). One child wrote, "I think I'd like to plan houses for men to build" (January, 1920, p. 15); he wanted to be an architect. They believed in themselves, their history, their culture, and their academic abilities. They were confident in what their goals were in life. They knew they would be successful. Most loved to read or felt motivated to read *The Brownies' Book*. A fifteen year old male teenager writes: "But if grit and unwavering determination are all that's needed—well, I may be over-confident, but I've really no thoughts of failure" (July, 1920, p. 215).
The Grown-Ups’ Corner

The context of The Grown-Ups’ Corner revealed parents’ concern that their children learn about the concepts of racial pride, love and racial identity. Again, these concepts are consistent with those expressed in The Crisis. In addition, the context demonstrated the designers’ desperation to keep the magazine going and the reality of its demise.

The Grown-Ups’ Corner was a department in The Brownies’ Book. It usually took up one to two pages of space, and it contained letters written by adults to the magazine. The designers of The Brownies’ Book choose to include this section because they felt that parents should be given an opportunity to communicate their thoughts about the magazine. In addition, the designers felt that black parents understood the problems associated with raising black children and the needs of black children (January, 1920). For example, the designers wrote:

We want, therefore, the constant co-operation of parents, telling us what we ought to do, and what we ought to publish, and what we ought not to publish, and just what their problems are, what they need for themselves and for their children. (January, 1920, p. 25)

DuBois and Fauset consistently sought the participation of parents in the growth of the magazine. They wanted parents to comment on the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of the content in The Brownies’ Book. Since adults would be the purchasers of subscriptions their constant participation was essential to the continued production of the magazine. Children alone could not support the publication goals of The Brownies’ Book. The designers stated: “We trust that parents will write us freely and continually and let us have the benefit of their wisdom” (January, 1920, p. 25).

The parents who responded in The Grown-Ups’ Corner wanted to instill ideas of racial pride into their children; and they thought the publication
could aid them in this endeavor. For example, one parent talked about her child's experience of being called a "Nigger" by white children. The parent expressed her indignation and how she wanted to instill "race love and race pride" into her child (January, 1920, p. 25). She thought that by passing the magazine around to her white neighbors it would educate them and the white parents would in turn educate their children (January, 1920). Another parent writes: "Our little girl is dark brown, and we want her to be proud of her color and to know that it isn't the kind of skin people have that makes them great" (February, 1920, p. 45). These examples demonstrate that some parents felt overwhelmed with the task of educating their children about the subject of race including race pride and racial identity. They sought outside sources like *The Brownies' Book* to assist them in trying to explain these major social issues.

The majority of the letters from parents praised the publication and its designers. For example, subscribers wrote:

> We are all very fond of this newcomer in the periodical world. I sincerely hope it will succeed. (March, 1920, p. 70)
> The little book is very appealing. (March, 1920, p. 70)
> You are to be congratulated. (April, 1920, p. 109)
> *The Brownies' Book* is an answer to the call of our children at our library. (April, 1920, p. 109)
> You will, I am sure, meet with much deserved success, and the boys and girls throughout America will thank you for introducing a magazine that tells them something of what their own race is doing. (April, 1920, p. 109)
> It is highly entertaining for grown-ups as well as for the kiddies. Our race is sorely in need of more literature of this class. (August, 1920, p. 241)

In both *The Jury* and *The Grown-Ups' Corner* adults and children expressed great hope that the magazine would succeed. However, this success they left on the shoulders of the designers of *The Brownies' Book*. Some, if not all, did not see the success or failure of this black publication as their
responsibility. The designers desperately wanted contributions besides their own. However, adult subscriber participation was limited. As an example, by the May 1920 issue, the designers thanked parents and adults for their letters of praise but urged them to approach future letters a little differently. The designers wanted adults to ask questions such as how to advise their children (on particular subjects like dating), spend their vacation, and manage their time. They sought letters from adults that asked what their children should read and questions that asked for statistical data on the benefits of an education. The designers wanted to advise adults on the needs of their gifted and talented children. They write:

Tell us what colored heroes and heroines you would like us to talk about, what foreign countries you would like described, briefly what dark children—white too, for that matter, for we colored people must set the example of broadness—[that we] are doing over the glorious world. And offer us all sorts of suggestions. We need them and truly want them.

But above all, make use of this column. I want information about dark people along any line ask our “Mr. Judge”, as one of your little readers calls him. He knows. Don’t you remember he said in the first issue of The Brownies’ Book, “I know all things, except a few”? Try him and see how very few indeed are those things which he doesn’t know. (May, 1920, p. 139)

The designers’ desperation for ideas on content is exhibited in the above example. Although the designers had a broad notion of what its audience wanted (i.e., black history, world history), they wanted the adult subscribers to cite specific examples of interest. The responses from their subscribers meant the continued success or failure of the column and ultimately the magazine. The designers state in lines 3 and 4 “we colored people must set the example of broadness.” After reading this statement, I asked myself why is it that blacks must prove that they are more educated or more broadly educated than whites? Must blacks prove that they know more than white people? Is this part of the prevailing ideology of black people that they can not just be good but they
have to be better—than the white man? Or is this all a reaction to the dominant culture's history of racial prejudice and discrimination?

By lines 5 through 11, the feeling of urgency is expressed by the designers. They knew that without responses from their adult subscribers that the magazine would eventually fold. The designers wanted *The Grown-Ups' Corner* to be an adult version of *The Judge*. Perhaps the designers wanted too much from these busy adults. Not only did they want a subscription, but they wanted their personal involvement. That involvement provided the designers with their need for historical facts, educational advice, parental advice, and information about the overall content of the magazine.

In the January 1921 issue, the designers took over *The Grown-Ups' Corner* and wrote another message to adults. This message detailed their needs in terms of manuscripts submissions, pictures, subscribers, and financing the publication. They sought manuscripts that contained interesting stories about children who live on the east or west coasts. The designers sought photograph submissions but urged parents that publication was on a first come first serve basis. They impressed upon adults the costly process of magazine publication especially one that included photographs such as *The Brownies' Book*. They implored parents and children to make a commitment to get 3 new subscribers. The goals were to obtain a total of 12,000 subscribers; they presently had less 5,000 subscribers. The designers impressed upon its subscribers that 98% of the articles contributed were from black men, women and children. All the illustrations except one were from black artists. "Is not a magazine which insures such beginnings worthy of your wholehearted support?" the designers asked (p. 25).
Unfortunately, not enough people answered their call. The Grown-Ups' Corner appeared in 10 issues in 1920 and 4 issues in 1921 (January, February, May and April). The lack of financial support may have contributed to the end of the department after the April 1921 issue and to the ultimate demise of the publication.

**Little People of the Month**

The context of Little People of the Month parallels that of The Crisis in that it reported nationally on the activities of black people. Moreover, this section fulfilled DuBois' educational philosophy that education must teach life.

**Little People of the Month** was a department in The Brownies' Book. It was published in every issue except the July 1921 issue and usually covered 1 to 4 pages. The format of this section ranged from one article on a group to snippets of reports on various children.

In this section, the designers solicited pictures from grammar and High School graduates who achieved extraordinary accomplishments. Along with the picture, the graduate's name and information were printed. Types of accomplishments included, academic and extracurricular accomplishments, such as good conduct, perfect attendance, scholarships, awards, test scores, singing and music recitals, new births, and tackling house chores. For example, a typical report might read:

David I. Martin, Jr. was born in New York City, October 5, 1907. At the age of 3 he could play melodies on the violin; at 4 years of age he began to study under his father and was looked upon as a prodigy of the violin. (January, 1921, p. 21)

A few obituaries were also included. The obituaries reported were viewed respectfully. For example one read:

This little girl, the only child of Abe M. and Amelia Long, left her parents forever August 15, 1919. She is not really dead, though--she is
still living "In that great cloister's quiet and seclusion. By guardian angels led." (January, 1920, p. 29)

Again the exposure of children to the concept of death is a part of DuBois' philosophy that "Education must teach life." Death is a normal part of life and to ignore its existence is to ignore an aspect of life. Children and adults must come to understand and learn how to deal with one of life's greatest challenges--death.

This section reported the happenings in communities around the United States. Anything that was worth praising could become a part of Little People of the Month. Children could see the accomplishments of other black children and know that being successful is possible and desirable. This was also a forum to praise the accomplishments of black people because in other instructional materials this history was ignored, omitted, or misrepresented.

Playtime

The Playtime and Literature sections contain materials provided by outside writers. Therefore, I have evaluated these sections based on their overall ability to represent social, cultural and economic happenings. These examples are consistent with DuBois' educational vision in that he wanted children to experience happiness and love by engaging in amusements and to become familiar with the history and accomplishments of black people. The Playtime activities provided fun games for children and the literature sections provided stories about black history, race pride and racial identity.

The Playtime department usually covered 1 to 3 pages per issue although it was not included in all issues of The Brownies' Book. This section contained poetry, games, music, African riddles and proverbs, and puzzles. There were several music and dance selections (e.g., a folk dance, a nursery rhyme dance); these music and dance pieces included the song, sheet music, and directions
for the dance movements (e.g., touch right toe to back, touch right toe to front). Several dance selections included a diagram of the feet movement (April, 1920, p. 122-123).

In the April 1920 issue, for example, Carrie W. Clifford wrote a poem called the Kindergarten Song. Each verse of the song was illustrated with pictures of children and adults from different nationalities. The poem read:

Little babies in a row. Little dresses white as snow; No hair, crinkled hair, straight hair, curls—Lovely little boys and girls.
Little children in a ring, Hear them as they gaily sing! Red child, yellow child, black child, white—That's what makes the ring all right.
Lad and lassie, youth and maid, Born in sunshine, born in shade; Zulu, Equimaux, Saxon, Jew, United, make the world come true!
God's big children all at work, Not one dares his task to shirk; "All for each, and each for all"—White man, red man, black man, tall. (April, 1920, p. 124)

In this song, the idea of unity among diverse groups of people is expressed. This idea is also consistent with DuBois' educational philosophy; he sought to teach universal love and brotherhood. A logical question is, how is it possible to teach these ideas through songs, music, games, and literature? DuBois apparently felt that consistent exposure to these ideas would eventually achieve these goals.

*Playtime* exposed children to a variety of game activities that could be used to pass the time, for amusement, or for reinforcing curriculum learned at school. For example, the guessing games, games for a rainy day, games using art materials and the international games seemed to be activities to pass the time or for amusement. The games related to school curriculum such as the geography game, adverb game, rhyming game, and Negro History game seemed to reinforce curriculum consistent with that presented in a school setting.
Literature (Fiction, Nonfiction, Poetry)

The context of the literature revealed a focus on good literature in varied content areas. Some stories focused on black people, black heritage or black culture. Many stories held concepts consistent with DuBois' educational philosophy.

The fiction and non-fiction articles were written by adults and children. These articles were interspersed throughout each publication and represented the bulk of each issue. A typical issue might contain 5 to 8 articles, mostly fiction, ranging in length from 1 to 6 pages. The type of fiction published included African folktales, African myths, fairytales, plays, legends, and fiction.

Some of the fiction was translated from other languages or adapted from literary works. The main characters in some stories were animals (tigers, rabbits, bears, pigs). Human characters portrayed a variety of ethnicity's and races. Ultimately, the content or message of the story was more important than the ethnicity or race of the character. For example in the July 1921 issue, Langston Hughes wrote a short play entitled *The Gold Piece*. In this story, the characters Rosa and Pablo have a gold piece that they plan to use to buy all the things they ever wanted. Then an old woman passing through is allowed to rest at their home; she tells the story of her blind son who would be given sight if she could afford the doctors. After some reservation, Rosa and Pablo mutually decide to give the woman the gold piece so that she can afford the doctors for her son. The message in this story supports the act of giving and helping others who are less fortunate than yourself--self sacrifice.

Non-fiction stories came in the form of news articles and biographies. For example one news article reported on the Girl Reserves who were a youth
organization from the YWCA. Examples of biographies included those of Benjamín Banneker (who created almanacs) and Samuel Coleridge-Taylor (a composer and musician). Although several biographies stated that they were true stories, many read like historical fiction in that the stories were dramatically and flamboyantly written.

Out of the 24 issues of The Brownies' Book, there were only 4 literary selections featuring Black Dialect. Annie Virginia Culbertson wrote the poem The Origin of White Folks (January, 1920). The February 1920 issue featured a folktale entitled The Story of "Creasus" by Katie Jones Harvell. The third literary selection was a folktale from the Anancy stories; this story came from the Jamaica, West Indies and is written in Patois (March, 1920). The last story, James Alpheus Butler Jr's, The Elusive Idea was published in the October, 1920 issue and was written in both Standard English and a Southern dialect of Black English\textsuperscript{29}. For example, the story tells of Marcus Cornelious Smith, an aspiring writer, who meets 'Lias a country boy. This interaction inspires Marcus to write since he had been experiencing a period of writer's block. In this scene, they talk about 'Lias' problem with old man Dukes. Old man Dukes sent his son Jim to 'Lias mother's house, and Jim collected the house note that was previously paid. 'Lias is angry about the whole situation:

Marcus was thoughtful. This was interesting as well as pathetic.
"Didn't you go to old man Dukes?" he asked, interested.
"Sho'," 'Lias answered, "but whut good? None! Ole scallywag! He
'clares he jes' received de 'mount on de receipt, an' o' course I can't say
nothin' cause I guess he did. Jim kept de rest."
"That's really a shame," muttered Marcus.
"I hates it 'cause o' Ma," continued 'Lias. "We wuz jes' erabout
fixed pretty when he comes. I shore mean ter git him. Gee! he's a
scound'el. Heah I gotter go sellin' fish ter git Ma's medicine bill paid."
'Lias paused a moment, then added quickly: "It ain't that I don't
want ter work sellin' fish,--it's jes' de thought of de reason why I hab
ter sell it."
Marcus said he understood. He was thinking hard. Gee! he wished
he could do something for 'Lias. But it was almost impossible." (October,
1920, p. 313)

In this example, the author has used standard English as the framework and then intertwined a Southern Black Dialect through the character of 'Lias. Lines 1, 2, 6, 13 and 14 are written in Standard English. These are the lines spoken by Marcus or written by the author of the story (i.e., the description). Lines 3-5, 7-12 are written in a Southern version of Black Dialect. Wolfrumb and Fasold (1969), both linguists, argue that even in rural parts of the South, Black English is "characteristically different from the speech of the lower socioeconomic class white[s]" (p. 139). In William A. Stewart's 1969, article *Negro Dialect in the Teaching of Reading*, he offers several points for writing reading materials for black children in the inner city. The above excerpt demonstrates, for example, that to write Black English in a Standard English orthography, Black English would take out the prefix of the word (Stewart, 1969) as exemplified in line 4 BE "'clares" for SE "declare," line 4 BE "'mount" for SE "amount," or line 5 BE "'cause" for SE "because." Another example of written forms of "literary-dialect orthography" is the use of the apostrophe, that is substituted for letters used in SE but not in BE. For example, in line 4 BE "an'" for SE "and," line 9 BE "scound'el" for SE "scoundrel," or line 9 BE "sellin'" or SE "selling." An example of the use of a Black Dialect negation pattern (Smitherman, 1977) or double negative is indicated on lines 4 and 5 BE "I can't say nothin'" for SE "I can not say anything. The word "git" for "get" in line 8 exemplifies Southern speech that has been acquired by Northern speakers of Black Dialect; there is no distinction between /i/ and /e/ (Labov, 1969). Another feature shared by Northern speakers of Black Dialect is the initial "th" pronounced as [d]; this is exemplified in line 4 BE "de" for SE "the" (Dillard,
These examples demonstrate the influence of Black Dialect on Southern regional dialect.

This example of the use of Black Dialect exemplifies what the editors felt was important in educating black children. Black children should be exposed to literature in mainstream English and dialects of Black English. These opportunities inform the reader to the richness of the language and validates the language in its written form. The learner is more likely to read other material written in Black Dialect if they have at some point been exposed it. The richness of the language can not be appreciated without constant exposure and education about dialects of English. In the 1920s, Black Dialect was not the form of writing appreciated by major publishers. However, several literary works were successfully published in Black Dialect (e.g., Sojourner Truth's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*; Joel Chandler Harris' *Uncle Remus*). Although TBB did not include many examples of literary works with Black Dialect, the few samples indicate that the designers recognized Black Dialect as a valid form of writing that represented black people and black culture. They saw language variations as part of DuBois' philosophy that "education must teach life."

Advertisements

The context of the advertisements spoke to DuBois' desire to educate blacks using literature by or about black people. It also focused on the financial need that the magazine desired.

In *The Brownies' Book*, advertisements were included on the last one to two pages. The advertisements varied addressing educational establishments, literature, cosmetic products, and ads for financial assistance. For example, *The Stenographer's Institute*, advertised classes in shorthand, typing and bookkeeping. Literature written by black and white authors was advertised in
many issues by DuBois and Dill Publishers. Some of those authors and publications included: Julie L. Henderson's, A Child's Story of Dunbar; Mary White Ovington's, Hazel; Benjamin G. Brawley's, History of the Negro; and Elizabeth Ross Haynes' The Unsung Heroes (biographies of men and women of the black race). Other advertisements included a list of 27 books dealing with the "Negro Problem" (July, 1921, p. 217).

The cosmetic product advertisements of Madam C. J. Walker were an aberration in that the products addressed an adult audience versus children, and they were unusual products. For example, the September 1920 issue advertised Madam C. J. Walker's Superfine Preparations for the Hair and for the Skin; the products for purchase included: Wonderful Hair Grower, Vanishing Cream, Temple Grower, Vegetable Shampoo, Superfine face powder, complexion soap, antiseptic dental cream and Witch Hazel Jelly (p. 290).

Some of the major advertisements addressed the financial assistance that the magazine desperately sought to obtain. For example, by the June 1920 issue, the inside cover changed from This is The Brownies Book... to an advertised message to parents, children and teachers. This message addressed each group and stressed the groups perceived desire for a magazine such as The Brownies' Book; it encouraged these groups to tell others about the magazine. The succeeding issues in 1920 contained advertisements on the inside cover asking for help in obtaining subscribers and agents for The Brownies' Book. (Agents took subscriptions and sold individual copies). In the November 1920 issue, special subscription offers were advertised. Five paid subscriptions would entitle the sender to one free year of The Brownies' Book. By the March 1921 issue, the publishers launched a Special Circulation Campaign. This was advertised on the inside cover of the issue. The campaign
offered gold or silver medals to persons in the United States who sent in the largest number of subscriptions. The person who sold the most would receive a $50 scholarship for four years, and it would be paid to the school where they obtained their education.

The advertisements demonstrated the great financial need that the magazine faced. Moreover, the advertisements served to financially support the publication, writers, institutions, and products with a black focus.

**Graphics**

The context of *The Brownies’ Book* revealed graphics in the form of sketches, colored drawings and color photography. Many graphics depicted black men, women and children, and the young and old. Moreover, these black images instilled the concepts of race pride, racial identity, and self love. The photos expressed concepts such as politics and racial uplifting consistent with those represented in *The Crisis*. The use of photographs parallel *The Crisis* magazine that also published many photographs of black people.

The graphics were dispersed throughout *The Brownies’ Book*. The average issue contained 15 to 20 pages of sketches and photographs. The graphics varied in their consumption of space; some took up two full pages, a full page, half a page, three quarters of a page and as small as 2" x 2." The actual size of one page of *The Brownies’ Book* was 8 1/2 inches wide by 10 1/2 inches in length. The cover pages embodied a glossy consistency and a heavier weight paper than the interior pages that were duller and lighter in weight.

For example, the cover pages of the magazine contained graphics that represented a theme or promoted racial identity and pride. If a child appeared to be black, brown, or beige in color, I classified this as a representation of racial identity and pride. Black children were published on three cover pages.
in photograph form (January, 1920; September, 1920; April, 1921). These photographs of black people help children to identify themselves with black people. The exclusion of authentic representations of black people convinces children that their image is not worthy enough to be seen by the public; that some thing is wrong with the color of "black" skin.

The types of themes represented in the monthly issues included seasonal themes such as Easter, Christmas, Valentine's Day and playful themes such as "Brownies Land" and "Happy Hour." The majority of the cover pages 19 out of 24 were sketches and many of these sketches represented children at play. The sketches were done by a variety of artists and focused on fantasy or child like images versus the reality of a photograph.

The cover pages of The Brownies' Book were special because of the use of color. For example, the first issue (January, 1920), blazed a photograph of a smiling chocolate colored girl in a white capped dress. Children dressed as such were often referred to in issues as angels. Some of the cover page sketches were tinted a certain color (e.g., red, green). Other more elaborate colored covers are exemplified in the March 1920 issue. The cover sketch represents a fictionalized fairyland entitled "Brownies Land." The title The Brownies Book was colored a fluorescent orange. The same color adorned the hair of a girl, the roses in a tree, and painted the landscape of the sketch. Other colors were used throughout the sketch such as peach, for the legs of an elf, as part of the gowns worn by the fairies, for a large mushroom, and for a flower. The color gray spread throughout the elf's hat and face, to shade two goblins, and to color the dresses of 3 dancing fairies. Royal blue shaded the sky. The color black was used to silhouette the trees, mountains, and the shadows of the characters. The color white filled in the beard of an elf, the
socks and dress of the girl, the moon, a sheet of paper, and the arms and face of the fairies.

The graphics that went with stories assisted in the visualization of the story. These sketched pictures supported the context and aided the reader in following the authors' vision of the story.

The majority of the visual representations were in the form of photographs. For example, there were pages and pages of well dressed and groomed black children who posed for portrait like photographs. These photographs projected images of race pride. Race pride is important for the social development of black children. The absence of race pride produces children who continue to search for their identity into adulthood. The majority of the photographs were of black children, teens and young adults. These images instill pride in one's race because they evoke images of people who are positive representations of black people. The people in these photographs looked well groomed, well bred, healthy, happy, beautiful, intelligent, and prosperous. These types of images instill in children the desire to emulate these images of black folk and to develop pride in one's racial heritage.

Other photographs represented the concept of educational attainment. For example, the many photographs of graduates for nursing schools, high schools and colleges illustrated to the reader that black people were acquiring a higher education, that a higher education was attainable, and it implied that educational attainment led to financial security. This is consistent with the theme of racial uplifting as represented in The Crisis.

Some photographs alluded to the political climate of the 1920s. For example, the January 1920 issue included a photograph entitled Children in
the "Silent Protest" Parade, New York City" (p. 26). Hundreds of Sunday school children marched to protest the "lynchings and brutalities in the South" (Sinnette, 1965, p.133). The photograph was in black and white. It pictured black girls dressed in white or pale colored dresses and shoes with bonnets on top of their heads. Ten to fifteen girls held hands in each row; the rows of white dresses filled the photograph. A black woman was at each end of the row joined by the hand of a young girl; they dressed in a similar Sunday garb. Signs were held by adults that read: "Give us a chance to live," "Unto the least of these my brethren," "Suffer little children," "forget them not," and "we have 30,000 carpenters" (p. 26).

The publication itself makes a political statement that despite the exclusion of black images in the mainstream press, blacks found a way to publish and distribute images of themselves. These positive self images contradicted those in other magazines that excluded or ridiculed images of black people.

Summary

I began with the quote, "Education must teach life," because this philosophy of DuBois' was threaded through every aspect of TBB. Moreover, this phrase was the basis of his race and culture based theorizing.

It is interesting that DuBois and Dill viewed The Brownies' Book as an experiment. In the last issue, December 1921, they write that the magazine will be discontinued. They state: "As there is no prospect of getting this number of subscribers within less than four or five years we cannot afford to continue the experiment" (p. 354). What was the true experiment—that the designers could create a children's magazine? Yes, that was accomplished. Was the experiment the hope of maintaining a children's magazine that would
maintain longevity? Yes, that happened despite its short run in 1920 and 1921. The experiment entailed creating an educational resource "for all children but especially ours" and to promote the hypothesis that education must teach life. If this was the experiment, they succeeded. The importance of this experiment is that it was produced, because without its production there would be no evidence for future generations.

*The Brownies' Book* was an innovative product with an innovative design. Black teachers desired to use *The Brownies' Book* in their classroom; however, it was not part of mainstream instructional materials. It was marketed as a magazine. The question then was, how do you successfully market a non-mainstream product to the black community? How do you put it in its schools? How do you make it a part of the daily curriculum when the curriculum is predetermined? How can culturally and linguistically specific curriculum designs become thoroughly incorporated in the mainstream curriculum?

*The Crisis & The Brownies' Book*

The Crisis revealed several themes that speak to DuBois' theory that education must teach life; they included racial uplift, racial prejudice and discrimination, civil rights, and literature. These themes parallel those that manifested from the text of *The Brownies' Book*. In *The Brownies' Book* the themes of racial uplift and racial prejudice came forth, and the importance of literature. *The Brownies' Book* further revealed themes particular to DuBois' mission that he laid out in the article *The True Brownies*. Those themes for children involved self love, racial identity, black history, race pride, character, conscience, happiness, love, education and self sacrifice; the idea of racial uplift includes many of these themes.
The Freedman's Torchlight & The Brownies' Book

The Freedman's Torchlight and The Brownies' Book share similarities as texts that were designed by and for black people. Both texts revolved around a social movement that influenced the lives and history of black people—that is Reconstruction and the Harlem Renaissance. These texts were produced in formats for mass distribution; the newspaper and magazine formats enable an efficient production and reproduction of materials. The Freedman's Torchlight and The Brownies' Book were created by educated black people who saw themselves as leaders. Both texts, based on the analysis of the context, failed due to the lack of or limited financial resources and both engaged in internal campaigns to save the publication. The texts also used a version of the printing press as their tool of technology; this technology enabled them to achieve their publishing goal. At the time of publication, the instructional content focused on the perceived needs of a large group of black people. For TFT, the audience was freed blacks, and for TBB the audience was middle class blacks.

The texts also differed. The major differences were dictated by the time periods of 1866 and 1920. The Freedman's Torchlight was based on Christian tenets and The Brownies' Book on the educational philosophies of DuBois. Both were published in the North; however, TFT responded to the educational needs of nearly 4 million blacks. The Brownies' Book responded to the needs of middle class blacks who could afford to purchase The Crisis or The Brownies' Book, to select groups of lower income blacks, and to a diversity of children around the world. The designers of TFT responded to the needs of blacks because of Reconstruction, and the designers of TBB responded to the needs of blacks because of the social and political climate that did not support their accomplishments and self-worth.
African Americans have used the available technologies as a tool to instruct black people. The technology has always been de-emphasized in the process, and the content emphasized. These tools of technology enabled them to perform a task. For TFT, a newspaper format was the better format and least expensive; TFT could not afford to incorporate artwork like their predecessor *The Freedman*. *The Brownies' Book* used advanced printing technology in that they included photographs, color, color photography, and sketches in the design of the publication. All of these visual representations make the production of instructional materials more expensive and marketable. The designers seemed to have chosen the best tools of technology that they could finance.

The next chapter examines another product of instructional technology -- Bridge: A Cross-Culture Reading Program.
CHAPTER 5: BRIDGE: A CROSS-CULTURE READING PROGRAM

"Why learn to read?" (Simpkins, 1976, p. 136)

The previous chapters looked specifically at products of instructional technology – The Freedman’s Torchlight and The Brownies’ Book. This chapter examines the developmental processes involved in producing instructional materials and the product Bridge: A Cross-Culture Reading Program. The historical climate is situated in the 1960s and 1970s to explore the controversies regarding language and the African American child. The content analysis focuses on the nature of these culturally and linguistically specific instructional materials and draws on both the materials themselves and interviews with the creators.

The Historical Climate

In 1964, President Lyndon B. Johnson engaged in his political War on Poverty Program. This same year the Civil Rights Act of 1964 passed making it illegal to have segregated public facilities. Organizations and programs that were caught engaging in discriminatory practices forfeited their federal monies. The legal dismantling of Jim Crowism had begun. In terms of education, educational institutions received federally supported social programs. In 1965, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act increased federal monies to schools serving the poor; this was followed in the late 60s by the Head Start program that provided a preschool education to the same population. With the Civil Rights Act of 1964 came desegregated schools. By 1970, ninety percent of the South’s public school system was desegregated (Levine, 1996). With the nation’s focus on educating the poor, the government noticed the massive academic failure of black children in the public school system.
Johnson's War on Poverty crusade investigated the dearth of academic achievement in African American children in public education (Wiggins, 1976). These investigations, argues Brasch (1981), sparked a "paper explosion" where academic scholars and psychologists (child development specialists) (Baratz, 1969) were lured by federal, academic and foundation grants into researching all aspects of black life (Brasch, 1981, p. 262). Investigations on black life advanced publication careers of scholars, enabled the acquisition of advanced degrees, and assisted in tenure, promotion and merit increases; the study of Black English by non-linguists and novices became profitable. There was a plethora of "ill-conceived or poorly written studies" (Brasch, 1981, p. 263).

An example of the type of research enacted with government monies is the 1966 Coleman Report — *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (James S. Coleman et al., Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare). The Coleman Report brought to the attention of America the extensive academic failure of black children in public schools (Simpkins et al., 1977a). Gary A. Simpkins, the lead designer of the *Bridge Reading Program*, comments that this was the first time the government funded a national survey on education:

> What the Coleman report found is that black students are not substantially benefiting from the public school system, and...that the longer they stay in school the farther behind they become. And that's where you get the concept of the cumulative deficit. ([i.e.]...The longer black kids are in school the farther behind they become from their white counterparts on the normative levels.

Government monies funded primarily the research of academicians who were "white researchers--white experts on blacks" (Simpkins interview, 1999). Many of these social scientists and educators, exerted their own theories about the academic failure of black children and termed it "the deficit model."
The deficit model, as it relates to black children, contends that these children are deficient intellectually, linguistically, cognitively and developmentally. Arthur Jenson (1969) wrote extensively about "disadvantaged" black children and their presumed deficiencies in intellectual ability compared to white children. Other scholars speculated that poor and black children's language deficiencies were the cause of their academic failure (Bereiter and Engelmann, 1966; Engelmann, 1967). Academic failure was also blamed on the environment and culture in which "disadvantaged" children lived. The perceived environment and culture deficiencies gave rise to the "cultural deprivation" hypothesis; this hypothesis argues that the environmental, cultural, and family conditions of disadvantaged children impede linguistic and cognitive development (Bereiter, 1965; Hurst, 1965; Johnson, 1970).33

During this period of deprivation claims, states Wiggins (1976), linguists who theorized in linguistic relativism were silent. Before 1960 no in-depth research had been done in Black Dialects of English, except for the work of Lorenzo Turner (1949) and Melville Herskovits (1941). Again, the stigma of a non-standard speech that was less in status and social acceptance was presumed to be the reason for their silence. When linguists began to refute the cognitive deficit theorists, the controversy became heated. The notion than was that black children from low socioeconomic communities are linguistically "different" not deficit.

Many linguists34 who joined in this controversy were African American or advocates for BE. According to Simpkins, "When blacks got into the field it [i.e., government monies] sort of dried up."
The King Case

The King case is significant to the history of language and educating African American children. This was the first case to address the language difference between black and white children. African American parents in the Green Road Housing Project found that their children were not being educated. School officials described their children as being emotionally disturbed, learning disabled, and poorly behaved. These children were either placed or threatened to be placed in classes for the mentally handicapped or learning disabled, and in some cases they were suspended, retained, tracked in lower instructional groups or graduated unprepared in basic skills (Labov, 1982).

On July 28, 1977 on behalf of the fifteen children35 (the plaintiffs) a case was filed in federal court against the Martin Luther King Jr. Elementary School, the Ann Arbor School District and the Michigan Board of Education (the defendants). This was a school district where 13 percent of the student population were black children in a predominantly white upper middle class area (Smitherman, 1998). The case investigated the failure of these institutions to consider the language, culture, economic, and social factors prohibiting these students from progressing in school; the judge dismissed the latter 3 factors on constitutional grounds (Labov, 1982). "To put it bluntly, Judge [Charles W.] Joiner stressed that the U.S. Constitution can provide protection on the basis of being black but not on the basis of being poor" (Smitherman, 1998, p. 165). The case would now focus only on language barriers.

The plaintiffs were unsuccessful in convincing the court that linguistic barriers existed and instead argued that the schools failed to account for Black English in teaching children how to read. As expert witnesses testifying that
Black English "was a system of formalized language rules" were Richard W. Bailey, J. L. Dillard, David F. Fader, Kenneth Haskins, William Labov, Gary A. Simpkins and Geneva Smitherman (Brasch, 1981, p. 283). The plaintiffs were successful in proving that the teachers had no knowledge of Black English, perpetuated negative attitudes, and stereotyped the children's language (Labov, 1982).

Research on language attitudes consistently indicates that teachers believe Black English-speaking youngsters are nonverbal and possess limited vocabularies. They are perceived to be slow learners or uneducable. Their speech is seen as unsystematic and is constantly corrected. Thus, they are made somehow to feel inferior.... Since Black English is viewed so pejoratively by Standard English speaking teachers, it was not difficult to reconstruct the process whereby this language barrier impeded the educational success of the plaintiff children. It was not the Black Language in and of itself that constituted the barrier, but negative institutional policies and classroom practices relative to Black English that were, and are, key causes of Black children's reading problems. Since reading is crucial to academic achievements in all school subjects, the inability to read at grade level prevents equal participation in the educational programs of the school." (Smitherman, 1998, p. 167)

On July 12, 1979, Judge Joiner ruled that the Ann Arbor School Board devise a plan enabling teachers to identify speakers of Black English and to be knowledgeable in teaching speakers of Black English how to read Standard English. The teachers received in-service training about the history and characteristics of Black English, methods of identifying speakers of Black English, knowledge to distinguish between reading errors and pronunciation mistakes, and strategies for codeswitching (Labov, 1982). Although the school boards plan for teacher professional development was necessary, the teachers also needed a more comprehensive educational intervention plan on the teaching of reading and communication competence (Smitherman, 1998).

The fate of Black children as victims of miseducation continues to be the bottom line in the "Black English case...." For those who know that language is identity, the issue is the same: the children's language is them is they mommas and kinfolk and community and Black culture and
the Black experience made manifest in verbal form. (Smitherman, 1998, p. 171)

**Early Studies On Dialect Readers And Transition Readers**

The earliest studies recorded on dialect and transition readers came from the research of linguists such as Joan C. Baratz, William A. Stewart and Lloyd Leaverton. These pioneering experiments demonstrated that dialect readers could be used as an instructional tool to teach inner city black children how to read.

Baratz (1969) research looked at the academic failure of inner city black children in the area of reading. Her study compared a group of white children from low to middle income communities and a group of black children from the inner city; both groups were 3rd and 5th graders. Students were given a "sentence repetition test" consisting of 30 sentences, 15 in Black English and 15 in Standard English (p. 102). Students listened to the sentences and were asked to repeat the sentence after hearing it one time. For example, a sentence in Black English read, "That girl, she ain' go ta school 'cause she ain't got no clothes to wear" and a sentence in Standard English read, "Does Deborah like to play with the girl that sits next to her in school?" (p. 102). The second part of the experiment was a bidialectal listening and graphic exercise where students indicated the voice they heard on a tape by pointing to a picture of a white, black or Asian man, woman, boy or girl. Baratz results indicated that:

(1) there are two dialects involved in the education complex of black children (especially in schools with a white middle-class curriculum orientation); (2) black children are generally not bi-dialectal; and (3) there is evidence of interference from their dialect when black children attempt to use standard English. (Baratz, 1969, p. 111)

Baratz (1969) further stated that for the mainstream child their reading task is one of decoding but for the inner city black child they must decode and "translate" into their own language (p. 112). The inner city child is confronted
with trying to decipher her "unfamiliarity with the syntax [grammar] of the classroom text" (p. 113); she is more unfamiliar with the writing style of the textbook than the mainstream middle income child. Baratz hypothesis is to have the inner city black child learn how to read first in their own language and then teach them to read in Standard English. A reading program such as this would require Black English texts and "transition readers" that would move the child from Black English to Standard English texts (p. 113). For the inner city black child to learn how to read, the issues surrounding their language must be dealt with as an interfering learning factor.

Stewart's (1969) research looked at the "development of special literacy programs" to teach beginning readers in their native language (p. 169). He first cited a study on the role of dialect difference in a Swedish-dialect context:

Tore Österberg18 found that the teaching of basic reading skills in the non-standard dialect of the school children in a particular district (Piteå) increased proficiency, not only in beginning reading in the nonstandard dialect, but also in later reading of the standard language (p. 170).

Then late in 1965, Stewart translated into Black Dialect Clement Clarke Moore's Christmas poem A Visit from St. Nicholas (or more commonly known as The Night Before Christmas). It read:

It's the night before Christmas, and here in our house,
It ain't nothing moving, not even no mouse.
There go we-all stockings, hanging high up off the floor,
So Santa Claus can fill them up, if he walk in through our door. (p. 171)

In this revised version, Stewart (1969) sought to retain black "discourse style and inner-city cultural reality" (p. 171).

One day while Stewart worked on a draft of this poem, it was read by a 12 year old girl named Lenora; Lenora lived in the inner city and had been plagued with reading problems in school (Stewart, 1969). Stewart (1969) recalls that Lenora read the Black Dialect version of the poem with fluency and
intonation; however when prompted to read the Standard English version she stumbled and staggered through the reading. Stewart surmised that Lenora was responding to the "familiar" and "unfamiliar" grammar types. He thought this fortuitous experiment (that was later duplicated with inner city children) brought a different perspective on reading problems for the inner city black child. Stewart (1969) hypothesized that the difficulty in reading problems experienced by inner city black children may be attributed to the "structural interference between the grammatical patterns" of the nonstandard dialect spoken by black children and standard English written in instructional materials (p. 173). For example, Black Dialect has "uninverted verb phrases after certain question words...where standard English requires inversion" [That is BE "What it is?" for SE "What is it?" or "multiple negation in...[Black] dialect where standard English has a single negation" BE "He ain't never brought none" for SE "He has never bought any"] (Stewart, 1969, p. 179).

Stewart (1969) and Baratz (1969) agree that the Black Dialect speaker can usually compare the grammatical "constructions" between BE and SE; however Stewart adds that the context of the text must be "clear" and such construction dispersed throughout the text versus in consecutive order (Stewart, 1969, p. 179).

Stewart (1969) believed that "beginning reading materials should indeed be adapted to the patterns of nonstandard Negro dialect -- and those of any other nonstandard dialect which school children in a particular area may speak" (p. 173).

Leaverton (1973) examined "the effectiveness of dialectal reading materials as a basal reading program" (p. 114). In this study, he sought to develop an appropriate model and a set of instructional materials. Leaverton's
(1973) theoretical model was based on two conditions. First, a child can be helped in learning to read if they understand the relationship between their oral language and the written language of SE text. Second, children should never be made to think that their spoken language is inferior to other languages. To establish these conditions, he developed the concept of "everyday talk" (Black Dialect) and "school talk" (Standard English); thereby children could distinguish between their spoken language and SE without the stigma of inferior or superior language forms (p. 116). "Since the child feels most comfortable in using the everyday talk patterns that are familiar to...[them], the initial emphasis was placed on having the child make the transition from the familiar everyday talk form to the unfamiliar school talk form" (p. 116). The concept of switching from one language to another language is known in contemporary academic literature as code-switching.

Leaverton's (1973) study focused on "verb usage" as one comparative aspect of Standard English and Black Dialect (Leaverton, 1973, p. 117). Dialect readers were developed emulating the everyday talk and the school talk; however, the everyday talk stories included verb forms consistent with Black Dialect (Leaverton, 1973). For example, everyday talk stories could use the verb "got" and school talk "have." The comparative texts could read: I "got" the ball (BE), and I "have" the ball (SE).

Leaverton (1973) developed everyday talk stories by tape recording conversations of kindergarten, first, second and third grade children from inner city Chicago schools. An example of an everyday talk story read:

Stop That?
When I be talking my teacher say, "Stop that!"
When I be running my teacher say, "Stop that!"
When I be fighting my teacher say, "Stop that!"
No talking!
No Running!

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Thirty seven students were given the *Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children* and randomly placed in the control or experimental groups. The experimental group was given the everyday talk stories and the control group the school talk stories. With the assistance of the teacher, students in the experimental group mastered the everyday talk stories and were then tested on word and phrase recognition tests. Leaverton wanted to measure if the children could "learn to read the everyday talk stories quicker than the school talk stories" (p. 119). Next, the experimental group mastered the school talk stories and took a similar test. This time Leaverton wanted to measure if learning to read the everyday talk stories would assist in the learning of the school talk stories. The results indicated positive results in favor of the experimental group; however given the small sample size further research was needed. Leaverton noticed that the dialect readers seemed more effective with boys who scored in the lower quartile in reading. Another plus to the program was its influence on the behavior and attitudes of teachers towards children who are speakers of a dialect (Leaverton, 1973).

The traditional approaches to reading and oral language programs for the most part have not considered the possible negative effect that constant criticism of the child's non-standard speech patterns can have on the interaction between teacher and child and on the ultimate learning experience. It is possible that the difficulty that many of our children have in learning to read results in their resistance to a learning situation that belittles the speech patterns they have formed from their parents and community. (Leaverton, 1973, p. 125)

Leaverton's (1973) model emphasizes that teachers should never criticize children's oral language during their emergent reading years. The model encourages teachers to accept and respect children's dialect.
Designing Dialect Readers

Based on their research in Black English, linguists like Stewart (1969) and Rickford & Rickford (1995) have proposed design strategies for creating dialect readers. Stewart (1969) offered suggestions to the design of instructional materials for remedial reading classes. He proposed that Black Dialect be used as the bases to teach verbal and written Standard English to speakers of Black Dialect. He further adds that the transition from Black Dialect to Standard English should be done in stages. In stage 1, the sentences would grammatically reflect Black Dialect. For example, "Charles and Michael, they out playing." Stage 2 introduces a grammatical feature like the copula (i.e., am, is, are). For example, "Charles and Michael, they are out playing." During stage 3 sentences are in Standard English. The example continues as, "Charles and Michael are out playing" (Stewart, 1969, p. 184-185). Stewart (1969) suggests that an actual instructional program would need more stages and would need to be completed by a skilled linguist.

The creation of dialect readers also requires an authentic representation of the language, culture and norms of that community. Stewart (1969) argues that linguists should be concerned with the appropriateness of Black Dialect reading materials as it pertains to a select population of black children. "The materials will be accepted by the children if they are authentic – that is, if the written language of the materials represents accurately their own spoken language" (Stewart, 1969, p. 189). The linguist must be concerned with the style, grammar and vocabulary of materials. Moreover, the linguist or designer must authentically represent the culture and norms of the community in written texts but especially in dialect readers.
Stewart (1969) further advises that Black Dialect reading programs must have an instrument to determine which learners speak Black Dialect. This instrument must be able to measure students along the acrolect and basilect\textsuperscript{1} continuum (i.e., from the most prestigious form of Standard English to the most extreme form of BE), because not all blacks speak Black Dialect. Such an instrument could also measure the learners' improvement in Standard English. Stewart and Baratz designed such an instrument, although still in its developmental stage, called the "bidialectal oral-language proficiency test"\textsuperscript{2} (p. 190).

Rickford & Rickford (1995) offered suggestions on the design of procedures to gauge the public's response (students, parents, teachers, public figures) to dialect readers. They advise that a linguist and the teacher work with a small sample size of the public to try and establish "good relations, commitment and trust" (p. 115). The linguist and teacher must convince this group that their interest is to help children improve academically by mastering SE.

The Future Of Dialect Readers

Linguists who advocated for Dialect readers in 1969 anticipated the negative criticism from educators and parents (Stewart, 1969; Wolfram & Fasold, 1969). This negative criticism still holds true as contemporary researchers respond to past and present research on dialect readers:

At the heart of most people's objections is the use of nonstandard linguistic patterns in print. Even educators and community leaders who are tolerant of dialect differences in spoken language often object strenuously to the appearance of these features in reading material (Wolfram & Christian, 1989, p. 95).

This attempt to use transitional reading materials written in Black English proved a complete failure. Those who advocated the use of such materials saw them as providing a kind of bridge into readers written in Standard English. They argued that black children had enough
problems when they entered school without facing the additional barrier of learning to read from readers written in an alien dialect. They could learn to read in their own dialect and make a later transition to books written in the standard. Blacks themselves led the opposition to such a move, and teachers, parents, and black activists united to oppose it.... Their motives were various: some felt that such readers would disadvantage black children; others denied the validity of the variety of language itself; still others resisted the notion that there should be any differences at all made in teaching white and black children; and still others insisted that the problem, if there was one, was ascribable to attitudes, i.e., was it a problem of racism, and not a linguistic problem at all. (Wardhaugh, 1986, pp. 329-330).

Despite these responses, Rickford & Rickford (1995) argue that dialect readers should not be discarded because preliminary experiments have been favorable. Moreover, experimental research as to their efficacy should continue on a large scale and "attitudinal research on their acceptance in the community should be more assiduously and proactively pursued" (p. 115).

The Bridge Reading Program was the most comprehensive reading program produced in Black Dialect (Rickford & Rickford, 1995). The next section examines the history behind the creation of the Bridge Reading Program. In particular, who were the designers and what was happening historically during the making of the Bridge Reading Program.

The Designers of Bridge: Beginnings, Views & Goals

The design team involved in the creation of the Bridge Reading Program included Gary A. Simpkins a psychologist, Charlesetta Stalling (formerly Charlesetta Simpkins), a reading specialist, and Grace Holt a linguist. Although the entire design of the program was a collaborative effort, Simpkins participated in the development of all aspects of the program. Stalling worked on the Peer Control Reading component, and Holt developed the reading skills sections. Everyone assisted in writing the stories for the Bridge Reading Program. This team would churn out a comprehensive reading program over a 3 to 4 year period.
Gary Simpkins earned his Doctor of Education (1976) degree from the University of Massachusetts in the area of Humanistic Applications of Social and Behavioral Sciences. He acquired a Master of Education degree from Harvard University in Psychology and a Bachelor of Arts from California State University Los Angeles in Psychology. During his career, he has been a student activist, educator, and counselor. Simpkins was born in Buffalo, New York, but he grew up in Los Angeles, California.

Charlesetta Stalling received her Doctor of Education (1977) degree from the University of Massachusetts in the area of Human Services and Applied Behavioral Science with an emphasis in curriculum development, teacher training and micro counseling. She acquired a Master of Education (1972) degree from Harvard University in Education with an emphasis in Reading and a Bachelor of Arts (1969) from California State University Los Angeles in Language Arts. Her career has enabled her to be a student activist, educational administrator, educator (K-12 and adult) and educational consultant. Stalling was born in San Diego, California and has spent most of her life in California.

In her interview, Stalling explained that her journey into higher education began as a child. During high school, her mother always told her to "take the higher education stuff" and encouraged her to go to college. Stalling was not sure what her mother meant, but she traveled an academic path in high school. After graduating high school, Stalling realized that her mother could not afford to send her to college. Regretfully, she resigned herself to not going to school. Stalling decided to look for a job. She would look from one end of Los Angeles and work her way back, she thought. Working her way back, she ran across a community college named Los Angeles City College that she soon after attended and acquired an Associates Degree in English.
In 1969, Charlesetta and Gary married. That same month Simpkins began the Black Student Psychological Association (BSPA) whose purpose was to get blacks and other minority students into prestigious colleges and universities. Simpkins and Stalling developed a nationwide organization that still exists. It began with an office in Los Angeles and then branched out to an office in Washington DC. Thereafter, Simpkins and Stalling attended Harvard University for their master degrees and then the University of Massachusetts for their doctor of Education degrees. During their attendance at Harvard, they continued to actively help students organize. Stalling describes the times:

There was a lot going on. Black inner city children were not achieving. The longer in school the further behind they got. There was the cumulative deficit. Ah there were these statistics going on at Harvard about black inner city children. What was that guy Jenson. Jenson. About blacks being one standard deviation or 15 points lower than other folks. And how we were culturally deficient. All of that research was going on at the same time. Then we were activist students. The Black Psychological Association was very active and very adamant in trying to voice our opinion. So the time seemed right. Dr. Robert Williams\textsuperscript{43} was active. Sweet Ernie Smith\textsuperscript{44}. Geneva Smitherman\textsuperscript{45}. Um all sorts of people involved in non-Standard English.... And as black students we were in the forefront in speaking out getting the offers, making presentations, etc. So, those types of things were going on. Also we were working with other people through BSPA. ...In that we were saying we wanted "x" amount. I don't remember if it was 10 percent or 20 of blacks into prestigious colleges and universities. We got them to waiver some of their requirements because we told them that they were discriminatory. So testing was going on where we were being eliminated as a result of the testing. Because quite a few of us. I'm one for example, I don't score well on tests. But if you can give me something oral, part of the oral tradition, I can do quite well. So we asked that that be eliminated. And we had a whole list of things that we wanted from A.P.A., that we wanted universities and colleges to implement as it related to black and minority students. And they were doing it. (conviction) They were doing it. They were doing it. And we just went too far. We took too many steps... So...that was the atmosphere.

During this time, Stalling worked as a teacher with a combination 2nd and 3rd grade class in special education. Simpkins worked as a counselor in a probation department. They pooled their money to finance the organizing
efforts with BSPA. Fifty percent of their monies went to organizing, states

Stalling. Stalling describes their world as:

We also wrote articles together. Geneva Smitherman published a book. We had some articles in there. We were making presentations at conferences. So there was the exchange going on. And feeding into each other and keeping the momentum going.... And I tell you we were spending so much money. And it was during the time where we were considered very radical, very militant.... If we said we were going to do something we'd have break ins by the police. ...in our office because they thought we were doing something really radical and underground like...takeover. We weren't into things like that. But you know it was during the time when Ron Karanga was...very popular...before he worked with other folks in starting Kawanza.... But there were all these different things going on. So the time was right to do some things. But we were considered radicals at that time.... They thought we were doing something really revolutionary. We were talking about academics getting an education. And it was just misinterpreted. Yeah, because of other things that were going around. We really wanted positive moves forward for people of color.

Stalling states that all they wanted was "equity." She adds:

We wanted equity in education. We wanted a fair chance to try. It was at Sac [Sacramento] state where if you walked in and you were black you knew that you weren't going to get over a C in Sociology and Psych [Psychology] courses. We were enrolled late in statistics class and the instructor told us that there was no way you could do it. You're two weeks late there's no way you can pass this statistics class. I won't let you enroll. It was that type of thing we were dealing with—in fighting the racism.

Grace Holt, the third member of the team, also acquired an advanced degree. She earned a Master of Education in Inner City Studies with an emphasis in Language from Northeastern Illinois State College. Grace Holt is now deceased; she was also an educator and educational administrator.

Simpkins met Grace at a convention and their friendship grew from there.

Stalling remembers her as:

A very down to earth intelligent black woman. I think her husband died first and then she died. But I remember her telling me this story of how cold she was as a kid. And that she said when she made some money she was going to get a coat for every month of the year to stay warm. Because...she was cold as a kid. I remember her saying something about they only had one coat or something. And she was going to make sure
when she had money that they [her and her sibling] both had warm coats. That was her goal to have some warm coats.

The designers of the *Bridge Reading Program* were educators who sought to better the learning opportunities for black people. They committed themselves politically, socially and economically to this issue. Their devotion to improving the reading skills of black youth is indicated in the design of *Bridge: A Cross-Culture Reading Program*.

The next section looks at the designers' thoughts on the *Bridge Reading Program*. In particular, their ideas are consolidated in the following areas: The Origins of Bridge, Reactions to Bridge, The Problem with Black English and Filling the Gaps in Their Learning.

**The Origins Of Bridge**

The *Bridge Reading Program* was a spin-off of a program model called the Cross-Cultural Approach to Reading developed through Technomics Research and Analysis Corporation, a scientific corporation based in Los Angeles. Simpkins was hired as a consultant on an instructional project that sought to address the massive reading failure of black high school age youth in "urban ghettos" (Simpkins, 1976, p. 135). Around 1969, Dr. Burton R. Wolin, Vice President of Research at Technomics, and Simpkins created reading and writing instructional materials that focused on the language and social experiences of this population (Simpkins, 1976). They wanted to provide these youth with reading experiences using Black Dialect that paralleled their social and linguistic worlds and then guide students into the social and linguistic world associated with Standard English. The results of their tests on the preliminary and revised version of the program indicated that the materials were effective in improving the reading skills of black youth; however further research and development were needed (Simpkins, 1976).
By 1973, Houghton Mifflin Publishing Company had formed an Urban Programs Department in their Educational Division; they sought to publish instructional materials for minority populations. Simpkins was approached by the Urban Programs Department, because they had heard of the success of his previous reading program. Thereafter, Simpkins agreed to develop an extensive reading program under two conditions. First, he must be allowed to choose his own team of writers, and second, Houghton Mifflin Publishing Company must field test the program in public schools. Moreover, if the field tests indicate that the program was not an effective tool for teaching reading to black inner city children, it would not be marketed. Bridge: A Cross-Culture Reading Program was the product of Simpkins' efforts with Houghton Mifflin Company. The program was extensively tested in Chicago, Illinois; Phoenix, Arizona; Washington D.C.; Memphis, Tennessee; and Macon County, Alabama. Field tests yielded positive results and the program was mass marketed in 1976 (Simpkins, 1976). (See Appendix F for an overview of the field test results).

Reactions To Bridge

Reactions to the Bridge Reading Program varied across audiences as indicated from interviews with Simpkins and Stalling. It seemed that those who had the opportunity to talk with the designers or interact with the program had positive experiences, and those who did not have these experiences but who heard the words "Black English" responded negatively. Simpkins states that Newsweek magazine responded positively to the experimental version of the program and wrote a three page article that hailed Bridge as:

...a major break through for black inner city kids in reading.... Anyway after Newsweek came out with the article everybody and their brother responded to it, that Black English should not be used in the schools. [They stated that] it was a conspiracy—we were trying to keep the kids
backwards. And it had no place in education and so on and so forth. And as a result many of the schools backed out from ordering the program. And the sales were lousy because it had so much negative publicity.

The stigma associated with Black English and speakers of Black English (Dillard, 1972) roared across the black community and the country. In 1969, linguists anticipated this negative outcry and thereby curtailed further development of dialect readers (Stewart, 1969; Wolfram & Fasold, 1969). Contemporary notions on the development of dialect readers propose the need for experiments into public response of dialect readers as part of the instructional design (Rickford & Rickford, 1995).

The responses from the black community and schools differed based on their exposure to the reading program. Simpkins recalls:

...what was most discouraging was to hear from blacks who obviously knew little about language and much less about children--to quote Labov. As they sprouted on and on about the evils of using Black English because they have a concept of Black English that is the street black who is hip and all of that sprouting out hip clichés which when we talk about Black English we include the whole population. Black English is the way my grandmother talked, the way my mama talked. It's the way many of the teachers talk when they get a few drinks in them at a party or something. (laughing) You know, so Black English covered the whole realm of black people not just a small segment of hip little gangsters in the street or anything like that.

...I have talked to parents all over the country in terms of community. I've yet to talk to any community of parents that did not wholeheartedly support the program in the effort once they knew what the program was about. You know, when we talk to community people and we explain to them what its about, they become big advocates of the program. And so there is no resistance on the community level. The resistance that we were running into was more on the black middle class -- upper class levels, but that's the black professionals who because of their own up bringing and their...perceived need to escape from lower level culture have certain attitudes about the language.

But the thing is I went around the country and talked to some of the kids that were in the program, in the schools (with conviction) and the kids loved the program. For the first time in their lives, they were interested in reading. They found it to be fun.

The reactions of the black middle class community, the coverage of negative publicity, and negative comments by officials in education destroyed
the Bridge Reading Program. Williams (1976) argues that it has been the black middle class who has "attempted to define the Black experience in terms of the Black street culture" (p. 15). Blacks who are ashamed or antagonistic about Black English may prevent its use in the school curriculum, as was the case with the Bridge Reading Program. They may use a number of strategies such as:

...reiterating the conventional view that Negro dialect is nothing more than a mass of unstructured speech errors, or by claiming that Negro dialect of the type depicted by linguists is either rare or non-existent among black school children, or if all else fails, by the irresponsible yet, to liberal whites, intimidating charge that anyone who works on the theory that American Negroes and whites have different configurations of behavior is a racist. (Stewart, 1969, p. 188)

Stewart (1969) argues that other blacks who may have come from lower income levels acknowledge the linguistic and cultural differences that exist between whites and blacks and see these differences as opportunities for racial identity and racial comprehension.

The lack of knowledge about the program's goal and the goals of the designers harmed the success of this reading program. People were not knowledgeable about the language and learning needs of children and in particular black children. They were fearful of what Black English symbolized and sought no explanation. "The publishers received enough objections from parents and teachers to the use of AAVE [African American Vernacular English] in the classroom that they ceased promoting it [The Bridge Reading Program], and further development was shelved" (Labov, 1995, p. 52)

The Problem With Black English

What is the problem with Black English? Why does it cause people to rant, rave and ridicule? Simpkins poses that Black English is:

...misunderstood. ...you look at the influence of Black English on Standard English and how white kids...are constantly adapting the
sayings, the expressions, the metaphors of black kids and putting it into their language. And when they put it into their language the black kids drop it and get them new ones. And it's not that we don't need to teach the kids Black English. They already know Black English. They bring Black English to the schools with them. We've tried to program out this Black English and it hasn't been successful; so what we're saying is instead of trying to program it out, let's work with it. ...It's like even when they had this thing on Ebonics some of the comments people were making it just surprised me—who should have known better. Like the black writers...made some idiotic comments on the language. And it shows that we still don't understand the function of language that language carries the kids identity.... If you put a kid's language down you put down his mom and dad and everybody who speaks like them. But when you say it's not good enough for schools you're making a statement about the kids in the schools.

But we still have that problem around the country where educators really don't understand the function of language or as Labov says "reciprocal ignorance." The teachers are ignorant of the kids language and the kids are ignorant of the teachers language. You know. It's important for teachers to learn more about Black English. They don't understand that you don't have to speak Black English to understand Black English. ...If a congressman is speaking southern dialect a white southern dialect nobody cares [They might remark] how colorful he is. But if he speaks anything that identifies him as black they talk about how backwards and stupid he is. The problem with Black English is that it identifies you as being black.

The problem with black English is its association with black people.

Historically, in America being black in identity or talking Black English has fostered negative criticisms (Smitherman, 1977). The slew of deficit models towards black children and their language is a prime example (Bereiter, 1965; Bereiter and Englemann, 1966; Englemann, 1976; Hurst, 1965; Jenson, 1969; Johnson, 1970). Although Black English has become a part of popular culture and continues to shape American history and language use in America (Dillard, 1972), speakers of Black English experience the stigma of speaking their native dialect and watch as schools engage in deprogramming to rid them of their home language and ultimately their culture. As Smitherman stated in the Ann Arbor case:

The fate of Black children as victims of miseducation continues to be the bottom line in the "Black English case...." For those who know that language is identity, the issue is the same: the children's language is
them is they mommas and kinfolk and community and Black culture and
the Black experience made manifest in verbal form. (Smith erman, 1998,
p. 171)

The misunderstanding of Black English is analogous to the
misunderstanding of black people as a race. Black English has been viewed in
deficit terms because of its association with black people and this deficit
thinking continues today.

Although the deficit thinking model is held in disrepute by many
contemporary behavioral and social scientists, there is mounting
evidence that deficit thinking is experiencing a resurgence in current
educational thought and practice. The 1994 publication of the
disputatious The Bell Curve by Herrnstein and Murray -- which is an
atavistic treatise similar to 1920s hereditarian thought in which
racial/ethnic differences in intelligence were believed to be
 genetically based -- is the latest offering of the growing
neohereditarianism. The popular 'at-risk' construct, now entrenched in
educational circles, views poor and working-class children and their
families (typically of color) as being predominantly responsible for
school failure, while frequently holding structural inequality
blameless. Present anti-deficit thinking discourse, on the other hand,
see the 'at risk' child as a retooled construct of the 'culturally
disadvantaged' child notion from the 1960s when deficit thinking held

Filling The Gaps In Their Learning

In these excerpts, Simpkins discusses the process involved in
developing the Bridge Reading Program. He begins discussing what he did in
the preliminary research and then moves to how they sought to fill the gaps
in student learning. This is a hands on account of the design process.

[In] the preliminary research I went around talking to black
kids. "Why can't you read my man. I mean you seem smart, you
 obviously have great language facility, you know." "Ain't got a damn
thing I want to read." "Okay, I'll buy that." But they didn't have any
materials that interested them in reading. Also they had gaps in their
learning. They were bright kids, but there were gaps in their learning
that prevented them from putting the reading skills together. And that's
what we aimed the Bridge program at, to fill those gaps in their
learning. We knew we were going to get data from this population that
was good. Because these kids have learned a great deal about reading,
but they just haven't put it together. They have been sitting in class all
these years and [have] not learn[ed] ...about reading Standard English.
What the kids lacked was code switching ability. That is, ...they didn't
know when...their dialect stopped and Standard English began so the [language] populations blended together and gave them a lot of problems.

And we kept trying to hammer it home [that] ...we are not trying to hammer the kids into Black English. In fact, we want to move them from Black English to Standard English, but we don't want to devalue Black English. Because we think that it is really important that the kids be bidialectal. We don't want to take anything from the kids. We want to add on to what they have. We want our kids to be able to go to Harvard and be articulate. And go in the middle of Harlem you know and also be articulate you know in the dialect. So we want our kids to have those code switching abilities.... And from a natural point of view, they should not be having these problems, because these kids have high language facility to carry on. These kids are highly verbal and know how to manipulate the language metaphorically and everything else in the language but somehow it doesn't carry over to Standard English. And so that's what Associative Bridging[49] was about to take the strength of their language and carry it over to Standard English. To show them that these are two separate populations, they can blend together, we can pull them apart. Here's where one starts. Here's where one begins. And also show them that here are the skills for instance. I want the kids to learn about metaphors. So I give them a nice white metaphor like "Oh trees we die at the top." They sit there and look at me like I'm crazy and what the hell is he talking about metaphors and similes ...and all that. But if I...tell them about the beauty of metaphors, how rich the language [is]. And let's look at some metaphors. "Hey just take a chill pill" you know some of their metaphors let them be aware that they simultaneously create metaphors their language is rich in metaphors. And this is what enhances their writing and things like that. Kids grasp it immediately you know. Let them get the skills on their own bases and then they can transfer those skills over to Standard English you know. What happens is the kids sit there. The teacher is teaching in Standard English and many things are passing by. So they get those gaps in their learning. So this is an attempt to fill those gaps for the kids.

For Simpkins, the process of developing the Bridge Reading Program began by learning as much as he could about his target population. He began by experiencing the target population's language, culture, experiences, and interests. He immersed himself in black inner city communities (Simpkins, 1976). The above excerpts indicate that he met kids who were linguistically superior (Dillard, 1972) and who had learned a lot about reading but had not connected the two language systems. He noticed youth who could learn the concepts and skills necessary to improve one's reading; however they did not understand examples presented in Standard English. Therefore, Simpkins and
colleagues designed a program bridging the language needs of inner city black children (Stewart, 1969). They designed the program to draw on the strengths of the target population. Then they formulated a plan that would validate and accurately represent their language, culture, experiences and interests.

The Product And Its Design

The Bridge Reading Program was developed as an intervention reading program that would improve the reading levels of black junior and senior high school students in America's public schools. In particular, the program was normed for inner city black students in grades 7-12 who were reading between 2nd and 4th grade levels. It consisted of reading booklets 1 through 5, a study booklet, a teacher's edition of the study books, 6 audio recordings and a teacher's guide.

This section offers a micro analysis of the Bridge Reading Program by examining the product and the process taken to create these instructional materials. This analysis is based on all materials except the teacher's edition of the study books. Excerpts from the interviews with Simpkins and Stalling will provide accounts of the development process. The micro analysis entailed analyzing the products' text and context for indices of the social, political, cultural, or economic contexts that these instructional materials mediated and through which they evolved.

Text Analysis

The text analysis gives an overview of the entire design of the Bridge Reading Program. This design structure provides a model for comparing, contrasting, and recreating versions of the design. The context analysis will provide a more detailed analysis of the text.
Genre

As in the analysis of previous texts, this analysis is defined by Huckin's (1995) definition of genre. He asserts that genre represents "text types" and these text types "manifest a characteristic set of formal features serving a characteristic purpose" (p. 98). The Bridge Reading Program can be characterized as a curriculum unit or instructional materials because it includes student readers, a teacher's guide, study books and audiotapes. The booklets had cardboard blue covers and the inside pages were printed on white paper. All the paper materials are printed on 8 1/2" x 11" paper.

The designers saw it as a reading program. Stalling states, "It's a reading program; that's what we called it. We thought a lot about it. A cross-cultural reading program." This is supported by the title of the program--"Bridge: A Cross-Culture Reading Program."

Framing

Framing is another aspect of text production that determines how the content of the text is presented. The presentation of the content could have an angle or slant (Huckin, 1995). The slant of the Bridge Reading Program was its design as a program specifically for inner city black children who failed academically in reading. For example, the teacher's guide opens with commentary on the Coleman Report and responds to the reports focus on the academic failure of black students across the country. Then the text proceeds:

Today it is not at all uncommon for seventh and eighth grade black inner-city students to score at the second and third grade level on standardized reading tests. Nor is it unusual for black inner-city students to finish high school reading below the fifth grade level. Because the students lack the functional reading skills expected of young adults in our society, the likelihood of their being able to compete successfully for further education, job training, and employment is low. Regardless of their intelligence, these students frequently are considered—or consider themselves to be dull, ignorant, and backward. The urgent question...is "What can be done?"...The Bridge
Reading Program is one possible solution. It is designed to intervene in the pattern of failure shown by black junior and senior high school students in this country's public school systems. (Simpkins et al., 1977b, p. v)

Stalling's thoughts on framing the Bridge Reading Program with a focus on the needs of the inner city black child were:

...we looked at how black inner city children learn. We know they're intelligent. We know they're smart. We know they like to rhyme. Just like kids now a days kids like to rap; before then it was playing the dozens. So we know that we like to shuck and jive and rhyme. Have the metaphors the similes and all that.... So yeah we wanted to meet the needs of kids. We wanted to let them know well that no one language or dialect is superior to another except in people's minds. That's why we start with that premise that you're smart. You're capable. You're intelligent; therefore we're going to build off of what you already know. That was the genesis. Build from what you know. Then people are more comfortable with it. ...and then without putting down your language or culture we're going to bridge you to the Standard English which is very obvious that's not hidden. But in a process whereby you know the similarities and differences because quite a few of our kids don't know the differences.... Teachers don't know the similarities and differences. So in a way we were educating teachers at the same time we were trying to educate the students to let them know its okay. And it's up to you to decide when and where to use Black English. So yeah it was meeting their needs, making them proud of who they are...

The designers frame was an instructional one specific to "inner city" black children's heritage, language, culture, experiences, and interests (Simpkins, 1976). The Bridge Reading Program was framed with the need to focus on educating the black child. The plan was to acknowledge and respect black children's intelligence, build their self-esteem, and teach them Standard English.

Omission And Backgrounding

Huckin (1995) defines omission as the best form of backgrounding because what lays in the background is what has been intentionally or unintentionally omitted. Stalling comments that she could not:

...think of any [intentional] omissions and as a writer you always think well did I include everything I should.... I think we were ahead of our
times when we actually published it. And maybe now people...[are] more ready for it. At this point, I can't think off hand what I would change.

Stalling has identified one thing that destroyed sales and ultimately the program – public opinion. The public was not ready for a reading program that incorporated Black English; it was inconsequential that it was a strong skills based reading program. The public was not ready to acknowledge their own fears about Black English and speakers of this dialect. They reacted out of naïveté versus knowledge. The designers could not predict the general public's reaction. Moreover, the comments of the public did not belong in the publication program, and no one anticipated the need for a "disclaimer."

Since the Bridge Reading Program was produced for student consumption on a national basis, there was a need to prepare the public. Rickford & Rickford (1995) suggest measuring the public's response to dialect readers. An evaluation of the public's reaction was unintentionally omitted in the design of the product. What this indicates is that the design of a product, for profit or for public consumption, must also consider the public's reactions and actions toward the product. Public reaction was a major concern for linguists in 1969 when dialect readers were introduced (Stewart, 1969; Wolfram & Fasold, 1969). Therefore, the design of a product must consider internal and external analyses (field tests, public opinion surveys, media troubleshooting); however these types of market analyses are expensive and may not guarantee foolproof market consumption.

Foregrounding

Foregrounding means to emphasize specific concepts and de-emphasize other concepts (Huckin, 1995). In the Bridge Reading Program, there are conflicting views as to what was foregrounded. The public saw a program that
focused on Black English; and the designers saw a skills based reading
program. Simpkins describes the situation as follows:

...when people look at the program all they see is that it has Black
English in it. But if you really look at the program you'll see that it is a
well constructed skill based, theory based reading program...for the
kids. Black English is just a part of it. In fact, Jean Chall who was
Harvard's expert on reading said she suspects that the gains came from
other things in the program than Black English, and I told her she was
right. Because people overlooked that it was a very well constructed
reading program.

Evidence to support Simpkins contention that the Bridge Reading
Program is a "well constructed reading program" and that this point was
emphasized throughout the text can be found in the teacher's manual. For
example, it read:

Bridge: A Cross-Culture Reading Program...is based on a synthesis
of insights generated both from the authors' experiences with inner-
city students and from the new directions indicated by research in
dialectology, linguistics, reading, cultural anthropology, and learning
theory. Bridge places primary emphasis on language skills already in
the student's repertoires, using materials representative of the student's
cultural experiences.

Educators believe almost universally in the John Dewey axiom
"Start where the child is." Many of today's linguists echo this axiom with
the charge "Build on the child's cultural-linguistic knowledge." The
validity of this pedagogical position has long been accepted by some
teachers, but in the case of inner-city children it has been seriously
ignored. Bridge draws upon both these precepts by starting with the
students' primary language skills as a foundation upon which to build
and motivate the acquisition of reading skills. (Simpkins et al., 1977b, p.
1)

On the other hand, the public reacted and emphasized what was "black"
about the program instead of what was instructional. This tendency to direct
attention toward the "blackness" of something has been typical throughout
American history. In the interview with Stallings, she cites a book entitled, Is
Everything Bad Black to exemplify the tendency to associate black people with
bad things. Although the designers sought to emphasize a skills based program

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and de-emphasize that it included Black Vernacular, public opinion controlled the programs outcome.

**Visual Representations**

Visual representations also assist in the framing of text (Huckin, 1995). In the *Bridge Reading Program*, photographs and sketches were only used in Reading Booklets 1 through 5. The artists involved in creating these visual representations were hired by Houghton Mifflin Publishing Company. Most of the black and white photographs and sketches depict black men, women and children in the garb of the 1970s. In particular, the men and women wear afros—a popular hairstyle and bellbottoms (pants that flare below the shins). Plaid clothing in the form of pants and jackets were also worn by people in the photographs. Visually these photographs and sketches set the mood of the stories and help students to visualize a scene or the stories theme.

**Context Analysis**

The last stage in approaching the text involves analyzing the context, on a micro level, to identify the social, political (vanDijk, 1993), cultural, or economic occurrences within the text. This section parallels macro issues as represented in society with micro issues as represented in the context of the instructional materials. In other words, how does the document represent the time period? Or in this case, how does the text vicariously represent black life and language? This living document and the interview excerpts reveal what the designers of this document felt were the important social, political, cultural and economic issues relevant to the education of black inner city children.

The designers of the *Bridge Reading Program* included what they knew about inner city children and incorporated research from areas such as
learning theory, dialectology, linguistics, cultural anthropology and reading (Simpkins et al., 1977b). The stories and exercises are written in the "verbal, imaginistic style of good Black English rappers" (Smitherman, 1977, p. 224). Moreover, the materials tap the "orality of the black cultural experience and the interactive, tonal dynamics of black communication" (Smitherman, 1977, p. 224). If read today, the grammar and phonology reflect BE; however, the vocabulary and idiom are dated. For example, idioms like "hip you to that" or "dig on" are outdated, but others idioms like "cool," "check this out," and "trip" are currently used (Labov, 1995, p. 54).

Stalling talked candidly about her conceptual goals for the Bridge Reading Program:

Start where the kids are. Take them where they need to go in order to be successful. Start with the familiar. Schema. The metacognition type of activities. Bridging. We do modeling in it. When we first do the peer control reading the teacher models initially so the kids can see it. And then eventually they take over. The other thing we wanted to do was to give kids more self control, in that whenever possible we tried to organize the materials so that it's based on some of Coleman's [1966] studies—sense of control, sense of locus in that whenever possible we let the students actually control the situation and let the teachers serve as facilitators or managers so that eventually we work ourselves out of a job. That was the other thing we wanted students to feel EMPOWERED—to know that they didn't need us. Once they underst[ood] the concepts and learned different things they could do it on their own.

The design of the Bridge Reading Program was interdisciplinary and student centered. They incorporated everything they knew and what research could tell them about educating black children. They used Associative Bridging, a teaching learning strategy, to allow students to begin with the "familiar" (Black Vernacular) and then move into the "less familiar" (Standard English) (Simpkins, 1977b, p. 2). Their theoretical perspective argues that Associative Bridging represents John Dewey's axiom "Start where the child is."
The next sections proceed analytically through the key instructional components of Bridge. In particular, the analysis will include reading booklets one through five, study books one through five, the teacher's guide, and the audio recordings.

Reading Booklets

In Simpkins view, a central theme flowed throughout most of the reading booklets. He stated:

...some of the stories had subliminal themes — *why learn to read.*
...because we found that the students didn't have good reasons for why [they should] learn to read. They were told to learn to read at a different time and a different place [and] you can be successful. You can be a doctor, lawyer... So we tried to put [in] themes [like] learn to read because its functional now to your life and your community.

The theme "why learn to read" connects to the political and social climate surrounding the education of black children in the late 1960s. In particular, President Lyndon B. Johnson's *War on Poverty* placed the lives and education of black children under the microscope of the government's hegemonic control. The extensive academic failure of black children in America's public school was at issue. Johnson's sociopolitical programs sought to dissect the lives of inner city black children; however this surgery left dismembered theories about deficits and deficiencies that continue to disease the educational progress of black children. The *Bridge Reading Program* sought to provide an intermediary cure to the language learning needs of African American children. Bridge challenged the status quo curriculum and the politics of publishing instructional materials for public schools. Bridge answered the call to help reeducate black children and refute the dismembered theories.

The next sections offer a detailed analysis of the *Bridge Reading Program*; the above sociopolitical history applies to all pieces of the program.
(i.e., reading books 1-5, study guide, teachers guide and audio tapes). The entire program seeks to get students interested in learning to read.

There were five initial reading booklets with a total of 14 stories. All the stories featured black characters who were either labeled as such in the story or their racial identity was revealed in the story.

**Book One.** There are four stories in Book One each written in Black Vernacular; they include *Shine, Stagolee, The Organizer, and The Ghost. Shine, Stagolee and The Ghost* are based on black folklore. The black folklore used in the *Bridge Reading Program* is known as "oral epic poetry" or "toasts." This collection of folklore is a product of African folklore meshing with the New World, the slavery experience, "the aftermath of slavery," and the "urbanization" of black people (Simpkins 1976, p. 138). Smitherman (1977) defines toasts as "a variation on the trickster, bad niggah theme done in poetic form" (p. 157). Simpkins recalls that the toasts began "...historically when blacks were in prison--jail and they had time on their hands to sit around and write these toasts." *Shine* was one of the most popular stories for kids and adults according to Simpkins.

These toasts held a cultural and linguistic significance for Simpkins. First, the stories represented the oral tradition experienced by him in his youth, and secondly, they were a part of his heritage. He explains that:

...the original stories of *Shine* are filled with "mother fucker this" -- "mother fucker that" and so we had to clean them up and make them presentable. When I grew up, we knew all these stories. We use to tell them to each other. But as time went by, black kids today lost their connection with the oral type of tradition--of black culture...

In the story *Shine*, Shine is a black man and a stoker on a ship called the Titanic. As a stoker, he shovels coal into the ships furnace. Shine warns the captain several times that the ship is sinking. However, the captain
refuses to listen, and the ship begins to sink. Shine jumps off the boat and saves himself. From the deck various people on the boat implore Shine to save them; however Shine is the only survivor. The story begins with this introduction:

This story come from Black folklore, you understand. Black folklore is stories that Black folk have told and sung for a whole lot of years. This here story is all about Shine, a strong Black man! Maybe you heard other stories about Shine. Now come here and check out mine. (Simpkins et al., 1977d, p.1)

The introduction and the story are written in Black Vernacular and include idiomatic expressions used in some black communities. For example, the story begins:

You ever hear of the Titanic? Yeah, that's right. It was one of them big ships. The kind they call a ocean liner. Now this here ship was the biggest and the baddest ship ever to sail the sea. You understand? It was suppose to be unsinkable. Wind, storm, ice-berg – nothing could get next to it. It was a superbad ship, the meanest thing on the water. It could move like four Bloods in tennis shoes. It was out of sight!

But you know what? The very first time this here ship put out to sea, it got sunk. Can you get ready for that? On its first trip, this here bad, superbad ship got sunk. Now ain't that something?

Well, anyway, this here bad, superbad ship went under. Word was, there was very few survivors. Just about everybody got drown. But quiet as it's kept, they say that the one dude who got away was a Blood. Yeah, can you get ready for that? He was a big, Black strong Brother by the name of Shine.

Shine seems to fit Smitherman's (1977) definition of a toast with a "bad nigguh theme done in poetic form" (p. 157). Shine was so "bad" (meaning good in BE) that he was the only person to survive the sinking of the Titanic. He was so smart; he was "superbad."

The idiomatic expressions evident in Shine include phrases such as: "blood," "superbad," and, "out of sight." These expressions emulate those represented in the 70s by many black people. The manipulation of language was an inherent part of their linguistic and cultural expression.
Another story that rested on the "bad niggah theme" was Stagolee. Stagolee was the "biggest, baddest, meanest, dirtiest, and toughest of all the bad men" (Simpkins et al., 1977d, p. 6). He was a man who lived by the gun and who did not let people manipulate him. The story tells of a couple of his escapades with bad men and how Stagolee was still the baddest of them all. The story reads:

Anyway, this here legend really got started over in one of them bars down there in Bam. Alabama, you understand? One night Stag caught some jive, half-stepping sucker messing round with the cards. You know, some of that bottom-of-the-deck jive. Look a here, Stag yanked out his piece. He offed that sucker right on the spot. He drag the dude into the middle of the floor. Then he used that sucker as a card table. He was a most cold-blooded dude. Stag didn't play. (Simpkins et al, 1977d, pp. 7-8)

This excerpt demonstrates the "bad niggah theme;" (Smitherman, 1977, p. 157). Stagolee was a "bad muther." Shine and Stagolee represent black fictional heroes that inner city youth could connect with culturally and linguistically. Moreover, they connect based on their own experiences with "bad" people like Shine and "bad" people like Stagolee.

The Organizer, another story based on folklore, looks at a group of friends who discover their loquacious and righteous organizer can not read. For example, this excerpt from the story demonstrates the social stigma of not being able to read:

Brother Henry picked up the report and looked at it and say, "Wow! I can't make this dude's writing out, man. This sure is some weird stuff. Maybe we could wait until the dude come back and let him read it. I might mess his whole idea up, bad as the cat writes." So the Brother jumps on up and goes to the bathroom. "Be right back," he say.

While he was gone, Brother Larry start checking out the paper, you know. All he saw was a little old note from Brother Jay. Check it. It say, "I gotta go to the dentist. It's the only time I can get an appointment. My tooth, it's killing me. I'll catch you on the rebound." There was some more 'bout where to get in touch with him if they needed to. But that was it.

Brother Henry got back on the scene from the bathroom. He start to pick up some real funky vibes, man. People was going through some strange changes, man. As together as the Brother was, as heavy as he
was, as much of an organizer as he was, he lost his cool. He was like a blown-out fuse.
You know what happened, don't you? Would you believe, Brother Henry couldn't read? (Simpkins et al., 1977d, p. 15)

This excerpt seems to focus more on what Smitherman refers to as the "orality of the black cultural experience and the interactive, tonal dynamics of black communication" (Smitherman, 1977, p. 224). The excerpt is full of black idioms like: "bad as the cat writes," "check it," "funky vibes," and "catch you on the rebound." The problem with classifying the grammatical features of BE is that to date neither a dictionary nor grammar book exists; therefore language researchers like myself have to file through applicable text after text. In William A. Stewart's 1969, article Negro Dialect in the Teaching of Reading, he offers several points for writing reading materials for black children in the inner city. The above excerpt demonstrates, for example, that to write Black English in a Standard English orthography, Black English would take the root of the word (Stewart, 1969) as exemplified in the word "'bout" BE for the SE "about."

Simpkins remembers that The Organizer invoked discussions between teachers and students:

...from just little themes of brotherhood and sticking together to what troubles you can get into with not knowing [how] to read. And the energy that you can put into...covering up that you can't do something like reading -- when it would be easier to go and really learn it.

The Organizer exemplifies a story that addresses the subliminal theme of "why learn to read." It demonstrates that a non-reader could be you, a friend, or someone you know. Moreover, students could further maintain that lacking reading skills could inhibit their chances of acquiring a higher education or obtaining employment. The Organizer shows that not being able to read is socially unacceptable and embarrassing in the black community.
In *The Ghost*, Willie is a hardheaded kid who does not listen to anyone. He gets himself kicked out of school and off jobs; then he decides to go into the service during war time, against his parent's wishes. Willie gets killed and his mother and father pray every evening to see their deceased son Willie for one last time. Their neighbor who lives upstairs longs for an end to these nightly prayers and moaning, so he dresses up in a white sheet and pretends to be their hard-headed son Willie. The neighbor enters their house dressed in a sheet and the story reads:

Mom say, "Junior, you done come back!"
He say, "Yes, Ma," in a low voice.
Mom say, "Don't he look good, Pa? Ain't he looking well?"
Willie's old man looked at him and he say, "Yeah, you look good, son. You looking well. Now go on back!"
Mom say, "Go shake your father's hand, son."
Willie's old man say, "You look good. Now go back, will you?" The Brother kept on coming toward him.
Willie's old man say, "You look good son. Now go on back where you come from!" The Brother kept on walking forward. Willie's old man kept on backing up. He say, "You look good, son. Now go on back, will you? Go on back!"
The Brother walked over and touch Willie's old man on the shoulder and say, "Dad!"
Then Willie's old man, he say, "That's why you is dead! That's why you is dead now. 'Cause you so darn hardheaded!" (Simpkins et al., 1977d, p. 20)

This story examines the cultural tradition of being labeled hard headed when you refuse to listen to your elders or to good advice. The family situation exemplifies how prayer and faith are used as symbols of hope in many black families. It also illustrates that African American men served their country during the Vietnam War. For Stalling, this story was about the importance of listening to your parents and attending school.

In Book One, these stories or folklores were also humorous. Humor brings children into the story and keeps their attention. Like children's literature, instructional materials also need to be entertaining.
These stories do not represent an extreme form of the basilect BE nor would they be viewed as SE; so they are somewhere in the middle of the continuum. Furthermore, these BE versions seem to tap into what Smitherman calls the "orality of the black cultural experience and the interactive, tonal dynamics of black communication" (Smitherman, 1977, p. 224), more so than the "pronunciation characteristics of Black English" (Dillard, 1972, p. 307). In other words, the stories focus more on the black cultural experience and ways of communicating than the features of speakers of BE (e.g., verb usage, "John run" (BE) for "John runs" (SE) or negators (don', ain' and dit'n). "She dit'n go yesterday" (BE) for "She went yesterday" (SE)). Thus, these stories represent examples of BE in its written form. Spoken BE and written BE would vary along the continuum. The spoken form of BE is closer to the basilect than the written. To write BE exactly in its basilect form may make it more difficult to read; so written BE must be a step ahead or more of its spoken form. This has implications for the design of instructional materials. Given students' oral language proficiency test scores, they should be placed one step or more above their spoken BE, because the students have already mastered their level of BE and should be moving closer to the acrolect (SE) versus remaining stagnant in their basilect (BE). Moreover, if dialect readers continue to be made without the use of advanced technologies (i.e., computers), matching pronunciation characteristics can be difficult.

With text written in BE, the inner city black child's reading task is just decoding. If these stories were written in SE, than their task would be to decode and translate (Baratz, 1969). These stories are consistent with Baratz's suggestion (1969) to have the inner city black children learn how to read in their own language and then teach them to read in Standard English.
Furthermore, she states that a dialect reading program would require Black English texts and transition readers. These four stories fit this criterion.

**Book Two.** In Book Two, two stories are presented: *Old But Not Defenseless* and *What I Got To Be Proud Of*. These stories are written in Black Vernacular and then in Transition51. *Old But Not Defenseless* is Stalling's version of *Little Red Riding Hood*. In the Black Vernacular version, Geraldine takes the park route to get to her grandmother's house with sweet bread in hand; she runs into a strange fellow who wants to walk her to her grandmother's. Geraldine refuses his offer. At her grandmother's house, Geraldine's grandmother tells her how to defend herself.

In the transition version of *Old But Not Defenseless*, Geraldine wears a dashiki and carries a bottle of wine to her grandmother's house. Geraldine has also been followed home by a man who poses as an insurance salesman; however, he just wants the bottle of wine that she carries to her grandmother's house. (According to the designers, the wine was used in the transition version, because it was a move toward an American cultural norm—that is bringing alcohol as a social gift). In the story *Shine*, Shine was on the corner drinking before news about the Titanic hit the street. During the 70s, the display of public drunkenness was a part of many poor inner cities. This fact must not be viewed as a negative but as a realistic portrayal of life in the inner city. I believe that authentic portrayals of inner city life are more acceptable to inner city black children. In terms of written texts, Stewart (1969) believes that BE reading materials, for inner city children, should present authentic representations of the spoken language. Thereby authentic representations of black life and language could bring children to accept and connect to the content area.
According to Stalling, these stories signified the importance of our elders and listening to one's parents. Geraldine's mother told her to go straight to her grandmother's house. It is part of black culture to speak when spoken to but "keep stepping" stated Stalling. This cultural fact, for many black people, is exemplified in the transition version, of *Old But Not Defenseless*:

It was so hot Geraldine decided to take a short cut through the park where it was cool. Geraldine mother didn't like her to go through the park. Geraldine could hear her mother talking now. "Weird characters be hanging out in the park. If you gotta go through it, go with a couple of other people. And step fast, child. If some guy say something to you, say 'Hello,' but keep on stepping in the direction you going. It's always better to speak than not to speak. 'Cause if you don't, they'll curse you out or go upside your head." (Simpkins et al., 1977e, pp. 5-6)

This excerpt includes some apparent features of BE. For example, in BE "be" is used with adjectives to indicate an "extended or repeated state of action" as exemplified in the sentence "Weird characters be hanging out in the park" (Stewart, 1969, p. 180). A second example is a word that omits the prefix; that is, "'Cause if you don't" in BE for SE "Because if you don't" (Stewart, 1969).

*Old But Not Defenseless* centers on surviving in the inner city and in society—highlighting the concepts of not trusting strangers and being cautious when going into unfamiliar situations. In the previous chapter, DuBois (1903) thought of education as "a whole system of human training within and without the school house walls" (p.58). He wrote:

..human education is not simply a matter of schools; it is much more a matter of family and group life—the training of one's home, of one's daily companions, of one's social class. Now the black boy of the South moves in a black world—a world with its own leaders, its own thoughts, its own ideals. In this world he gets by far the larger part of his life training, and through the eyes of this dark world he peers into the veiled world beyond. Who guides and determines the education which he receives in his world? His teachers here are the group-leaders of the Negro people—the physicians and clergymen, the trained fathers and mothers, the influential and forceful men about him of all kinds; here it is, if at all, that the culture of the surrounding world trickles through and is handed on by the graduates of the higher schools. (p. 61-62)
The Bridge Reading Program incorporated "culture training" that is indicative of the life-based curriculum DuBois espoused (DuBois, 1903, p. 62). Through exposure to materials written in Black English, students can vicariously experience the culture training of a diversity of black communities.

In What I Got To Be Proud Of, the Black Vernacular version, a student tells his friend what happened in school as the students and the teacher discover the accomplishments of black people and what they have to be proud of. For example, the students engage in this heated discussion:

Then Miss Thomas, she say, 'Yeah, Black Americans done a whole lot of things to help make the country great. If it wasn't for Black people, this country wouldn't be the greatest country in the world today. Black people done made all kinds of contributions.' Then Melvin jumps up and say, 'Bloods ain't never done nothing worthwhile. The only thing Bloods ever done was to be slaves and get freed by Lincoln. And one Blood, he messed around with some peanuts.'"

"Did Melvin say all that?"

"Yeah, man, the cat ran it down. Then Miss Thomas, she say, 'That ain't true, Melvin. Like I told you, Blacks done made many great contributions to this country.' And then Henry jumps in. You know Henry, don't you?"

"Yeah, the cat who always trying to be so cool."

"Yeah, that's him. Well, anyway, Henry was showboating. He held up his history book and he say to Miss Thomas, dig it, What you say is true. I know, 'cause my old man ran it down to me 'bout all the great things Brothers done did. But, like, uh...you sure ain't going to find out 'bout them in this history book.'"

"He say, 'I know, 'cause I done read it, you understand. And all it say about Brothers is that we was slaves, and this dude, Abraham Lincoln, freed us. And there was this Brother who was into a lot of things with peanuts.'" (Simpkins et al., 1977e, p. 13)

This excerpt reveals several more features indicative of BE. One is the triple negative that is "the sole province of Africanized English" (Smitherman, 1977, p. 30). For example, the sentence reads: "Bloods ain't never done nothing worthwhile." The negatives are the words: ain't, never and nothing. A second example of a feature of BE is the use of the word "done" in isolation or "done" joining with verbs. "Done" in isolation means "did." In SE as in the phrase
"cause I done read it" (BE) for "Because I did read it (SE). "Done" used in combination with a verb is equal to one form of "have" (have, has, or had) (Smitherman, 1977); as in the sentences "Black Americans done a whole lot of things to help make the country great" (BE) for "Black Americans have done a whole lot of things to help make the country great (SE).

Stalling interpreted this story by commenting that, "...black folks often think that as white folks try to say that we have no history. We have no culture. We have no language. And so that was pointing that out."

Stalling is alluding to the false perceptions of some white people about black people. One of those false perceptions is that the history of black people is only American history and that black people have no history outside of America. (If black history is part of American history, why has it been excluded, ignored or falsely represented in history books and by the media)? Secondly, the notion that black people have no culture is a common perception. Thereby, it is believed that black people share an American culture not a separate culture. Third, black people are believed to have no language. The perception is that black people are speaking one of two things: Standard English or a "deficit" form of Standard English. Moreover, the perception is that black people are not speaking another language just an inferior form of English. The designers implicitly address these false perceptions by offering that black Americans have a history, language, and culture—parallel and equal to their American culture.

Stewart (1969) discusses myths involving intellectual performances between blacks and whites. He posits that there is little consideration that being a black or white person "might involve correlation's with more-or-less different American subcultures, and that cultural differences might therefore
be responsible for the intellectual performance disparity between the two ethnic groups" (p. 165). Social scientists have assumed that once regional location (urban versus rural) and social class has been determined in their studies than blacks and white would be "culturally identical" (p. 165). Stewart argues that there are apparent cultural differences such as: dress, behavior (e.g., the form and use of laughter), music styles, worship patterns, and other variations based on social class and regional location. Stewart claims this perception is tied to the melting pot myth that immigrants assimilate into the American culture within one to two generations, whereby ethnic or national beginnings dissipate. Black people exemplify this assimilation myth and are believed to be culturally identical to white Americans.

In Book Two, *Old But Not Defenseless* and *What I Got To Be Proud Of* exemplify transition readers that would move the child from BE to SE (Baratz, 1969). These transition stories are closer to the basilect than the acrolect. They seem to include more features of BE and focus on the "orality of the black cultural experience and the interactive, tonal dynamics of black communication" (Smitherman, 1977, p 224).

**Book Three.** In Book Three, two stories are included *A Friend in Need* and *Dreamy Mae*. There are three versions of these stories (Black Vernacular, Transition and Standard English).

In the three versions of *A Friend In Need*, Russell needs a friend to help him make repairs to his car; however each time the friend arrives late and ruins Russell's chance of fixing the car. For Stalling, this story illustrated "how important it is to be a friend as well as how important it is to need a friend. No person is an island. We need each other. We need to work together. Collaboration is important." *A Friend In Need* focused on the ideas of social
responsibility and friendship. This is exemplified in this excerpt written in
Transition:

On the way home from the gas station, Richard thought 'bout who
he could get to help him fix his car. What he needed was somebody who
knew 'bout auto mechanics and was dependable. It was real important
that the person be dependable.

mechanics in school. He ought to know something. He's a senior. And he
seems like a pretty dependable dude. But will he do it?" He thought about
it for a while, then he decided that Joe would probably help, because Joe
was a good friend.

Richard drove on over to Joe's house. Joe listened to his story.
"Sure, man, I'll help you out," he said. "I mean, like, what's partners for?
And anyway, man, many times you done tighten up me and my old lady
with a ride when I didn't have no wheels. I owe it to you." (Simpkins et
al., 1977f, p. 8)

In this transition version, the narration moves more towards the
acrolect (SE) and the dialogue remains closer to the baselect (BE). For example,
the following sentence maintains the grammatical structure of SE, "Joe
listened to his story." However this sentence which is a snippet of dialogue
maintains the features of BE (i.e., negation, "done" and tonal dynamics) -- "And
anyway, man, many times you done tighten up me and my old lady with a ride
when I didn't have no wheels. I owe it to you."

_Dreamy Mae_ was written by Stalling. In the Black Vernacular version of
_Dreamy Mae_, Mae day dreams that she is a princess with long golden hair; later
a friend styles Mae's hair and demonstrates the beauty of her natural52 hair.
_Dreamy Mae_, in the transition version, day dreams about having long golden
hair. A school friend shows her a book about a black princess with natural
hair, and Mae begins to realize the beauty of her own hair. The Standard
English version of _Dreamy Mae_ has Mae day dreaming that her hair is golden,
and then dreaming that her hair is different colors (i.e., purple, green). In
school, Mae is read a story by the teacher about a black princess and again she
realizes the natural beauty of her hair.

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For Stalling the story had a social and personal meaning. She states:

With *Dreamy Mae*. My mother's a beautician. My mother in law is a beautician and to them (whispering) straight hair is good hair. And I had always told my mother that nappy hair is good hair. We as black folks have the most versatile hair.... You can talk to any beautician and they will tell you. We can straighten it. We can perm it. We can go...nappy. We can braid it. We can do so many things with our hair and I truly wanted to show in that story two things. One, that our hair is versatile and good... and two that we come from a long line of proud black people....

*Dreamy Mae* represents the cultural stigma of kinky hair. Many black men and women are ashamed of the hair that grows from their scalp because it is very curly and in most cases hard to manage. Many people with kinky hair relax the hair thereby permanently straightening its strands. *Dreamy Mae*'s message was to develop pride in one's self image, culture, and hair. For example, this is an excerpt of the Transition version where Mae meets a new friend Barbara, and they sit down on a bench to eat lunch:

The two girls started to talk. "You know what I really want more than anything else?" Mae said to Barbara.

"No, what?"

"I want some long golden hair."

"What you want that for? asked Barbara.

"I read a story about a princess who had long golden hair. I saw her picture, and she was more beautiful than anything I ever did see."

"That's silly," said Barbara. "Golden hair wouldn't look right on you no way. It wouldn't look right on no Black people. You ever see a Black princess with long golden hair?"

"No, I ain't seen no Black princess at all." Barbara had a small book about Africa with her. She opened it to a picture of a Black princess. Mae stared at the picture. She shook her head.

"That ain't no princess," said Mae. "She got nappy hair."

"She is too a princess," said Barbara. "Look at the book. It say so right here. Anyway, nappy hair is good hair. That's what my mama told me."

Mae was confused. She had never heard that nappy hair was good hair. It sure sounded strange, like "nappy" and "good" just didn't go together. (Simpkins et al., 1977f, pp. 21-22)

Similar to *A Friend In Need*, *Dreamy Mae* maintains a strong focus on BE in the dialogue and the narration begins to move more toward SE. For example,
the sentence, "No, I ain't seen no Black princess at all" demonstrates triple negation in BE. The narration emulates SE as illustrated in the sentences: "Mae was confused. She had never heard that nappy hair was good hair."

In Book Three, the two stories A Friend In Need and Dreamy Mae are written in the three versions (BV, T and SE). This structure helps children understand the relationship between their oral language and the written language of the text. This was brought out in Leaverton's experiment on dialect readers. Through the three versions students can begin to distinguish between their spoken language and SE without the stigma of inferior or superior language forms (Leaverton, 1973).

**Book Four.** In Book Four, there are two stories Little Big Man and Vibration Cornbread. They are written in transition and Standard English. In Little Big Man, Transition and Standard English versions, a young man decides to drop out of school because he needs to work to support his family. For Stalling, this story rang true to what she experienced while growing up. She remarks:

*Little Big Man* is so true. It relates to where our kids are. So many of them have to work in order to go to school not just for themselves, but to help support the family. And its a reality. I think it's shape up or ship out. And the young man in the story says, "I may be leaving now, but I'm going to help shape up my mama--my little sister. I'm going to help get her some shoes. I'll get back to finish school, but right now, I've got to take care of my family." So that's a real reality with a lot of our people particularly in junior high school and high school. They're supplementing the family income.

It was common in the 70s for children to leave school temporarily to help support the family. This was an economic reality for many black families. For example in the transition version of Little Big Man, Kenny ponders about what he is going to do given his family's financial situation:

* Kenny turned and looked at the clock. Time was going by at a snail's pace. Another whole fifteen minutes before the English class
would be over. Then he would have to rush to work. "Seem like the days get longer, and my nights get shorter."

Why are you looking at the clock, Kenny?" [asked Mrs. Jackson, his teacher]

Kenny didn't answer. He just looked down at his blank paper and played with his pencil.

"Time will pass, but will you? Wait until you see your grade. You had better see me after class." Mrs. Jackson turned to another student.

"Now, John, what is the subject of this sentence?" asked Mrs. Jackson.

Kenny hung his head low. He knew he wasn't doing well in school. He wasn't listening to the teacher. He wondered what subjects and predicates had to do with food, clothes, and money. Kenny was thinking 'bout the talk he and his mother had that morning. His thoughts were fighting each other like dogs and cats. (Simpkins et al., 1977g, pp. 1-2)

The economic situation for blacks in the 70s is prevalent in this story. In addition to the academic reality, black children like Kenny had to work and go to school, so their education suffered. This is true for many inner city children; however, schools and society need to see these issues as realities that encroach upon black children's academic success.

This transition version of Little Big Man has fewer features of BE and more of SE. Both the narration and the dialogue reflect movement towards SE. For example this narration is written in the grammatical patterns of SE:

"Kenny turned and looked at the clock. Time was going by at a snail's pace."

This sentence moves towards BE, "Seem like the days get longer, and my nights get shorter;" however in SE it would read "It seems like the days get longer, and my nights get shorter."

The economic realities of black families are also represented in Vibration Cornbread. In Vibration Cornbread, both versions (i.e., T, SE), two children cook dinner before their mother gets home from work. They are alone and managing the business of the house. This story held true for Stalling in her own childhood.
Vibration corn bread — latch key kids. I remember...this [is] one that I wrote. It wasn't based on any other stories...other than my history. And my mother use to tell me. "I want you to bake a chicken. I don't want you to mess with that chicken. I just want you to put some salt and some pepper on it." Because I hate to do the same thing the same way. I like to be creative about doing things. So then my mother is a vibration cook in that even when I cook now I don't measure anything. I just dump it on whatever seems right. When I make something, it's never the same way. And I have friends who say, "why don't you write down your recipes." And so this is vibration cornbread...

Stalling's experience as a latch key kid was exemplified by the manner her mother organized their day. She states:

...what I started telling you about this story was my mother when she would go to work. She would set 3 clocks for us. One was to get up. One was for us to leave. And the third clock, we'd better be home before it went off, because we were suppose to be home from school, in the house and have called her. So we had three clocks to respond to a day.... Three clocks.... I'd call her at the beauty shop and let her know we were at home.

Vibration Cornbread oozes with the cultural tradition of vibration cooking. Good cooking has been a cultural norm passed down for generations in some black families. In this story, the children are learning this tradition, and they are learning to be responsible. The children have to assume the responsibility of managing the home until their mother arrives. Children were latch-key kids out of necessity because many parents could not economically afford baby-sitters or child care centers.

The text of Vibration Cornbread parallels that of Little Big Man in that BE moves closer along the continuum to SE. In this example of the transition version of Vibration Cornbread, Becky is cooking the way her mother taught her:

Becky added the corn meal. Then she added the milk and egg to the bowl and stirred it well. After looking at the mixture, she decided that it needed more milk. "Mama say use your own judgment when cooking. Add a little bit less or a little bit more, depending on how you feel. Mama calls it vibration cooking."
"Scottie, how's this look to you?"
"I don't know. I have to taste it."
"Here, try a little taste." Becky waited for her bother to say something.
"It taste OK. When it's done, it should taste good?" said Scottie.
(Simpkins et al., 1997g, p. 12)

As this excerpt demonstrates BE is transitioned out and SE transitioned in. This example demonstrates the flow out of SE into BE, "After looking at the mixture, she decided that it needed more milk. "Mama say use your own judgment when cooking."

Book Four, like Book Three, exemplifies clearly that "there are two dialects in the education complex of black children" (Baratz, 1969, p. 111). Moreover, these dialects can be blended in various ways when constructing the written text of dialect readers.

Book Five, Book Five contained four stories all written in Standard English (I'll Always Remember, City Folks, Dig And Be Dug and What Folks Call Politics). Each story is prefaced with a list of 6 to 9 vocabulary words relating to the story.53 The content in the SE versions paralleled those in the previous booklets in that they were stories about black people's lives in their communities. For example, in I'll Always Remember, Shannon, a young woman, is conned into handing over her wallet to a "city slicker." The story rang true for Stalling. She states that sometimes people from the country come to the city and might say:

... "Oh I'm so glad to get away from this hick town" [yet be]...very vulnerable and very open to being ripped off. Because we have different mentalities--you know trusting people. Speaking to everyone you meet and then coming to the city and people misinterpreting it.

In certain areas where many black people reside one may notice that greeting people is a part of the culture. These greetings may be exhibited as a smile, nod or verbal expression. This cordial behavior is commonplace.
However when exhibiting this behavior in a large city one may become vulnerable.

The transition to a total SE version is exemplified in this SE version of *I'll Always Remember*:

Shannon got off the train. She walked to the baggage-claim section where people were pushing, shoving and pulling. She waited until everyone else had picked up their baggage. Then she put her coat over her arm and claimed her two bags. She walked outside to the taxi stand. There were no taxis in sight. Shannon sat on one of her bags while she waited. In this strange new city she felt very small.

A well-dressed man in his late twenties walked up to her. "Good morning. My name is William Henry," he said.

"Hello, my name is Shannon Simms."

"Please to meet you, Shannon. If you're waiting for a taxi, you'll have a long wait. They've all left for the city."

"Oh, my!" said Shannon.

"It's quicker and cheaper to take the subway," said William Henry.

"It is?"

"Yes! It's called the poor man's taxi," said Mr. Henry. "Where are you going?"

"To the Bronx."

"I'm going there, too," said Mr. Henry. "I'll be happy to show you the way." (Simpkins et al., 1977h, p. 2)

In this excerpt, the grammatical structure is consistent with SE. The dialogue and the narration mimics that of formal SE. It is hoped that by the time children reach the SE version of dialect readers that they understand the relationship between their oral language and the written language of SE text (Leaverton, 1973).

Books One through Five demonstrate Stewart's (1969) model for the design of Dialect readers. He envisioned readers that transitioned from Black Dialect to SE. Although the Bridge Reading Program does not reflect Stewart's vision of stories written solely by a linguist, it parallels his overall structure of using stages. (The stories in the Bridge Reading Program were written by Simpkins, Stalling and Holt). Moreover, Stewart saw the role of the linguist as one who strictly controlled the grammatical structure in each version (i.e.,
each version would specifically focus on one aspect of BE for example the
copula (am, is are)). This focusing on one linguistic feature of BE was
experimented with in Leaverton's (1973) study where he focused specifically
on verb usage in BE compared to SE.

Study Books One through Five -- Activities

This next section outlines how the Study Books support the reading
booklets by offering instruction in reading skills and practice activities. It
also continues to support Simpkins theme of "why learn to read." The activities
include story questions, skills lessons, and word bridging lessons. Then,
students assess themselves using the feedback records.

Story questions. Each story has questions that correspond to the dialect
(Black Vernacular, Transition and Standard English) in a story. Story
questions test students' understanding of story topics and details. The three
versions present different information on the same story. Questions are
similar for each story but may yield a different answer. For example, the
correct answer to the question, "How much money did John receive?" might be
"a whole lot of money," in the Black Vernacular version, "750 dollars" in the
Transition version and "500 dollars" in the Standard English version (Simpkins
et al., 1977b, p. 5). There is no cultural significance to the change in the dollar
amounts.

All story questions are preceded by directions. An analysis of the story
directions reveals that students are valued and respected socially and
culturally. For example, the directions for the story Shine begins:

Go for what you know about the story "Shine." Check out each sentence
down below. Circle the letter of the correct answer (a, b, c or d). There
ain't but one right answer to each question so don't be picking out two." (Simpkins et al., 1977c, p. 1)
This statement suggests that students have schema (prior knowledge) to contribute and that this knowledge is valued and acknowledged. Moreover, these words written in its dialect brings equity and respect to Black Vernacular in its written form.

In the area of curriculum development and textbook publication, Black Vernacular has not been accepted, respected or legitimized. Black Vernacular has only been accepted when the "dialect is presented within a work of fiction, especially when authors frame the representation of dialect by prose that demonstrates their command of standard English" (Labov, 1995, p. 55). Dialect is accepted in mainstream literature but not in instructional materials.

Skills lessons. The skills lessons are also written in the dialect of the corresponding story. These lessons assist students with their comprehension and application of reading skills (Simpkins et al., 1977b). The designers identified nine skills that plagued students; they include: meaning from context, figures of speech, key meaning words, word order, time order, word parts, inference, main idea and cause and effect. These reading skills are "retaught, extended and refined" in the three dialects (Simpkins et al., 1977b, p. 6).

The designers stress the importance of the "searching process" that is built into the lessons. This search process they believe is more important than obtaining the right answer. Students are provided a limited number of questions (four) to enable this process (Simpkins et al., 1977b). Thereby, students are allowed the time to find answers. This searching process is usually not valued in higher grade levels and students are often rushed to find the correct answer. If students are allowed the opportunity to relearn this process, they can redevelop fluency in reading. Students who read slowly or take
longer to comprehend are perceived to be slow learners and thereby deficient. For example in the King case, the plaintiffs (the children) were labeled emotionally disturbed and learning disabled (Labov, 1982) based on their perceived linguistic competence.

The Bridge Reading Program allows students to relearn how to read in a supportive social environment. The curriculum supports the students where they are and provides an environment conducive to learning.

The words and phrases used repeatedly in the Black Vernacular lessons reflect the language, culture and norms of an inner city black community. This is exemplified through the Skills Lesson for Shine entitled "Digging on Figures of Speech" (Simpkins et al., 1977c, p. 5):

1. What you gonna learn from this: To dig on words that say more
2. than what the words really mean.
3. Check this out: You got a figure of speech when you come
4. across a word, or some words, that ain't really saying what it seem to
5. be saying. To understand this here figure-of-speech thing, to really
6. get it together, you got to use a little taste of imagination. You can't
7. be using the exact meaning of the words. What you got to do is trip
8. on the picture that the words paint for you (Simpkins et al., 1977c, p. 5).

This excerpt demonstrates the incorporation of idioms and black linguistic norms. In line 1 the word "dig" means understand. In line 7, the word "trip" means to think about. An example of a question that would follow the above directions was as follows: "Shine was a stone swimmer.; (a) Shine was a very good swimmer; (b) Shine was a very good swimmer; (c) Shine was a stone" (Simpkins et al., 1977c, p. 6). These examples have the style and flavor characteristic to the language used by some black people during the 70s. The Black Vernacular terms, sound system, vocabulary, and grammar reflect the language, culture and norms of an inner city black community (Simpkins et al., 1977b).
The same excerpt as the one above written in a Standard English version of Dreamy Mae began "Understanding Figures of Speech" (Simpkins et al., 1977c, p. 125). It read:

What you will learn: To understand words that mean more than what they seem to say.
Study the explanation: You have a figure of speech when the words don't really mean what they seem to say. You can't use the exact meaning of the words. To understand the meaning of these words, you have to use your imagination. What you have to do is understand the picture that the words paint for you. (Simpkins et al., 1977c, p. 125)

The Standard English version of the directions presents a more formal tone conducive to written SE texts. Moreover, the use of directions in SE suggests the written text structure that students, in particular black inner city children, must master in school texts (Baratz, 1969). Except for the contractions, this example represents the language norms of written SE.

Word bridging lessons. The Word Bridging lessons provide students with activities to improve their vocabulary, including synonym recognition. In these lessons, students compare the word usage in Black Vernacular and Standard English; the stories aid students in defining word meanings in both dialects. For example, students would define the word "good" in Black Vernacular, based on the context of the story, to mean "bad" or "good," and in Standard English the word "good" only means "good" (Simpkins et al., 1977b). The BE meaning of "bad" was demonstrated in the stories Shine and Stagolee. Shine was "bad" as in "good;" he was a good hero. Stagolee was "bad" as in a person who is bad in behavior, and he was "bad" as in "good," because he was a good legendary character.

Feedback records. Feedback records provide students with an individualized self assessment tool. Students compete with themselves versus other students. Their relearning process is allowed to redevelop. The feedback
records monitor student responses to the story questions and the skills lessons. (These are separate feedback record sheets.) For example, a student would track their progress, in the Story Questions, by completing a set of 10 questions related to the story *Shine*. The teacher would correct their answers and the number of answers correct would be indicated on a sheet (*Shine* (BV) 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, ....) (p. 211). The teacher would circle the number of correct responses and students can monitor their achievement by acknowledging the higher numbered scores (Simpkins et al., 1977c). I can not assess the effectiveness of this assessment tool; however, I would recommend that all instructional materials have an internal and external assessment component. In the *Bridge Reading Program* field tests, students were pre- and post-tested with an external instrument -- The Iowa Test of Basic Skills in Reading. The internal instruments were included in the program as the Story Questions and the Skills Lessons activities (Simpkins, 1976). Designers must consider whether their assessment tools prepare children with the skills they need to advance in a school setting and on standardized tests.

**Teacher's Guide**

The teacher's guide covers the role of the teacher and Peer Control Reading; it supports the theme of "why learn to read." This is an excerpt from the interview with Stalling (S) and Young (Y) (the researcher).

**Y**

I just have two more quick questions. In the *Bridge Reading Program* one of the things that you mention is classroom management. What are your thoughts about African American children and the subject of classroom behavior?

**S**

If you can't get their attention you can't teach them. You've heard the story of the mule trainer.

**Y**

No

**S**

There was this mule and if the man told the mule to sit it would stand. You said "stand," it would sit. You said, "go," it would stop. So the owner of the mule heard of this (loud) famous mule trainer. So he traveled for days until he got to this mule trainer. And he said, "Sir, I
hear that you are the best in the world, that you can train any mule to do what you want it to do. And...when you give me my mule back it would be wonderful and follow directions. He said "Yep, I'm the best in the world. Whatever you want your mule to do, it will do after the training." He said, "Well, I'm going to leave my mule here with you. I'm going to go on home. He said, "Go on home." So as the man was getting ready to leave, the mule trainer picked up this two by four. The man ran back, "Hey! Hey! Hey! What are you doing! What are you doing with my mule!" He said well, "I've got to get his attention first." (big laughs) He was getting ready to bop him upside his head, before he did anything right. So it's the same way in that. We've got to get the attention of our kids, but we can not beat them over their heads. Which means that if our kids are not learning that means we are failing — that we are not meeting them where we should be. So we're failing as teachers — as educators. So it's up to us to find ways to meet them and to develop that repertoire. So classroom management is part of it. I think having things of interest. Getting students actively involved so they're participating. That it's interactive. That we're not lecturing or moralizing or preaching. And that we're actively involved in the process. And so all those things we want to do when we get kids involved.

The Bridge Reading Program seeks to get students' attention, create interaction, limit direct instruction, and establish a personal relationship between students and teacher (as learning consultant). In the Bridge Reading Program, the teacher's role is clearly defined and specific to the learning needs of the students. The teacher is identified as "manager of classroom behavior, manager of materials and individual learning consultant" (Simpkins et al., 1977b, p. 18). Her role in each of these areas is explicitly defined.

As manager of behavior, the teacher is directed to establish a positive environment for learning and an atmosphere for success and to as much as possible ignore inappropriate behavior. As students experience success, they believe in their reading abilities and themselves, and this builds positive self images. Students who have a history of academic failure and negative experiences have a poor self image. The teacher can contribute to the development of positive self images by "consistently and exclusively" following two techniques: "(1) rule setting and (2) positive reinforcement of successful behavior" (Simpkins et al., 1977b, p. 18). The rule setting sets up a
pattern that the students consistently follow and the teacher consistently reinforces. Positive reinforcement is seen as the teacher praising or rewarding any and all accomplishments of all her students. This reinforcement will improve students self image and motivate them to complete assignments (Simpkins et al., 1977b).

The culture of the classroom should not emulate the culture of the larger society where the inner city black child's language, culture, identity, and environment are looked upon in disdain; this is what happened to the children in the King case. The school environment should be supportive. Outside the classroom, the environment may not support or promote positive self images. In Stalling's interview, she refers to the Clarks' study of black children's reference group orientation. When children were asked which doll they would prefer to have, black children choose the white doll with blond hair (Clark & Clark, 1950). However, in recent studies, black children have expressed a black reference group (Spencer, 1988). Although the school does represent the institutionalization and norms of the dominant culture, the individual classroom and teacher can present a safe, supportive, non-threatening environment for learning and growing. Moreover, the teacher must develop a disposition to support and respect the black child's identity and self-esteem.

The teacher as manager of materials maintains an organized sequence of the reading program. She consistently manages the location of the materials throughout the day and monitors student progress. Lastly, the teacher as individual learning consultant provides individualized instruction, support, reinforcement, or praise to students as she circulates the room (Simpkins et al., 1977b).
The goal of the designers was to provide a reading program that was "teacher proof." Simpkins clarifies these beliefs:

Now what do I mean by teacher proof. I meant that I wanted the program where teachers couldn't FUCK IT UP! Okay. So this program is designed for any teacher who could read. You don't have to have any special instructions, background or training. If you can read, follow the instructions, you can teach the program. Okay. We encouraged them to not deviate from the program but to follow it to the letter. And that's what we encouraged all the teachers to do -- no special instructions just follow the program. And it worked out really good. So we changed the teachers role from the teacher who hovers over the class, who also talks too much, who doesn't distribute reinforcement equally to a manager of materials, a dispenser of reinforcements, so the teacher's role now is an individual learning consultant. The teacher roams around the class. She never addresses the entire group. ...she gives them instruction on how to run the program -- how to stay on track. She individually helps kids with problems... We emphasize that we want a distribution of reinforcement. You know every time you use three negatives we want you to use 3 positives. And part of it is, if this kid only stays in his seat for 5 minutes, seek him out when he stays in for 6 minutes and reinforce him for that 6 minutes.

Teacher proofing instructional materials is a difficult task; however the Bridge Reading Program sought to limit teacher bias, attitudes and prejudices. The designers attempted to control human interference that often hinders learning for black children.

Furthermore, a teacher training component is imperative to future designs of instructional materials. By 2030, the majority of the student population attending public schools will be minority children. A teacher's training experience must include knowledge about the ethnic and racial populations they teach (Spencer, 1988); in particular teachers must know about the language learning needs of their students. For example, a teacher who has a student who speaks Black English must be able to discern between grammatical features of BE compared to those of SE. This was further exemplified in the King case, when Judge Joiner ordered the Ann Arbor School Board to devise a plan enabling teachers to identify speakers of Black
English and to be knowledgeable in teaching speakers of Black English how to read Standard English. The teachers received in-service training about the history and characteristics of Black English, methods of identifying speakers of Black English, knowledge to distinguish between reading errors and pronunciation mistakes, and strategies for codeswitching (Labov, 1982).

**Peer Control Reading**

Peer Control Reading is another skill-based component to the design of the *Bridge Reading Program*. The stories used in the Peer Control Reading differ from those in Reading Booklets One through Four, and they are also written in the three dialects (BV, T, SE). In Peer Control Reading, groups of students "reinforce each other for desired oral reading responses" (Simpkins et al., 1977b, p. 26). Groups are chosen based on reading ability and then randomly selected to read. One person is the "Reader," and the others in the group are the "Correctors." The Reader reads a number of sentences. Then she is stopped if she makes any "oral reading errors" (i.e., omissions, substitutions, mistakes in word recognition) and given a chance to identify and correct the error (Simpkins et al., 1977b, p. 28). If an error is made, the Reader continues reading a few more sentences until the oral reading errors are flawless. Also during the Peer Control Reading, the Reader is asked to talk about what they have read. The Correctors stop the Reader at errors in comprehension and assist the Reader in understanding the passage (Simpkins et al., 1977b).

The Peer Control Reading provides a social environment for students to learn. Students work collaboratively, interact socially, and support each other. It draws "on the call and response -- oral tradition in the black community" (Simpkins, 1976, p. ii). Simpkins comments that "teachers told us that the peer
control group was so much fun that it was hard for them to resist getting into
the groups themselves."

Audio Recordings

The audio recordings served to introduce the program, introduce a
story, narrate an entire story, or review a skills lesson; they basically
mirrored the written text. The introduction to each section begins with a
flighty and fun musical arrangement. The narrator is male; however some
transitions and stories use a female narrator. All of the content in the audio
recordings, which is spoken in Black Vernacular, connects to the social,
cultural and linguistic traditions in the black community. The narrator begins
the program with an enticing introduction:

What's happening, Brothers and Sisters! I want to tell you about this
here program call Bridge: A Cross-Culture Reading Program. Now I
know you thinking that this is just another one of them jive reading
programs and that I won't be needing no reading program, but dig it.
This here reading program is really kinda different. It was done by a
Brother and two Sisters, soul folk you know, and they put sumpin extra
in it for ya. They put a little taste of soul. As a matter of fact, a lotta soul.
No jive, that's what they put in it. A little bit of soul, something you can
relate to (Simpkins et al., 1977b, p. 47).

In this excerpt, the narrator welcomes the students with a communal
greeting "what's happening." Then the narrator addresses the students as
"Brothers and Sisters" thereby signifying that they are members of the same
community—the same family. This clues students into listening, because they
hear familiar greetings that are used socially in their community. Moreover,
the narrators intonations and style of speaking are characteristic of some
black communities.

Immediately, the narrator addresses student concerns about the reading
program and offers the assurance that this program is different from their
traditional reading materials. The narrator acknowledges that the program
was created by black people like themselves. Usually students do not know who created the instructional materials that they read or they assume that the authors are white. For most students, this was probably their first time reading something written in Black Vernacular, and it is very likely that the children never interacted with instructional materials made by and for black people. The narrator offers the learner something they have never received in instructional materials or even at school before—"a little taste of soul." They define soul as "referring to Blacks and their culture: a way to describe such cultural conventions as food, music, dance, and [a] world view of Blacks" (Simpkins et al., 1977b, p. 57).

The program introduction continues:

Now, I know what you gonna say: "I don't need to be reading no better. I get by. I don't dig no reading and there ain't nothing I wanna be reading no how." But dig. I know where you been and I know where you coming from too. When you were just starting school, reading got on your case, didn't it? Got down on you. Hurt your feelings. Then the second grade, reading just smack you all upside your head and dared you to do something about it. In the third grade (mmmm!) reading got into your chest, knock you down, drag you through the mud, sent you home crying to your mama. Now, by the time you got to the fourth grade, you just about had enough of messing around with this here reading thing, and you say to yourself, "I ain't gonna be messing with this old bad boy no more." You just hung it up.... (Simpkins et al., 1977b, p. 47)

In this excerpt of the program introduction, the designers have given a scenario of what happens in the structure of schools and schooling. Schools have always been political institutions, because they control what people know and how much they know. The statement, "When you were just starting school, reading got on your case, didn't it? Got down on you. Hurt your feelings" alludes to the fact that academic failure and loss of motivation for learning begins in the early grades. According to Labov, "it is not accidental that the person addressed is in the fourth grade (though the program...was first tested in grades 7 to 12), since as noted above it is in the fourth grade that
resistance to school instruction is first solidified by adolescent peer groups" (p. 51). Moreover, schools have failed to address the non-reader by passing them along from grade to grade increasing the likelihood of academic failure, dropping out of school (Fine, 1991), developing a poor self-image, and fostering a lower self-esteem (Kunjufu, 1984).

For many inner city black children, there is little retreat from academic failure because the children see no way out. As addressed in this reading program, this is a program for junior and senior high school students who read between the 2nd and 4th grade levels. Academic success is far from their agenda because they have so many years to catch up. A 12th grader who reads on a 2nd to 4th grade level needs a variety of instructional models to move toward grade level competence and ultimately academic success.

This last excerpt addresses the language needs of inner city black children, who communicate in their homes and community using Black Vernacular, and then moves into an explanation of Standard English.

...in this here program, you start off with what we call soul talk. You know, the way you hear a lot of Bloods talk. We call this talk Black vernacular. You got that? Soul talk and Black vernacular is the same thing. And you end up in Standard English. Now you know what Standard English is don't you? That's what you see in them textbooks, what you hear on radio and TV, and the way you hear the teacher talk, and stuff like that. You know? (Simpkins et al., 1977b, p. 47-48)

In this example, the learner is made aware of the learning goals of the program. They are informed that there is a distinction between what they speak at home (everyday talk), school (school talk) (Leaverton, 1973), and the dialects heard in the media. This language distinction is usually foreign to some parents and children who are speakers of Black Vernacular. They believe they are already speakers, readers and writers of Standard English and
reading difficulties are usually not associated with problems of language learning.

The *Bridge Reading Program* is based on the premise that language should be learned in its social and cultural context. A child must be able to see and understand the grammatical structure in their own language to make an easy transition to Standard English. Only through explicit written text and oral communication can students see how Standard English differs from the dialects they use at home, school, or work, and when writing, reading or speaking.

In the next section, I summarize the chapter and offer some thoughts on instructional materials made by and for African Americans.

**Summary**

I began with the quote, "why learn to read" because this was the subliminal theme of *Bridge: A Cross-Culture Reading Program*. The designers wanted students to be able to ultimately answer this question for themselves and to be proactive in improving their own learning.

Learning to read was tied to the sociopolitical climate of the late 1960s and early 70s; black children were not learning to read. The government sought to help through their War on Poverty programs. The academic research generated from these monies blamed black children for their own academic failure classifying them as intellectually, linguistically, cognitively and developmentally deficient; this was the deficit model. Black children's environment and culture were also thought to contribute to their academic failure; this was termed cultural deprivation. The War on Poverty was indeed a war — a war on poor and minority children and their communities.
The Bridge Reading Program answered the call to assist in the education of inner city black children. The designers (Simpkins, Stalling and Holt) created a skill based reading program that included a linguistic and cultural context and participatory activities. This reading program sought to empower students, support their language, support their culture, and teach them how to read.

Are dialect readers the answer to educating speakers of a dialect? Labov believes that "the initial success of the Bridge program in its primary function of improving reading scores is sufficient to warrant careful attention and a search for ways of developing its basic principles further. Its development has far-reaching implications for similar programs" (Labov, 1995, pp., 52-53).

I believe that it was the incorporation of all the elements that made Bridge a good design for a reading program. The designers incorporated the linguistic and cultural needs of the target group by offering content that addressed the following: the life experiences of the group, instructional strategies based on the culture of the group (Peer Control Reading), reading strategies, theoretical perspectives about learning, a language learning focus, and literature with a culture and language focus.

Stewart (1969) in discussing strategies for designing dialect readers believed that a skilled linguist could be involved in the writing of these readers; however, this means the materials would be systematically designed according to linguistic features of BE (such as negation, verb usage, etc.). The Bridge Reading Program, however, focused more on a Black English literary style versus a programmed approach. As long as the linguist can bring the literary and soulful flavor to the language while using structured linguistic rules, this seems to be a plausible strategy in designing dialect readers.
Instructional Materials By And For Black People

A comparison and contrast of the three instructional materials reveals some overall similarities and differences. I began each chapter with a quote relative to the content of the instructional materials and the goals of the designers ("If God be for us who can be against us" [TFT]), "Education must teach life" [TBB] and "Why learn to read" [Bridge]. The Freedman's Torchlight sought to instill its religious and instructional doctrine into its readers. The Brownies' Book taught its readers about the world and black people. The Bridge Reading Program educated its readers about the importance of learning to read. All three of these instructional materials' main goal was to educate black people. The Freedman's Torchlight focused on teaching freed blacks including men, women and children, The Brownies' Book black children and the Bridge Reading Program 7th to 12th grade inner city black children. The designers were all college educated and educators of some kind. The designers of The Freedman's Torchlight were ministers or educators of religion and elementary instruction, and the designers of The Brownies' Book and the Bridge Reading Program were all ivy league educated and teacher educators at some time in their careers. Moreover, they were black people. Another point to look at is that these materials were not age graded. TFT was designed for adults and children. The Brownies Book directed its magazine to children ages 6 to 16 and the Bridge Reading Program sought youth in grades 7 to 12.

In the last chapter, I elaborate on the design of these instructional materials. In particular, I offer my findings of the text and context analysis, implications for future designs of culturally and linguistically specific instructional materials and concluding thoughts.
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION: FINDINGS & IMPLICATIONS

Introduction

I began this study by stating that African Americans have been active producers throughout the history of the United States; however, throughout most of this history their role in such capacities has been ignored, lost, destroyed, excluded, omitted, sporadically documented, or contained in books read by an elite few. Moreover, this research sought to document another area of history where African Americans have been excluded, omitted and denied full participation—that field of study is Instructional Technology.

Documenting African American contributions to the technological revolution is imperative to history and to the future of African American educational research. This study revealed critical moments in U.S. history where African Americans contributed to the field of Instructional Technology and the nature of those contributions. In particular, the research examined approaches to the design of instructional materials that are culturally and/or linguistically specific, to ascertain the needs of future instructional designs. Moreover, the research was undergirded by a desire to document the ways in which African Americans have been active participants in educating themselves and to support the inclusion of African American instructional materials into the field of Instructional Technology.

In the next sections, I outline the findings in this study based on the text and context analysis, pose some implications for designing culturally and linguistically specific instructional materials, and offer some concluding thoughts.
Findings

The findings of this study are based on the text and context analysis of *The Freedman's Torchlight, The Brownies' Book* and the *Bridge Reading Program*; this analysis incorporates elements of CDA as an assessment tool when examining instructional materials (See Appendix G). The text analysis was based on the categories of genre, framing, omission and backgrounding,foregrounding and visual representations. Genre looked at the “text types” or the media through which groups communicate (Berkenkotter & Huckin, 1995; Huckin, 1995). The genre analysis indicated that instructional materials are produced using multiple tools of technology for the purpose of instruction.

Moreover, the tool of technology is dictated by the purpose of the instructional materials, the technologies of that time period, and the available monies. For example, the purpose of TFT was to educate freed blacks and the cheapest tool of technology for mass distribution were newspapers. With TBB, DuBois (1940) chose the magazine format because he had a publishing house that already produced his parent magazine *The Crisis*. For the *Bridge Reading Program*, the tools of technology seemed to be dictated by the goals of the reading program; that is to create dialect readers and to have an audio version of Black Dialect. Moreover, the use of multiple media are common to curriculum designs.

Framing examined how the content of the text was presented. The framing analysis indicated that the instructional materials were designed for black people (TFT) but mostly black children (TBB & Bridge). *The Freedman's Torchlight* focused on Christianity in educating black people; while TBB and the *Bridge Reading Program* viewed black culture based ideologies as important in educating black children. Culture based ideologies are those social features, specific to a particular group, community or population, such
as customs, beliefs, behavior patterns, artistic activity and intellectual
development. Specifically, TBB centered on DuBois’ educational philosophy;
DuBois wanted to teach universal love and brotherhood. His mission was to
entertain but more so to teach about self love, racial identity, black history,
race pride, character, conscience, happiness, love, and self sacrifice. The
Bridge Reading Program centered on black children’s heritage, language,
culture, experiences and interests; they sought to build black children’s
intelligence, self-esteem, and teach them Standard English.

Omission and backgrounderd were defined in terms of omission as the
best form of backgrounderg because what lay in the background may have
been intentionally or unintentionally omitted. The omission and
backgrounderd analysis indicated that those things unintentionally
backgrounderd were still detected in the design of the instructional materials.
For example, with TFT it was apparent that the designers excluded their
feelings about the plight of Freedmen; they stood behind their Christian veil
and asked others to “walk by faith not by sight.” The Brownies’ Book failed,
maybe unintentionally, to present opposing points of view to the children’s
magazine; this selectivity dictated the degrees of authenticity children were
exposed to as it applies to DuBois’ educational philosophy. The Bridge Reading
Program did some preliminary field tests of their program; however they did
not realize that the stigma of Black English would supersede preliminary
assessment efforts. Given people’s aversion to Black English, an audience
assessment component would only be part of the solution in getting people to
buy into Black English or black anything.

Foregrounding meant to emphasize specific concepts and de-emphasize
other concepts. The foregrounding analysis indicated that the designers
emphasized what they thought black people needed. For example, in TFT the academic lessons were emphasized because Freedmen desperately needed to learn how to read and write. In TBB, the designers believed the public desperately needed to connect with other black people, so the photographs took precedence in the magazine. The Bridge Reading Program used Black English to bridge inner city black children to reading fluency in Standard English. Moreover, these designers did not intentionally de-emphasize concepts; however one feature of all designs stands out over another. As these examples indicate the de-emphasized aspects of the programs were important design features that just took a secondary position. The de-emphasized aspect of TFT was the news stories. For TBB, it was the written text and for the Bridge Reading Program the skills based program components.

The last stage in the text analysis is the visual representations. The visual representations assist in the framing of the text; moreover, they offer a diversity to the design of the program. For example, TFT chose to include symbols (flag, great seal of the U.S.) along with written text. In TBB, photographs of black people took up a third of each publication dominating the text. In the Bridge Reading Program, visual representations included photographs and sketches of the hairstyles and garb of the 1970s framed by the idiomatic expressions used in the reading booklets.

The text analysis indicates that the areas of genre, framing, omission & backgrounding, foregrounding and visual representations assist in outlining the overall design of instructional materials; that is, they provide a model for similar designs. Furthermore, this type of text analysis allows for a surface assessment of instructional materials and its tool(s) of technology.
The context analysis sought to find the social, political, cultural or economic occurrences within the instructional materials. I have synthesized the themes and concepts prevalent in the instructional materials (See Appendices H). The context analysis revealed consistencies among the instructional materials in the following areas: (1) culture based ideologies, (2) the use of literature (fiction, poetry) as an instructional tool, (3) an under-estimation in some aspect of the design (preproduction, production or postproduction), and (4) the concept of enculturation into the dominant culture. These consistencies overlap and therefore will be described in their relation to the other.

The culture based ideologies focused on what the designers perceived black people needed; this included: reading acquisition through religious instruction, intellectualism or language learning, and racial support. For example TFT, TBB and the Bridge Reading Program supported black people in the acquisition of reading. The Freedman's Torchlight used instructional lessons to teach freed blacks to read. The Brownies' Book provided reading material in the form of literature (fiction, non-fiction, poetry), and the Bridge Reading Program was a reading skills program. The acquisition of reading is tied to the designer's focus on literature as an instructional tool. The Freedman's Torchlight included religious language and ideologies, and focused on academic content in its instructional lessons. For example, a Christian story read: “Eve was the first woman. She was Adam's wife. Adam and Eve were our first parents” (The Freedman's Torchlight, p. 1). An excerpt of an academic subject read:

Arithmetic is the science that treats of numbers. It is sometimes called a language of which there are ten different letters or characters, namely, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 0 which is called a cipher. These may be combined so as to express every idea of numbers (p. 1).
The Freedman's Torchlight also contained prayers, poems (*The Way To Be Happy*) and speeches as other literary expressions. *The Brownies' Book* contained fiction, nonfiction and poetry. These literary forms provided practice in reading and promoted DuBois' educational philosophy to provide black children with intellectual knowledge, thereby creating literary people. The *Bridge Reading Program* focused on fictional stories in the reading booklets and reading activities; thereby promoting reading acquisition. Moreover, reading acquisition focused on language and students' developing the ability to transition from Black English to Standard English.

The culture based ideologies also focused on racial support. The instructional materials supported black people as a race with themes relating to racial support and by representing the language of black people. Furthermore, this racial support also focused on individual and group uplifting. For example, in TFT the designers focused on concepts for the individual (self elevation, self identification, self empowerment, freedom of thought) and the group (racial identification). In TBB, the designers centered on concepts for the individual and the group that overlapped such as racial uplifting, racial prejudice, social interaction, social skills, racial identity, self sacrifice, racial pride, unity, and black heritage. The *Bridge Reading Program* expressed racial support through language; Black English was used to represent the black cultural experience of the individual and the community. In particular, stories included black folklore, black idiomatic expressions, and concepts of black cultural traditions.

Another consistency among the materials is an under estimation in some aspect of the design (preproduction, production or post-production). For example, the designers of TFT and TBB underestimated the cost of producing
their texts for the long term. The Freedman's Torchlight sought financial assistance from the first issue, and during the second year of TBB, the magazine foresaw its financial demise. The Bridge Reading Program underestimated the impact of community resistance during its preproduction process.

The last consistency between the instructional materials is their underlying focus on enculturation into the dominant culture. With TFT, they promoted reading, 'riting and religion as the way to enculturate into the fabric of America. The Brownies' Book focused on the acquisition of middle class values and ideals that emulate those of the elite in the dominant culture such as a higher education, knowledge of the world and cultured behavior. The Bridge Reading Program found enculturation attainable through the acquisition of Standard English. By acquiring Standard English, inner city black children can emulate the communicative forms emphasized in the dominant society. This move towards the cultural and linguistic norms of the dominant culture speaks to the purpose of these instructional materials in general; that is, instructional materials made by and for African Americans aid black people in culture-switching and code-switching. Thereby, African Americans can preserve their own language and culture in addition to engaging in the linguistic and cultural norms of the dominant culture.

The next section looks at the design of culturally and linguistically specific instructional materials. In particular, conclusions are drawn from this study and the academic literature.
Implications For Designing Culturally And Linguistically Specific Instructional Materials

The design of instructional materials that are culturally and linguistically specific requires much forethought, some knowledge of research, and the financial wherewithal. This section offers views on things to consider when producing these materials.

There is a need in the development of culture and language based instructional materials to have people who represent that culture in terms of cultural and linguistic identification and expertise in that community. Moreover, they should have a sensitivity toward groups regardless of race, social class, or economic status. They should be connected with the community so that they can remain in the midst of current educational, political, and social issues affecting that population. It is imperative in the development of instructional materials that a reliable member of that community be involved from conception to fruition. In 1935, Horace Mann Bond explained this necessity by saying, "If our children are to be operated on, it is a comfort to know that the family doctor will be present when the patient is laid on the table, although the diagnosis was made without consulting him" (p. 165). Even with the inclusion of a representative of that culture, it is still problematic if that person can not participate in final decisions, creative strategies, or the developmental processes involved in designing instructional materials.

In 1969, Wolfram and Fasold in their article Reading Materials For Speakers of Black English argue that the publishers of reading materials have attempted to "relate to the culture of the ghetto" (p. 141). These publishers have included content about black families and communities; however despite the contextual change, the dialogue is still SE. "Somehow, in the cultural
adaptation publishers have largely ignored the linguistic consequences of cultural differences” (p. 141). The instructional materials are thereby mismatched as they impose white dialect on an inner city black child. The opposite scenario would be imposing Black Dialect on middle class white children. Publishers need a “linguistic adaptation or translation of reading materials to a language system which more closely approximates the child’s oral language behavior” (p. 141).

Watkins believes that “education and curriculum have been at the heart of broader initiatives to stabilize and control a potentially volatile population” (Watkins, 1993, p. 334).

When curriculum designers ignore important variables such as social-class differences, when they ignore the incorporation of the subordinate cultures’ values in the curriculum, and when they refuse to accept and legitimize the students’ language, their actions point to the inflexibility, insensitivity, and rigidity of a curriculum that was designed to benefit those who wrote it. (Freire & Macedo, 1987, p. 124)

In the design of instructional materials, designers must consider questions in the following areas: (1) What tool of technology should we use? and why? Which tools of technology would be more effective given the content of the instructional materials? Can we afford this project given the tools of technology that we have decided to use?; (2) What frame of reference is projected? Does it support the overall theoretical or ideological frame?; (3) What has been omitted or backgrounded and why? What haven’t we considered?; (4) What has been foregrounded and why? Is this what we want to project?; (5) What types of visual representations are being used and why? How do they help as far as assisting in the instructional process? What purpose do they serve? (6) Is this a good model for other people who desire to create similar instructional materials?; and (7) If this project represents a minority group, their culture or language, then are these representations authentic
(true to the language, culture and norms of the represented community) or a pseudo reality?

Concluding Thoughts

This research has offered proof that research about African Americans can stand alone. By this I refer to the practice of popular culture and academic culture to compare and contrast African Americans to European Americans in all ways (socially, economically, politically, sexually, physically, genetically, intellectually). This type of research often posits, unintentionally in many cases, white folks as superior and black folks as inferior. The perception is that African American history can not stand alone without the crutch of the dominant culture. It is not that it makes a research project better, but that it offers a superior – inferior agenda. This is a pseudo perception. It is possible to tell a complex story about a single group of people without comparing them and their actions to those of the dominant culture. The continued comparison devalues the group and their culture. It dilutes the strength of the argument for the group and their accomplishments, and leaves the reader in awe of the dominant group. This point of view, particularly in academic research, should be reevaluated and reconsidered. You will not see white folks comparing their inadequacies to black folks or any other folks. You can not compare black progress with white progress. You can not compare a group who has had 333 years of autonomy with a group who has yet to achieve total autonomy. You can not compare a population of 200\textsuperscript{60} million people and their accomplishments with a population of 30 million people. But, it is continuously done. The history of African Americans in the United States is first African American history and second American history.
The premise that all of these instructional materials were made by and for African Americans is a selfish one. However, designers of mainstream instructional materials routinely design materials by and for the dominant culture. Exposure to a diversity of materials offers the learner a variety of perspectives on life and learning. The present system of instructional materials has been dominated by one perspective of thought. Those in control care little that there are "other" interpretations and perspectives. These "other" perspectives must become a part of mainstream American instructional materials and mainstream thought. This inclusion must not be hitched on, seasonal, or a holiday event; it must be woven into students' learning -- into students' thinking. Other perspectives must be integrated but not separated into paragraphs or a chapter. The histories and perspectives of others must be seamlessly blended throughout mainstream instructional materials -- one fact must become inseparable from another. The history of Reconstruction must be the history of all people involved; and this experience must offer a variety of perspectives besides that of the dominant culture. The argument then is that textbooks would be too large and the process too costly. The miseducation of black children has cost these children and their communities generations of intellectual subjugation—but maybe this was the plan.

There is room for more than one perspective; however, how should it be presented? Should there be mainstream instructional materials with only dominant thought? This we already have. Should we have an integration of the dominant culture and pieces of other cultures thrown in? This we already have. Or should we have separate instructional materials for each culture in America? A thoroughly blended curriculum may work, but there are so many
other factors to consider (i.e., segregated schools and classrooms, teacher reactions and attitudes, parents and community responses). Homogenous and inferior instructional materials have not educated minority children; another plan must be considered.

Learning in the African American community is not decontextualized but is instead contextualized as a holistic experience involving community life, social gatherings, family life and things learned outside these personal settings. These instructional materials reflect this sociocultural experience and de-emphasize age graded instructional materials. By de-emphasizing age or grade as instructional criteria, these designs reached a broader audience of learners and allowed freedom in acquiring knowledge. The instructional materials are accessible, self-paced, supportive, and challenging.

In this study, I have examined the historical evolution of instructional technologies, thereby seeing the phenomenon in its historical process of movement -- of change. I looked at this history through instructional materials produced in 1866, 1920-1921 and 1977. Examining instructional materials over a period of time invoked Vygotsky's theory of studying a phenomenon in movement. By studying the historical and developmental processes of instructional materials produced by and for African Americans, I have disclosed their nature.
REFERENCES


Shuja (Ed.), *Too much schooling, too little education: A paradox of black life in white societies* (pp. 143-175). Trenton: Africa World Press, Inc.


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**Instructional Materials**


Pennington, J. W. C. (1841). *A textbook of the origin and history of the colored people.*


APPENDIX A

Literary activity of college educated Blacks from 1792 - 1910

This list of instructional materials is not meant to be complete. Moreover these texts require analysis as to their instructional purpose and verification as a text made by and for blacks. Content from the following Atlanta University Publications are referenced: No. 5 The College Bred Negro, No. 6 The Negro Common School, No. 8 The Negro Church, No. 14 Efforts For Social Betterment Among Negro Americans, and No. 15 The College Bred Negro American.

Twenty years a slave. Northrup, 1859.
Banneker, Benjamin. Almanacs, 1792-1806.
Barber, J. M. One hundred one eminent Negroes.
Braithwaite. Poems and anthologies.
Brawley, B. G. The Negro in literature and art, 1910.
Brent, Linda. Incidents in the life of a slave girl, 1861.
Broughton, J. A. O. Christian homes the hope of the race.
Broughton, J. A. O. Twenty years’ experience of a missionary.
Broughton, J. A. O. Women’s Work.
Brown, William Wells. The Black man, his antecedents, etc. New York, 1863.
Bruce, Roscoe Conkling. Service by the educated Negro.
Byrd, W. A. Commentary on Joel.
Byrd, W. A. Exposition of Kinosis.
Byrd, W. A. Reply to German criticism on the bible.
Camphor, A. P. Missionary story sketches and folk lore from Africa. Cincinnati.
Camphor, R. A. Papers and addresses.
Carver, G. W. Bulletin of Tuskegee experiment station.
Chesnutt, Charles W. Frederick Douglass. Boston, 1899.
Chesnutt, Charles W. The house behind the cedars. Boston, 1900.
Chesnutt, Charles W. The wife of his youth. Boston, 1899.
Cook, C. C. Study of the Negro problem.
Cook, C. C. Study of the Negro Problem.
Cooper, A. J. A voice from the South. Xenia.
Crogman, W. H. Atlanta, Talks for the times.
Crumnell, Alexander. The future of Africa. 1862.
Crumnell, Alexander. Sermons and addresses.
Dannond, W. H. Factoring.
Davis, M. T. The education of Negro youth of Texas.
Davis, M. T. The South the Negro's door of hope.
Douglass, Frederick. Autobiography. 1845.
Dunbar, Paul Lawrence. Lyrics of lowly life.
Dunbar, Paul Lawrence. The sport of the gods. New York, 1901.
Dunham, J. S. To teach the Negro history.
Equiano, Olaudah. (Gustavus Vassa) Autobiography. 1787.
Floyd, S. X. Gospel of Service and other Sermons.
Floyd, S. X. Life of C. T. Walker.
Floyd, S. X. National Perils.
Gaines, W. J. African Methodism in the South. Atlanta, 1890.
Gaines, W. J. African Methodism in the South. Atlanta, 1890.
Garnet, Henry Highland. The past and present condition and the destiny of the colored race. Tory, 1848.
Gilmer, John C. A guide to English oration.
Gilmer, John C. History of Alabama.
Gregory, J. M. Frederick Douglass. Springfield, 1890.

Grimshaw, William H. Official history of freemasonry, etc. New York, 1903.


Harper, Frances E. W. Miscellaneous poems, 1851.
Harris, Eugene. Social purity.
Haynes, Lemuel. Sermons, 1815?
Henderson, G. W. Essays on Negro Citizenship.
Henderson, G. W. Plantation life in Louisiana.
Henson, Josiah. Father Henson's story (Uncle Tom). Boston, 1858.
Hubert, J. W. Syllabi: 1. seven studies in physiography. 2. seven studies in right living. 3. seven studies in Geology. 4. life's ten richest blessings.
Johnson, Edward A. A school history of the Negro race in America from 1619 to 1890, with a short introduction as to the origin of the race; also a short sketch of Liberia. Raleigh, 1891.
Jones, C. C. The religious instruction of the Negroes in the United States, 1842.


Kealing. How to live longer.
Kealing, H. T. Fortune telling in history.
Kealing, H. T. The minor prophets.
Langston, J. M. Freedom and citizenship, 1882.
Langston, J. M. From the Virginia plantations. Hartford, 1894.
Lawson, Jesse. How to solve the race problem. Washington, D.C.
Lewis, Robert Benjamin. "Light and Truth, etc." (1814).
Long, F. A. Across the continent. Danville, VA.
Lovinggood, R. S. The Negro seer, his mission and preparation.
Marshall, Texas, 1900.

Lovinggood, R. S. Why his, haec, hoc for the Negro? Marshall, Texas, 1900.

Majors, M. A. Noted Negro women. Chicago, 1893.
McClellan, G. W. Poems. Nashville.
McWilliams, B. F. The needs of the Negro. Richmond: University Press, 1903.

McWilliams, B. F. The Negro church of Virginia, its condition and needs, 1905.

Miller, Albert P. The Black man's burden or the two sides of the Negro problem.

Miller, Kelly. Addresses at various places.
Miller, Kelly. As to the leopard's spots. Washington, 1905.
Miller, Kelly. The education of the Negro. Washington, 1902.
Miller, Kelly. The political capacity of the Negro.
Miller, Kelly. The primary need of the Negro race. Washington, 1899.
Miller, Kelly. Race Adjustment. 1908.
Miller, Kelly. A review of Hoffman's "Race Traits and Tendencies".
Washington, 1897.
Moore, J. J. History of the A.M.E. Zion Church. York, PA, 1880.
Mossell, C. W. Toussaint L'Ouverture.
Nell, William Cooper. The colored patriots of the American Revolution.
Boston, 1855.
Nell, W. C. Services of Colored Americans in the Wars of 1776. Boston,
1812.
Payne, D. A. Domestic Education. Cincinnati, 1885.
Payne, D. A. The semi-centenary and the retrospection of the A., 1866.
Payne, Daniel A. A treatise on domestic education. Cincinnati, 1885.
Springfield, 1811.
Penn, I. G., and J. W. E. Bowen. The United Negro: His problems and his
progress. Containing the addresses and proceedings of the Negro young
people's Christian and educational congress, held August 6-11, 1902. Atlanta,
1902.
Pennington, J. W. C. A textbook of the origin and history of the colored
people. 1841.
Perry, Rufus L. The cushite. Springfield, 1893.
Scarborough, W. S. The birds of Aristophanes. Boston, 1886.
Scarborough, W. S. First Greek Lessons. New York, 1881.
Scruggs, L. A. Afro-American women of distinction. Raleigh, North
Carolina.
Simmons, W. J. Men of mark. 1887.
Simmons, William Johnson. Men of mark; eminent, progressive, rising.
Vol. 8. Cleveland, 1887.
Sinclair, William A. The aftermath of slavery, etc., with an introduction
Steward, T. G. Black St. Domingo legion.
Talbert, H. *The sons of allen.*
Talley, T. W. *A natural trinity.*
Tanner, Bishop Benjamin. *An apology for African Methodism.*

Baltimore, 1867.

Trotter, James M. *Music and some highly musical people.* Boston, 1878.
Truth, Sojourner. *Narrative.* Boston, 1875.
Turner, C. H. *Numerous biological publications, the result of scientific research.*

Turner, H. M. *The Black man's doom,* 1884, 1896.
Turner, H. M. *Methodist polity, or the genius and theory of Methodism.*

Philadelphia, 1885.
Wesley, A. A. *The Spanish-American War.*
Wheatley, Phyllis. *Poems on various subjects, religious and moral,* 1773.
Whitfield, James M. *America, and other poems.* Buffalo, 1853.
Whitman, A. A. *Not a man and yet a man.* Springfield, 1877.
Williams, D. H. *Reports of surgical cases.*
Williams, George W. *History of the Negro race in America from 1619 to 1880.* New York, 1883.
Work, Frederick J. *Folk songs of the American Negro.* Nashville.
Work, Frederick J. *New jubilee songs, as sung by the jubilee singers of Fisk University,* 1902.

Work, Frederick J. *Some American Negro folk songs.* Boston.
Wright, Richard R. *Brief historical sketch of Negro education in Georgia.* Savannah, 1894.
Wright, Richard R. *Historical sketch of Negro education in Georgia.* Savannah.


Miscellaneous Instructional Materials

APPENDIX B

Interview Guide

The purpose of this interview is to document the development process involved in creating instructional materials. As someone who has been involved in the creation of instructional materials for youngsters, you are in a unique position to describe the process involved in the creation of the Bridge Reading Program (BRP). This is what this interview is about: your experiences with the program's development and your thoughts about these experiences. As we go through the interview, if you have any questions, please feel free to ask, or if there is anything you don't want to answer, just let me know. Are there any questions before we begin:

The first set of questions is about the your own personal background and experiences. The purpose of this section is to provide a personal history about the creators of the Bridge Reading Program.

Personal Information
• Where did you grow up?
• What is your educational background? History? (degrees, subject areas)
• What was the economic status of your family?
• Why did you seek a higher education?

The next set of questions provide background information about the BRP.

Background Questions
• Think back, what was the historical climate in which this text came about?
• What was going on politically-socially-economically during the developmental time period?
• How did the concept of the Bridge Reading Program come about?
• Who were the people involved in the think tank? Where are they now?
• Was the think tank part of the technomic analysis corporation research?
• What was your role in the creation the BRP?

The next set of questions incorporate the areas of analysis that I am using in my dissertation. I am using methods in Linguistics to analyze the instructional materials. So for example one of the areas is:

Genre.
Genres represent "text types." I may classify a text as a newspaper, magazine, book.
• What genre do you classify the BRP as (curriculum, instructional materials, reading program, reading kit)?

Framing
Framing means how the content of the text is presented. The presentation of the content could have an angle or a slant.
• Were these materials framed or did they have an angle or slant? And what was it?

Omission & Backgrounding
What lies in the background of a piece of text is what has been intentionally or unintentionally omitted.
Looking back, what do you think was omitted from the original design of the BRP?

On page 126 of Gary Simpkins' dissertation, he mentions that "why learn to read" was a hidden theme. Do you agree or disagree and why?

**Foregrounding**
Foregrounding means to emphasize specific concepts and de-emphasize other concepts.

- What was emphasized in the BRP?
- What was de-emphasized?

**Visual Representations**
- Let's look at the pictures in Reading Books 1-5. What do you see?
- What was the purpose of including these sketches or photographs?

**Context**
- Did these sketches and photographs have any social, political or economic meaning to you?
- Did the context of the story ______________ have any social, political or economic meaning for you?

Include one of these titles in the sentence above: *Shine; Stagolee; The Organizer; The Ghost; Old, But Not Defenseless; What I Got To Be Proud Of; A Friend In Need; Dreamy Mae; Little Big Man; Vibration Corn Bread; I'll Always Remember; City Folks; Dig And Be Dug In Return; What Folks Call Politics.*

We are three quarters of the way through the interview now and I think a lot of really important things are coming out of what you are saying.

**General questions:**
- What do you believe were some design characteristics used in the BRP?
- As it relates to the *Bridge Reading Program*, what are your thoughts about African American children and the subject of classroom management?
- As it relates to the *Bridge Reading Program*, what are your thoughts about African American children and the development of a positive self image?
- In the first stories you wrote the dialogue with profanity. How has the need to represent realities of black life influenced the design of these materials?
- Music is used in the intro. and exit of the audio tapes. Why was music used? Why was this type of music chosen?
- Would you change anything in the design of the BRP?
- Overall, how would you describe the stories in the BRP. What do they represent for you?
- The teachers’ manual talks a lot about accessibility of the instructional materials and teacher familiarity with the materials, why was this included in the design of the program?
- Why was the inclusion of a teachers manual important to the design of the program?
- Why were audiotapes used versus records?
- Were all parts of the program deliberately created (i.e. study books, teachers guide, audio recordings, feedback records, peer control readings)
- Why was (self image/language/culture/family) a component in the design of the *Bridge Reading Program*?
Outcome
• Do you think the program was successful and in what ways?
• What were some of the limitations of the program?
• In Gary Simpkins’ dissertation, he talked about the 3 variables to an instructional system being the child, the teacher and the developer of the instructional materials. Can you elaborate on these points but particularly on the role of the developer (p. 40)?
• What instructional materials in the 1970s did you see as models for BRP?
• Can you recall, any instructional materials that reflected black language and culture?
• From the time of development to the time of publication were there other reading programs similar to yours?
• Why was the role of teacher included as an element of the design?
• What elements of the design do you believe are specific to African American culture? And why?
• What elements of the design do you believe will improve the learning of African American children? and why?
• Why did you chose to produce a product specifically for African American children?
• How were class issues addressed?
• How was success measured?

These are my final set of questions:

Conclusion
• What instructional materials today do you see that have incorporated culture, language, experiences, and interests? Why do you think instructional materials have not or have moved in this direction?
• Tell me about the Newsweek magazine article?
• Were there any other articles?
• Why has the revised version of the Bridge Reading Program come about? How is it similar or different?
• What is your role in the revision? Who else is involved? What are their roles?
• The program was marketed nationally in November of 1976. What happened? How was it received. Why did it disappear off the market?
• In Boston, there were what you describe as “unfavorable reactions from the educational (black and white) community (Simpkins, 1976, p. 133). Can you be more specific about their reactions? Do you have any documentation in terms of articles, etc. that describe their reactions?
• What can you tell me about Grace Holt’s contributions to the Bridge Reading Program and her educational background?
• Are there any other comments that you would like to make?
Thank you for helping me understand.
APPENDIX C

The Secular Freedmen's Aid Societies, 1862-75
(Excluding Federations and Local Auxiliaries)
(Butchart, 1980)

American Union Commission (AUC)
Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the
Colored People
Cincinnati Contraband Relief Commission (CCRC)
Cleveland Freedmen's Aid Commission
Delaware Association for the Moral Improvement and Education of the Colored
People
Freedmen's Aid Commission of Western Pennsylvania, Eastern Ohio, and West
Virginia (Pittsburg Association)
Freedmen's Aid Association of the City of New Orleans
Freedmen and Soldiers Relief Association (Washington, D.C.)
Indiana Freedmen's Aid Commission
Kansas Emancipation League
Maine Freedmen's Aid Society
Michigan Freedmen's Aid Commission
National Association for the Relief of Colored Women and Children
National Freedmen's Relief Association of Washington, D.C.
National Freedmen's Relief Association of New York (NFRA)
New England Freedmen's Aid Society (NEFAS)
Northwestern Freedmen's Aid Commission (NWFAC)
Pacific Coast Branch (AFUC)
Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association (PFRA)
Rhode Island Association for Freedmen
St. Louis Freedmen's Relief Society
Soldiers' Memorial Society
Toledo Freedmen's Education Association
Western Freedmen's Aid Commission (WFAC)
APPENDIX D

Ecclesiastical Freedmen's Aid Societies, 1862-75
(Butchart, 1980)

African Civilization Society
African Methodist Episcopal Church
American Advent Mission Society
American Baptist Free Mission Society (ABFMS)
American Baptist Home Mission Society (ABHMS)
American Missionary Association (AMA)
American Tract Society (ATS)
Dutch Reformed
Freewill Baptist Church
Friends:
   Committee of the Representatives of the New York Yearly
   Meeting of Friends upon the Conditions and Wants of the Colored
   Refugees
   Committee of the New England Yearly Meeting of Friends upon
   the Conditions and Needs of the Freed People of Color
   Friends' Association of Philadelphia And Its Vicinity for the
   Relief of Colored Freedmen (Friends' Freedmen's Association, FFA)
   Friends' Association of Philadelphia for the Aid and Elevation of
   the Freedmen
   Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends
   Iowa Yearly Meeting of Friends
   Ohio Yearly Meeting of Friends
   Western Yearly Meeting of Friends
Home and Foreign Educational Missionary and Commission Society
Massachusetts Episcopal Society for the Religious Instruction of Freedmen
Methodist Episcopal Freedmen's Aid Society (MEFAS)
National Theological Institute and University
New England Educational Commission for the Freedmen
[New School] Presbyterian Committee of Home Missions for Freedmen
[Old School] Presbyterian General Assembly's Committee on Freedmen
Presbyterian Committee of Missions for Freedmen (1870)
Protestant Episcopal Freedmen's Commission
Reformed Presbyterian Church
Scotch Covenant's Church
Scriptural Tract Repository
United Brethren in Christ
United Presbyterian Church Board of Missions to the Freedmen
Wesleyan Methodist Church
APPENDIX E

Selected Bibliography of American Children's Periodicals
in publication during 1920 and 1921
(Kelly, 1984)

American Boy--Open Road, Boston, MA., 1919-1954
The American Girl, New York, NY 1917-1979
American Youth, New York, NY 1912-1921
Benziger's Magazine: An Illustrated Catholic Family Monthly, New York, NY 1898-1921
Boys and Girls, Nashville, TN., 1909-1941?
Boys and Girls Quarterly, Cincinnati, OH, 1902?-1925?
The Boys' Magazine, Smithport, PA, 1910-1920
Boys of Today, Elgin, IL, 1920-1925?
The Boys' World, Elgin, IL., 1902-1935
The Brownies' Book, New York, NY 1920-1921
Child Life, Chicago, IL., 1921-?
Childhood: The Juvenile Magazine of the Pacific Slope, San Francisco, CA, 1914-1923?
Happy Days, New York, NY, 1894-1924
Little Folks: An Illustrated Monthly for Youngest Readers, Boston, Mass., 1897-1926
Missionary Mail for Boys and Girls, Philadelphia, PA, 1876-1958
Pioneer for Boys, Philadelphia, PA 1951-1950
St. Nicholas, New York, NY 1873-1943
Senior Scholastic, Pittsburgh, PA, 1920-1943
Story World, Philadelphia, PA 1872-1931
Sunday School Advocate, New York, NY 1841-1921
Young Calvinist, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1920-1929
Young Lutherans' Magazine: An Illustrated Juvenile Monthly, St., Louis, MO 1902-1939?
Young People's Service, Chicago, Ill., 1904-1925
Young Socialists Magazine, Chicago, Ill., 1908-1920
Youth's Christian Companion, Scottsdale, PA 1920-1968
The Youth's World: A Paper for Boys, Philadelphia, PA 1907-1939
APPENDIX F

Field Test Results

Bridge: A Cross-Culture Reading Program

(All information has been gathered from G. Simpkins' (1976) dissertation).

The field tests were conducted by Houghton Mifflin Company in February, 1975 with an experimental version of Bridge: A Cross-Culture Reading Program. The program was tested in schools in Chicago, Illinois; Phoenix, Arizona; Washington, D.C.; Memphis, Tennessee; and Macon County, Alabama.

Schools participating in the program agreed to maintain some of their remedial reading classes as control groups and some participated in the experimental group in which Bridge replaced the remedial curriculum. Students were pretested and posttested using the Iowa Test of Basic Skills in Reading. A total of 540 students in grades 7-12 participated in the study; 530 were Black. The experimental group had a total of 417 students (158 in grade 7, 117 in grade 8 and 142 in grades 9-12). The control group had a total of 123 students participating (80 in grade 7, 22 in grade 8, and 21 in grades 9-12).

The schools selected the teachers who participated in the study; there were a total of 14 teachers. The same teacher instructed students in the control and experimental groups.

The students received instruction in the Bridge Reading Program or the remedial reading program for approximately 30 minutes per day/5 days per week, for 4 months.

The results indicated that the experimental group exhibited a "mean gain in grade equivalency scores of 6.2 months for 4.0 months of instruction". The control group exhibited "a mean gain of 1.6 months for 4.0 months of instruction" (Simpkins, 1976, p. 127).

A questionnaire was also completed by teachers to assess their response to the various components of the Bridge Reading Program. The teacher questionnaires found that students increased in their motivational level, enjoyed the independence of the program, and changed, for the better, their attitudes about reading. The teachers also found the behavior management component helpful and they experienced fewer discipline problems. The students found the stories interesting. Moreover, students had equal difficulty with the Standard English and Black Vernacular versions.
APPENDIX G

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORIES</th>
<th>TFT</th>
<th>TBB</th>
<th>BRIDGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Genre</td>
<td>newspaper/textbook</td>
<td>magazine</td>
<td>curriculum unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Framing</td>
<td>written by and for black people with a focus on religion</td>
<td>-created by college educated blacks</td>
<td>-for inner city black children</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-black culture based ideologies</td>
<td>-focused on inner city black children's</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-for black children</td>
<td>heritage, language, culture, experiences &amp; interests</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-DuBols wanted to teach: universal love and brotherhood</td>
<td>-build black children's intelligence</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Mission: entertain &amp; teach: self love, racial identity, black history, race pride, character, conscience, happiness, love, self-sacrifice.</td>
<td>-build their self-esteem</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-teach them Standard English</td>
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<td>opposing points of view</td>
<td>audience assessment component</td>
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<td>de-emphasized</td>
<td>news</td>
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<td>Visual Representations</td>
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Themes & Concepts Expressed

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Themes & Concepts Expressed

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</tr>
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</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Literature</strong></td>
<td>exposure to good literature; black heritage, people, &amp; culture</td>
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<td><strong>Advertisements</strong></td>
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<tr>
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<td>black images, racial pride, racial identity, self love, pride in racial heritage, positive self image</td>
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<td><strong>CONTEXT ANALYSIS: Bridge: A Cross-Culture Reading Program</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reading Booklets</strong></td>
<td>stories written in a verbal, imagistic style of BE, represent the black cultural experience, interactive tonal dynamics of black communication, student centered, why learn to read, re-educate black children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Books One through Five</strong></td>
<td>black folklore, toasts/oral epics, literature (fiction), idiomatic expressions used in some black communities, cultural traditions expressed in stories (labeled a hard headed child, keep stepping), humor, learning to read BE or SE, authentic representations of the spoken language—BE and black life, vibration cooking, black greetings, the language of black culture, false assumptions about black history &amp; black culture, cultural stigmas (kinky hair, speaking BE), responsibility to family, economic realities for low income black families, the lives of black people in their communities, linguistic features of BE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Study Books 1-5</strong></td>
<td>students valued &amp; respected socially &amp; culturally, student's schema (prior knowledge) is valued</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Story Questions</strong></td>
<td>BE not legitimate in instructional materials, okay as a literary form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Skills Lesson</strong></td>
<td>reteaching, extending &amp; refining reading skills; provide more time to students during the searching process; support students where they are; repetition of the language, culture, norms of an inner city black community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Word Bridging</strong></td>
<td>word usage and meaning in SE and BE</td>
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### CONTEXT ANALYSIS: Bridge: A Cross-Culture Reading Program

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<tr>
<th>Teachers Guide</th>
<th>promotes success; builds positive self image, establishing a supportive learning environment; teachers developing positive dispositions to support &amp; respect black children’s identity and self-esteem; individualized instruction, support, reinforcement &amp; praise</th>
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<tr>
<td>Peer Control Reading</td>
<td>knowing the language learning needs of students; skills based program; based, in part, on students cultural (i.e., call &amp; response) &amp; linguistic traditions; social environment for learning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audio Recordings</td>
<td>use of a different tool of technology; music of black culture; communal greeting, linguistic nuances (idiomatic expressions, intonation); academic failure, addressing the needs of the learner, language is learned in its social &amp; cultural context; language learning must include: written text and oral communication</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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ENDNOTES

1 In David H. Jonassen's edited book, *Handbook of Research for Educational Communications and Technology*, Stephen T. Kerr has written an article entitled *Toward a Sociology of Educational Technology*. This article briefly discusses minority groups' consumption of instructional technology but not their production. Minority groups are also mentioned in Barbara Seels, Louis H. Berry, Karen Fullerton and Laura J. Horn's article in *Research on Learning From Television*; in this article minority groups, in particular African Americans, are described in relation to the media's and researchers portrayals of blacks' interaction with television. Again, this article fails to acknowledge any contributions of African Americans. In Paul Saettler's book, *The Evolution of American Educational Technology*, there is no mention of the contributions of minority groups to the history of Educational Technology.

2 Instructional content refers to information that serves a teaching or learning function.

3 See *The Brownies*’ *Book* chapter and the biography on W.E.B. DuBois for more information on the *Atlanta University Publications*.

4 An extensive history of W.E.B. DuBois is offered in the chapter on *The Brownies*’ *Book*.

5 Black contributors to the field of poetry: "James W. Johnson's *O black and unknown bards* and *Mother night*; Kelly Miller's *Mors Vincta* and *A moral axiom*; and Silas Xavier Floyd's, *Floyd's Flowers and Not by bread alone*" (DuBois, 1910, p. 75).

6 The authors mentioned are Benjamin Griffith Brawley, Carter G. Woodson, Otelia Cromwell, Lorenzo Dow Turner and Eva B. Dykes.

7 Scott Zaluda is an Assistant Professor of English at Nassau Community College (State University of New York)

8 Brawley published his pedagogical writings extensively through the 1920s in the journal *The Southern Workman*.

9 The reprint of *The Freedman's Torchlight* is included as Addendum.

10 Within this dissertation, Black Vernacular, Black Dialect and Black English are used simultaneously to mean the same thing. The variation in use is dictated by the specific time period or the context in which it is used.

11 Refer to the interview guide in Appendix B.

12 The term freed blacks will be used throughout this study as a general term to represent freed men, women and children. When the literature has specified the gender or maturation of a person, it will be indicated.

13 Appendixes C and D provides a list of the Secular and Ecclesiastical Freedmen's Aid Societies, 1862-75, based on Ronald E. Butchart's (1980) lists in *Northern schools, Southern Blacks, and Reconstruction: Freedmen's education*.

14 The McGuffey readers were the most profitable texts of their time. In 1836, Professor William Holmes McGuffey created the first set of graded readers for public schools (Perkinson, 1985). They were the first readers to use word repetition, teach spelling with reading and limit the number of new words acquired in a lesson. The narratives taught about morality and social conduct; they espoused nationalistic and religious ideals (Svobodny, 1985).

15 Jim Crow is the systematic practice of segregating and controlling black people.
Excluded from this analysis are the Crime and the Ghetto sections of The Horizon because the topics covered were not consistent with the theme of racial uplifting.

See Appendix E for a selected bibliography of American Children's Periodicals gathered by R. Gordon Kelly.

Although DuBois' research is not gender differentiated with terms such as men or women, I believe DuBois was sympathetic to the needs of women. His research indicates a desire to address issues of concern to women such as: the right to vote, attend college, and employment in professional positions. Moreover, he tried to acknowledge the accomplishments of men and women in his publications. In the 1920s, male terms such as "men" or "man" were the default genders.

The term Standard English refers to the English used in formal writing.

A charwoman is a woman who has been hired to do cleaning or a similar type of work. This work is usually performed in a large building.

For example, the annual salaries of Alabama Colored teachers were $158.78 and for white teachers $355.53 (The Crisis, 1920-1921).

This is the correct spelling of Billy in this excerpt. However, throughout The Judge the name Billy is spelled with an "ie" and a "y."

J.L. Dillard (1972) defines dialect as "the collective linguistic patterns of a sub-group of the speakers of a language" (p. x).

"Most of the world's languages consist of more than one variety, with different varieties (called dialects by linguists) having developed in different regions, or among different social groups. The dialects of a language can differ from each other in various details of pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary. Every dialect is systematic and logical in its own terms, and a grammar and dictionary of it could conceivably be written" (Stewart, 1969, p. 201). A dialect is considered standard when it is regarded as the legitimate or formal usage and has dictionaries and grammars based on it. When the structural attributes digress enough from the standard version than such dialects are considered nonstandard by linguists. These nonstandard dialects are labeled as inferior forms of speech and are thought to have no "structural or historical justification" (Stewart, 1969, p. 202).

The terms Black English and Black Dialect will be used interchangeably in this chapter. Smitherman (1977) defines Black English as a "language mixture, adapted to the conditions of slavery and discrimination, a combination of language and style interwoven with and inextricable from Afro-American culture" (p. 3).

A pidgin is a language that has no native speakers. When the pidgin becomes the only language in the speech community, then it becomes a Creole (Dillard, 1972).

Dillard (1972) has left open the question as to whether "the three negators (don't, ain't, and dit'n) may or may not represent Standard English don't, ain't and did not. Since the earliest documents in Black English contain the simple negation pattern, it seems reasonable to conclude that the present patterns are due to the changing nature of the language" (p. 41).

In the January 1920 issue of The Brownies' Book, the character is referred to as the "Little Boy with the Big Voice" and as the "Little Voice with the Big Boy" (p. 23).

Mary White Ovington was a white woman. She was also chairman of the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.


By normative level, Simpkins is referring to the number of months of instruction that should equal the number of months gained in knowledge. For example, a child who receives 4.0 months of instruction in reading should have a mean gain score of 4.0.

Other scholars and educators who wrote about the deficit model and black children during the 1960s include M. Deutsch; R. Green; L. Hunt; R. Hess, V. Shipman, J. Brophy and R. Bear; D. McClelland; and R. Glazer & D. Moynihan. See Charlesetta Simpkins dissertation for a review of literature on this subject.


By the summer of 1979, one family left the school district leaving 11 children plaintiffs (Smitherman, 1998).

In 1970, Joan Baratz and William Stewart produced "a set of readers with a companion set of control books with identical content and pictures written in standard English" (Strickland & Stewart, 1974, p. 146). The three textbooks were named *Ollie, Friends* and *Old Tales* (Rickford & Rickford, 1995).

The term inner city was frequently used during the 1960s and 1970s to describe low income neighborhoods.


The grade level of the children participating in this study is not indicated nor their socioeconomic status; however, I could assume that they were in grades K-3 and from the inner city.


Acrolect and basilect are terms coined by William A. Stewart. Acrolect is used for the collection of linguistic features of most prestige among a given community of speakers. Basilect is the "term for the collection of linguistic features which has least prestige in a given community of speakers. The term, like ACROLECT (q.v.), is most useful in a situation like that of Black-Standard English relationship in the United States, where the most "extreme" form of
Black English can be called basilect. In some polyglot situations, the speech variety of least prestige is simply the language of the poorest group. In the American Black community, where prestige language still involves adaptation toward white norms, Black children are the principle speakers of basilect. A sentence like 'We don't suppose to go' is more nearly basilect than 'We ain't supposed to go' and is more characteristic of younger speakers, even though the second sentence would not be called Standard English by most Americans" (Dillard, 1972, p. 299).


43 Dr. Robert William's was one of the founders of the Association of Black Psychologists. He also edited the book Ebonics: The True Language of Black Folks.

44 Dr. Ernie Smith is an educator and has written and spoken extensively on the subject of Ebonics.

45 Dr. Geneva Smitherman is a renowned educator and expert on Black English.

46 The Newsweek article briefly announces the Bridge Reading Program and includes one point of opposition from Kenneth Clark who posited that "soul talk" does not belong in the classroom. No other opinions are offered. (Sheils, M., & Manning, R. (1976, December 20). Bridge Talk. Newsweek, 68-69).

47 In 1996, the Oakland, California school board approved a policy that recognized Ebonics or Black English as a primary language of its African American student population.


49 Associative Bridging is a teaching-learning strategy that allows students to begin with the "familiar" (Black Vernacular) and then move into the "less familiar" (Standard English) (Simpkins et al., 1977b, p. 2).

50 Black Vernacular, Black Dialect and Black English are used simultaneously in this chapter to mean the same thing. In the interviews, the designers refer to the dialect as Black English because it is a more contemporary term. In the text of Bridge: A Cross Culture Reading Program, Stalling's dissertation, and Simpkins' dissertation, Black English is referred to as Black Vernacular. In the reading program, Black Vernacular "refers to the speech community heard in many Black communities" (Simpkins, 1976, p. 4). The 1969 experiments refer to the language spoken by black people as Black Dialect.

51 Transition means that a story is written in Black Vernacular and Standard English (Simpkins et al., 1977b).

52 In the story Dreamy Mae, natural hair is defined as the hair that grows right out of your head.

53 I believe the final version of the Bridge Reading Program contained vocabulary words at the beginning of each story.

54 The Bridge Reading Program refers to a sound system as those sounds that vary from Black Vernacular to Standard English. For example, Black Vernacular speakers encounter "in written materials symbols of certain sound
combinations and positions of sounds absent in their speech. A reader who cannot "hear" the written word as if he or she were speaking it will usually find sound-to-letter correspondences complicated; such a reader may also confuse them" (Simpkins et al., 1977b, p. 43). Such as the deletion of the final consonant or consonant cluster in a word creates homonyms not found in Standard English—find/fine, told/toll and floor/flow (Simpkins et al., 1977b).


Individualized instruction is key to B. F. Skinner's work on programmed instruction. Skinner's programmed instruction is based on operant conditioning where the learner's responses are followed by a reinforcing stimulus. Through the use of teaching machines (small mechanical devices used for individualized instruction), Skinner shaped the learner's responses by offering information in small increments through the mechanical device. The learner proceeds through a series of stimulus-response-reinforcement cycles where they are provided with a stimulus, prompted to initiate a response, and then received feedback or reinforcement as to the correctness of the response.

Call and Response have been associated with the Black church where the audience actively participates with the minister.

Audio recordings were used because they replicated the oral tradition of African American language and culture and many teachers were not familiar with Black Vernacular enough to speak it (Simpkins, 1976)

See Endnote #56 on B.F. Skinner's theories on programmed instruction.

These numbers are based on the 1990 Census.
QUESTIONS

1. How many miles are there in a mile?  
2. How many feet are there in a mile?  
3. How many miles are there in a yard?  
4. How many miles are there in a yard?  
5. What is a mile?  
6. What is a distance?  
7. What is a distance?  
8. What are they?  
9. Can you make any?  
10. What is a distance?  
11. How many miles are there in a mile?  
12. How many miles are there in a mile?  
13. How many miles are there in a mile?  
14. How many miles are there in a mile?  
15. How many miles are there in a mile?  
16. How many miles are there in a mile?  
17. How many miles are there in a mile?  
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43. How many miles are there in a mile?  
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48. How many miles are there in a mile?  
49. How many miles are there in a mile?  
50. How many miles are there in a mile?  

THE WAY TO BE HAPPY

1. What is happiness?  
2. How can we be happy?  
3. What are the causes of happiness?  
4. What are the causes of happiness?  
5. What are the causes of happiness?  
6. What are the causes of happiness?  
7. What are the causes of happiness?  
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50. What are the causes of happiness?
A CHAMPIONSHIP CONTEST

THE BROWNIES' BOOK should have a hundred thousand subscribers and should be read by a million children who especially need its inspiring pictures, stories and news of colored youth.

To introduce this magazine to many new readers we are launching a SPECIAL CIRCULATION CAMPAIGN and, in addition to liberal considerations to agents, we offer championship medals on the following terms and conditions:

100 Championship Medals

50 GOLD MEDALS
To the person in each State or Territory of the United States who sends us the largest number of subscriptions to THE BROWNIES BOOK mailed in or delivered at our office on or before July 1, 1921 (provided the highest is not less than 25 annual subscriptions), we will send a beautiful Championship Gold Medal, besides paying the usual agent's commission. The subscription price is $1.00 a year. Foreign subscriptions $1.50 a year.

50 SILVER MEDALS
To the person in each State or Territory of the United States who sends us the largest number of copies of THE BROWNIES BOOK bought on or before July 1, 1921 (provided the highest is not less than 150), we will send a beautiful Championship Silver Medal, besides paying the usual agent's commission. The subscription price is $1.00 a year.

The contest is open to any man, woman, boy or girl. In case of a tie for any prize, each tying contestant will receive a prize identical with that tied for.

$50 Scholarship for Four Years

To the person who makes the best showing in this Championship Contest, a scholarship of Fifty Dollars a year for Four Years is offered by Mr. Thomas J. Calloway, a business man of the race, who is anxious to see THE BROWNIES BOOK widely read and who desires to encourage the youth in industry and zeal. To win the scholarship it is necessary to win a gold or silver medal. The $5 a year will be paid to the school to which the winner goes for education.

Write at once for agent's terms, subscription blanks, sample copies and current copies to sell.

DU BOIS and DILL, Publishers
2 West 15th Street
New York, N. Y.

THE BROWNIES' BOOK
Published Monthly and Copyrighted by DuBois and Dill, Publishers, at 2 West 13th Street, New York, N. Y. Conducted by W. E. Burghardt DuBois; Jacob Rosenfeld, Managing Editor; Augusta Corinth Dill, Business Manager.

VOL. I. No. 7
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3. Exeter, Three Great Artists by Mary White Brandt. An  
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AN ADVENTURE IN AFRICA. A Story. 


6. Little People of the Moon. Illustrated. 

7. Capital Goes on the War Path. A Story. Anna Constant 
Illustrated by Helen H. Kilburn. 


11. Poems: "Now We Ride." 

FIFTEEN CENTS A COPY. ONE DOLLAR AND A HALF A YEAR.

FOREIGN SUBSCRIPTIONS TWENTY-FIVE CENTS PER YEAR.

REMEMBER: The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due, a yellow envelope is enclosed. The address of the subscriber can be changed by sending a letter of instruction, both the old and the new address must be given. Two months notice is required. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored children are desired. They must be sent to Mr. DuBois at once.


(December 1921, The Brownies' Book, New York: DuBois and Dill Publishers.)
One day Mae was talking to herself in the lunch room. She was having this righteous old conversation with herself. She say, "I wanna be a princess with long golden hair." Now can you get ready for that? Long golden hair?

Well, anyway, Mae say, "If I can't be a princess, I'll settle for some long golden hair. If I could just have me some long golden hair, everything would be all right with me. Lord, if I could just have me some long golden hair."

Two other little Sisters nearby start cracking up. One say to the other, "Did you check that out, girl?" They both started in laughing again.

One of them say to Mae, "Dig it. The only way you ever gonna get long golden hair is to get you a wig."

The other one say, "Yeah, and cover up that nappy hair."

They walked on away laughing and singing, "Dreamy Mae! Dreamy Mae! Nappy head girl, just dream all day."

But Mae didn't pay them no mind. She just kept on keeping on. She was in her dreaming thing. I mean, like, she was tripping on her daydream.

Another little Sister come on up and sat behind Mae. She tap her on her shoulder and say, "Hey, my name Gloria. What your name?"

Mae looked around and say, "My name Mae."

"Can I join you, Mae?"

"Yeah, sure, OK with me. You wanna share my lunch?"

"Yeah, OK."

Mae give Gloria half of her peanut butter and jelly sandwich.

"You want a apple?"

"Sure," say Mae. "Anything better than a peanut butter and jelly sandwich."

"I don't know," say Gloria. "Bologna sandwiches all the time can be a drag too. Sometime I just chuck them on in the trash can."

Mae start checking Gloria out for the first time. Gloria was a good-looking girl. There was something kind of different 'bout her.