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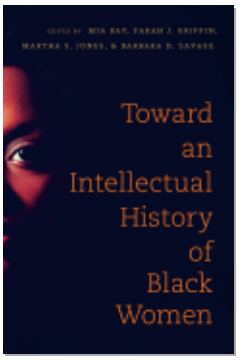

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Introduction

Toward an Intellectual History of Black Women

MIA BAY, FARAH J. GRIFFIN, MARTHA S. JONES, AND BARBARA D. SAVAGE

Since the 1773 publication of Phillis Wheatley's *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral,* black women artists, activists, and intellectuals have provided critical insight into issues of national and global importance. Shaped by lives lived at the crossroads of race, gender, and justice, their ideas have been distinctive but often ignored. Only with the explosion of black feminist literary criticism in the 1970s and 1980s did Wheatley and other African American women writers begin to receive serious scholarly attention, much of which was dedicated to challenging the exclusion of such writers from the traditional literary canons. Still, despite increased visibility that pioneering works by brilliant critics such as Barbara Christian and Nellie McKay brought to black women writers from Wheatley to Toni Morrison, black women thinkers remain largely neglected outside of the field of literary criticism.[1] Historical scholarship on black women especially has yet to map the broad contours of their political and social thought in any detail, or to examine their distinctive intellectual tradition as often self-educated thinkers with a sustained history of wrestling with both sexism and racism.

This neglect persists even as black women thinkers have become more prominent. Black women thinkers took on new visibility in 1992 when novelist and public intellectual Toni Morrison published a collection of essays on the Anita Hill–Clarence Thomas controversy, *Race-ing Justice, Engendering Power.* Morrison aimed to provide much-needed "contextualized and intellectually focused insights" into how race and gender influenced late twentieth-century law and politics in the United States.[2] Over half of the collection's nineteen essays were authored by black women, and its publication proved to be a defining moment for black women thinkers, who took the lead in explaining how a peculiar historical nexus of race and gender drove a spectacle in law, politics, and media.[3] More publicly than ever before, black women's voices joined with those of other critical thinkers to make sense of the relationship between history, politics,

race, gender, and power at the end of the twentieth century.[4] While black women intellectuals had long been offering such analyses, *Race-ing Justice, En-gendering Power* broke new ground by creating a place for them in the arena of public intellectual exchange. Morrison stood in robust company in the early 1990s. Her generation included women such as Toni Cade Bambara, Angela Davis, Gerda Lerner, Barbara Smith, and Audre Lorde, feminist writers whose wide-ranging works pioneered what are today recognized as foundational volumes in the development of black women's intellectual history.[5] The Thomas-Hill volume was part of that work and affirmed that new insights emerge when black women's voices are included in the great discussions of any era.

As we move forward into a new century, it is time to recognize black women's intellectual history as a distinct and growing field of study. This book comes together as a result of a series of conversations among scholars working in African diaspora and U.S. intellectual history. Historians and critics working on various black women thinkers, most of us were accustomed to solitary research and study. But in 2004, over dinner, the editors of this book began sharing notes. We found ourselves all working on projects that challenged the ways black women had been traditionally described. Most scholarship on black women focused on their work as activists, or discussed them as the objects of intellectual activity, but they rarely received attention as producers of knowledge. What were the intellectual traditions behind black women's activism? How did black women engage with their objectification? At the same time, we also noted that we were all working in more isolation than necessary or desirable. From this discussion, the Black Women's Intellectual and Cultural History (BWICH) Collective was formed. And over time it grew into a collaboration among fifteen scholars of literature and history, representing eleven colleges and universities in the United States and France. The collective's three-year program included public presentations and conferences, along with small working-group discussions. And while each author has signed her or his contribution, the ethos of the collective ensures that the interpretations published here are informed by the whole.

Toward an Intellectual History of Black Women builds upon the important work in social, cultural, and literary history that precedes it. It is a companion to recent works in history, literature, and black studies—particularly biographies of women such as Ida B. Wells, Shirley Graham Du Bois, and Amy Jacques Garvey and studies of black women writers.[6] Such works provided us with a crucial record of black women's lives and

creative achievements across generations. Still, they did not fully capture the historical evolution of black women's thought. Instead, the literature is an episodic chronicle of individual lives and exceptional writers, whose ideas are rarely viewed as being in conversation across time and place.

As a result, several key questions animate our collective work. What is the intellectual history of black women *writ large*? Can we recover the intellectual traditions of thinkers who were often organic intellectuals and whose lives and thoughts are only modestly documented? How have the unique challenges that slavery, segregation, and racial discrimination posed to black women's minds and bodies shaped their ideas? *Toward an Intellectual History of Black Women* aims to address these questions with essays dedicated to exploring the work of a broad cross section of black women thinkers in the United States, the Caribbean, and Africa. Our work builds upon the pioneering efforts of Morrison's generation, as well as a more recent scholarly explosion of writing on black women's history and literature. The proliferation of this literature reflects the recognition of the histories of black women's artistry, activism, and organizing with an emphasis on their enduring strength in the face of oppression. But it is time for the varied and unique intellectual labors of women of Africa and its diaspora to claim a more distinct place in the history of ideas. Black women's contributions to critical thought generally do not surface in intellectual history, be it in broad anthologies showcasing prominent thinkers or works devoted especially to the ideas of African Americans.[7] This volume remedies these oversights. Through fifteen essays that, taken together, examine two and a half centuries of intellectual work, *Toward an Intellectual History of Black Women* assures black women a place in the history of ideas.

Recent scholarship in black women's history and literature has provided much of the foundation for this turn to intellectual history.[8] One point of origin is the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century chronicles that recorded black women's "contributions" and "heroism" in the face of the rising tide of Jim Crow.[9] Far from finished, this work of recuperation remains vital and necessary to restoring and expanding the record of black women's lives throughout the diaspora. Alongside this attention to the contours of lived experience, literary scholars have brought to light the corpus of black women's writings, from poetry and essays to the short story and the novel.[10] Feminist scholars have explained the centrality of black women to the construction of freedom, democracy, and citizenship through particular attention to the intersectional quality of black women's

activism and thought.[11] The heft of these fields today is evidenced in part by the proliferation of book-length, scholarly biographies on black women as activists, artists, and thinkers.[12] And the work of recovery continues with verve as scholars put flesh on the bones of those early nineteenth-century sketches and add to those rosters the histories of scores of black women from around the globe. The result is a dynamic new map of politics and culture that establishes the key relevance of black women to studies of history and literature. Black women's intellectual history is the logical outgrowth of these labors.

The field of intellectual history has until now resisted embracing the implications of the new work on African American women,[13] and *Toward an Intellectual History of Black Women* is a direct challenge to that resistance. Taken together, the essays retrieve the ideas of black women and foreground how these ideas, especially when expressly situated in histories of slavery, segregation, and racial discrimination, grew out of unique challenges to both the mind and the body. The essays draw upon the innovative use of evidence and a broad range of sources. Original and thoroughly researched, the collection outlines the contours of a diverse and powerful community of ideas. The results challenge narrow assumptions about intellectual history by demonstrating how ideas have been crucial to black women in their efforts to navigate both the double jeopardy of race and gender and the uncertain forms of citizenship often accorded to their group.

To construct a field of study from the standpoint of black women takes us from the essential work of recovery through the development of alternative sources and modes of analysis. Beyond that, it is clear that this new history of ideas is intimately linked to the understanding of identity and experience. Indeed, black women's intellectual histories can never be explained by way of a mere genealogy of ideas. These essays follow their subjects from political podiums, church pulpits, and the streets into intimate sites of writing: the letter, the short story, the poem, and the novel. The result is intellectual history "black woman–style," an approach that understands ideas as necessarily produced in dialogue with lived experience and always inflected by the social facts of race, class, and gender. And while developed within this rich material about African American women, it is an approach to intellectual history that might be adapted to the many communities that find themselves still at the margins of the field.

We hope that readers who are interested in intellectual history, African American history, feminist studies, and African American women's history

and literature will come away from this volume with fresh and enduring insights. Certainly, our understandings of traditional modes of expression for ideas have been reconfigured by our explorations of how black women used a remarkable and unexpected array of vehicles—from the essay and political tract, the scholarly monograph and the novel, to the newspaper and the blogosphere—to set out, develop, and share their ideas. Likewise, our volume challenges common wisdom about where intellectual activities take place. Black women have rarely worked out of the academy or research institutes. Instead, the scenes of their intellectual labor have ranged from the intimate spaces of parlors, where epistolary exchanges were produced, to highly public podiums, where the oral expression of ideas often mixed with the material demands of communities.

Black women have always worked through complexities produced by the intersection of race and gender, though not always in the same ways. Our volume suggests that some black women thinkers developed sophisticated theories of how race and gender work together to produce both power and inequality, while others privileged one thread of analysis over another, helping us to understand the changing and historically contingent nature of these social constructs. Finally, through the lives of black women intellectuals, we see the fragile and sometimes false nature of analytic categories. Binaries between race and gender, politics and ideas, social science and the arts, and public and private all prove to be false as black women thinkers move through space, time, and many spheres of ideas and action.

The book is divided into four chronological sections that sketch out the intellectual production of black women from the era of slavery to the present, documenting a persistent and resilient tradition of complex and innovative thought on a wide range of political, social, and religious concerns. Part I includes three essays. It opens with an essay by Jon Sensbach, who uses the haunting image of a baby born on a slave ship en route to the Americas as a point of departure for recovering the early modern religious history of black women. Working largely from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Caribbean sources, Sensbach explains how black women survived the spiritual dislocations of the slave trade to become "conduits of spiritual knowledge and authority from Africa to the New World." Arlette Frund expands on this theme with a fresh consideration of Phillis Wheatley as a public intellectual. Wheatley was a poet who took on both religious and political questions, and her career demonstrates how religious self-expression inevitably had political impli-

cations, and she figured prominently in writings of both European and American Enlightenment-era thinkers as they contemplated the meanings of blackness and enslavement. Finally, Natasha Lightfoot's essay focuses on the Hart sisters of Antigua and maps the complex religious politics of the two freeborn women of color whose lives spanned the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Christian reformers and educators who married Methodist preachers, the Hart sisters sought to educate and uplift the island's enslaved population while neither repudiating nor endorsing slavery. Mixed race and middle class, they were committed to the amelioration of slavery but were also anxious to improve rather than endanger their own social status with Antigua's racial and religious leadership. Taken together, these essays show black women in the early modern period carving out a distinctive intellectual space for themselves that frequently merged religious, political, and literary spheres and always engaged questions of slavery and antislavery.

The three essays in Part II explore race and gender in the postemancipation era and situate black women at the center of two major intellectual streams of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century thought: political theory and ethnology. Both of these fields were sites of debates about the racial status of black people who crossed the color line, engaging black women thinkers, as well as their better-known male counterparts. Indeed, changes in ideas about the meanings of blackness and approaches to belonging in postslavery societies animated the evolution of black culture and politics in the years between the Civil War and World War II. African Americans were never of one mind, however, these essays argue. Mia Bay and Alexandra Cornelius explore how black women responded to racial thought. Bay asks why black women across the nineteenth century were more reluctant to speak on their era's science of the races than were their male counterparts. Silence, Bay explains, was a strategy by which black women protected their claims to respectability in a political culture that was eager to denigrate them. But she also points to remarkable women—from Sarah Parker Remond in the 1850s to Anna Julia Cooper in the 1890s—who brought together ideas about race and womanhood as they confronted the challenges of racialized politics. Cornelius picks up from Bay's end point by demonstrating how Amelia Johnson put social Darwinism on the defensive in works arguing that racial differences were attributable to environment rather than to any innate inferiority of black people. Taking up two of the most important intellectual contests of the era, Johnson provided what came to be essential insights for the

evolution of political theory and antiracist thought across the twentieth century. Finally, Corinne Field reads the fiction of poet and activist Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, asking about her views on claims to citizenship and political rights. Harper, a veteran of the abolitionist and women's rights movements, used literature to set out a "politics of maturity" that eschewed reform credentials and party allegiances. In their place, Harper argued that black political rights should emanate, in part, from an individual's elevation to adulthood. In Field's essay, we learn how black women traversed purported boundaries—such as between science and politics—while also redefining the terms of inclusion and exclusion, not only as they affected them, but as they defined the nation.

The four essays in Part III demonstrate how black women thinkers challenged, redefined, and, when necessary, invented new analytic categories. Their theoretical work often presaged ideas associated with well-known turns toward social history, women's history, and African American history. Farah Jasmine Griffin maps the relationship between Ann Petry's political activism, journalism, and fiction of the 1940s. For Griffin, Petry was a committed progressive whose fiction explored the world of young urban black women who were invisible in better-known fictional, political, and sociological narratives about black urban life. In her reading of the Haitian novelist Marie Chauvet's oeuvre, Kaiama Glover challenges earlier critics who had posited Chauvet as a feminist who pushed against the work of male writers. Glover argues that Chauvet's writing promotes "narcissism" as a means of protecting the feminine self, thereby insisting upon the centrality of the individual, or on what Glover terms a "protective self-centeredness." As such, Chauvet develops a new paradigm for understanding the relationship of the artist/intellectual to a collectivist/communal project in the context of Duvalier's Haiti.

Thadious Davis documents the lesser-known intellectual contributions of a well-known writer and public figure, Alice Walker. Through a consideration of Walker's nonfiction writing, Davis asserts that Walker anticipated current trends in what is termed the "New Southern Studies." In so doing, she situates Walker as a primary but unrecognized architect of this field. Maboula Soumahoro traces the theoretical implications of Maryse Condé's epic masterpiece, *Segu*. For Soumahoro, Condé's novel reconceptualizes the history of the black diaspora by challenging the boundaries between literary and historical writing. Through its concern with issues of time, power, and history, *Segu* is a hybrid work that engages and in some instances anticipates more conventional work by historians and theorists

of the diaspora. In these twentieth-century figures, we observe a shift in black women's intellectual presence. Not only were they self-consciously public intellectuals, but they also boldly took up familiar genres and conventions for new purposes.

Part IV includes four essays that focus on twentieth-century black women who used their professional skills to challenge state policies as well as gender and political restrictions within their own communities. Trained as scholars, teachers, writers, journalists, and lawyers, they built their own movements for change and their own social and political institutions. Here, our reading of intellectual work encompasses the life work of black professional women who employed their skills both to advance political ideas and to lead organized, collective struggles. Barbara Savage's portrait of Merze Tate, a diplomatic historian at Howard University from the 1940s to the 1970s, introduces a rare black woman academic whose work, first on disarmament and then on empire in the South Pacific and in Africa, challenged prevailing paradigms. Tate was a cosmopolitan thinker whose work did not focus on domestic race issues. A prolific scholar and world traveler, Tate also spent much of her career protesting gender inequities against her at Howard and in the history profession. Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti is perhaps best known today as the mother of the late Fela Kuti, the Nigerian Afrobeat pioneer and activist. But as Judith Byfield reveals, she was known to contemporaries as the leading activist in Nigeria's nationalist era and founder of the Nigerian Women's Union. Her ideas about gender, activism, and politics were expressed in her writings, oratory, and organizing campaigns among Yoruba women, who were uniting to oppose British taxation policies that threatened the viability of families.

Turning to the context of the United States, Cheryl Wall explores the many ways in which June Jordan and Alice Walker were intertwined in art and politics and as friends. Wall mines their essays and correspondence for ideas about black womanhood, racial kinship, art, and redemption in the post–civil rights period. She also demonstrates the centrality of friendship as a space for generating and nurturing ideas. Overlapping in time but turning to a different venue, Sherie Randolph revisits the ideas and work of the activist lawyer Flo Kennedy. Randolph argues that Kennedy's advocacy in and out of the courtroom on reproductive rights was not a rejection of nationalist ideology but a constant and complex negotiation with its ideas and claims over political and social control of black women's bodies. Like the other essays in Part IV, Randolph's work showcases the career of a professional black woman who drew on her standing and vis-

ibility within her field of expertise to press for a rethinking of gender and power in the fast-changing civil rights and postcolonial worlds.

The volume concludes with a stand-alone essay that examines how ideas about black women's pasts shape the politics of the twenty-first century. Martha Jones takes as her case study the election cycle of 2008 to observe how commentators drew upon nineteenth-century political analogies rooted in antislavery and women's rights politics to explain the Clinton-Obama primary contest. She explains, however, that in 2008, black women were far too prominently situated to let simple readings of history—readings that largely overlooked African American women—to substitute for complex analysis. Women from Oprah Winfrey and Donna Brazile to Michelle Obama and Condoleezza Rice intervened, Jones explains, insisting on an analysis that did not reduce black women to their race or their gender. During that campaign, black women not only claimed an intersectional point of view—one that simultaneously engaged ideas about race and gender—but also used that point of view to claim political authority.

The 2008 campaign once again demonstrates that a better understanding of black women's intellectual pasts is essential to understanding the political present. This volume similarly seeks to reset the terms of the field and the debates within intellectual history. Readers will surely encounter the ideas of women about whom they know very little. But that is only the beginning. Ultimately, our hope is that readers will ask new questions about intellectual history, questions that emanate from the work of black women but that have deep relevance generally for any history of ideas. What forms do ideas take? What are their modes of expression? Under what conditions may ideas be produced, and where should we look for them? What is the relationship between lived experience and the production of ideas? And what happens when ideas exceed or break apart social or analytic categories? Not only do these questions and others animate these essays; they are the very questions that will shape the development of black women's intellectual history going forward.

As scholars of black women's intellectual history, we were both heartened and disappointed by a series of 2005 news headlines featuring Phillis Wheatley. That year, a manuscript letter in Wheatley's hand sold for a reported $253,000, the highest price ever paid at auction for a letter written by an African American or by a woman. For some commentators, the sale was a spectacle that juxtaposed a high ticket price against the modest quality of the two-page document. Others marveled at the letter's provenance,

explaining how the fragile parchment passed from its eighteenth-century recipient, Wheatley's confidante Obour Tanner, to arrive at New York's Swann Galleries for sale more than two hundred years later. At least one commentator expressed the hope that the purchaser, a collector of African American literary and cultural artifacts, would one day donate the letter to a research institution where it would become available to a wide audience. One scholar went so far as to declare the sale a "happy day for those of us who love African-American literature."[14]

But amid all this attention there was an unsettling silence, a silence that has frequently enshrouded writing about African American women. No one asked about Wheatley as a thinker and a producer of ideas. No one expressed interest in what the letter's content might reveal about Wheatley's ideas. The auction house touted the artifact as providing insight into slavery and the era of the American Revolution; it was penned in February 1776. But the meaning of the modest two paragraphs contained within the document was hardly transparent. How did Wheatley understand the "proceedings of nations" that were under way? What did she mean by the ironic reference to "this seemingly devoted Country?" And what were her sympathies when she acknowledged that the "situation" of her friend and fellow slave Obour was "extremely unhappy"? For all the fascination with how Wheatley's letter commanded top dollar at auction, no one appeared ready to take her seriously as a person of ideas. This is the type of silence that *Toward an Intellectual History of Black Women* seeks to shatter, by recuperating the history of ideas that is embedded in the lives and labors of African diaspora women like Wheatley.

Notes

1. See, for example, Barbara Christian, *Black Women Novelists: The Development of a Tradition, 1892–1976* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980) and *New Black Feminist Criticism, 1985–2000* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007); and Nellie Y. McKay, ed., *Critical Essays on Toni Morrison* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1988).

2. Toni Morrison, ed., *Race-ing Justice, En-gendering Power: Essays on Anita Hill, Clarence Thomas, and the Construction of Social Reality* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1992), xi.

3. The black women intellectuals in Morrison's volume included Morrison herself, Margaret A. Burnham, Kimberlé Crenshaw, Paula Giddings, Wahneema Lubiano, Nellie Y. McKay, Nell Irvin Painter, Gayle Pemberton, Carol M. Swain, and Patricia J. Williams.

4. Morrison, *Race-ing Justice, En-gendering Power*, xi.

5. See Toni Cade Bambara, ed., *The Black Woman: An Anthology* (New York: New American Library, 1970); Angela Davis, *Women, Race, and Class* (New York: Random

House, 1981); Gloria T. Hull, Patricia Bell Scott, and Barbara Smith, eds., *All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave* (Old Westbury, N.Y.: Feminist Press, 1982); Gerda Lerner, *Black Women in White America: A Documentary History* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972); Audre Lorde, *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches* (Trumansburg, N.Y.: Crossing Press, 1984); and Dorothy Sterling, *We Are Your Sisters: Black Women in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1984).

6. The work of the Black Women's Intellectual and Cultural History Collective builds upon an extraordinary literature in African American women's studies produced over the last generation: Hazel Carby, *Reconstructing Womanhood: The Emergence of the Black Woman Novelist* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (1990; reprint, New York: Routledge, 1991); Carla Peterson, *Doers of the Word: African-American Women Speakers and Writers in the North* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Sharon Harley and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, eds., *The Afro-American Woman: Struggles and Images* (Baltimore, Md.: Black Classic Press, 1997); Judith Weisenfeld and Richard Newman, eds., *This Far by Faith: Readings in African-American Women's Religious Biography* (New York: Routledge, 1996); Darlene Clark Hine, Wilma King, and Linda Reed, *"We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible": A Reader in Black Women's History* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Carlson, 1995); Melba J. Boyd, *Discarded Legacy: Politics and Poetics in the Life of Frances Ellen Watkins Harper* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1994); Jocelyn Moody, *Sentimental Confessions: Spiritual Narratives of Nineteenth Century African American Women* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001); Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, *African American Women in the Struggle for the Vote, 1850–1920* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998); Deborah Gray White, *Too Heavy a Load: Black Women in Defense of Themselves, 1894–1994* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999); Ann D. Gordon et al., eds., *African American Women and the Vote, 1837–1965* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997); Mary H. Washington, *Invented Lives: Narratives of Black Women, 1860–1960* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1987); Marilyn Richardson, ed., *Maria Stewart, America's First Black Woman Political Writer* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987); Elsa Barkley Brown, "Womanist Consciousness: Maggie Lena Walker and the Independent Order of Saint Luke," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 13, no. 3 (1989): 610–33; Glenda E. Gilmore, "Gender and Jim Crow: Sarah Dudley Pettey's Vision of the New South," *North Carolina Historical Review* 68, no. 3 (July 1991): 261–85; Evelyn B. Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880–1920* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993); Shirley W. Logan, ed., *With Pen and Voice: The Rhetoric of Nineteenth-Century African-American Women* (Carbondale: Southern University of Illinois Press, 1995) and *We Are Coming: The Persuasive Discourse of Nineteenth-Century Black Women* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999); Nell Irvin Painter, "Representing Truth: Sojourner Truth's Knowing and Becoming Known," *Journal of American History* 81, no. 2 (September 1994): 461–92; Frances S. Foster, *Written by Herself: Literary Production by African American Women, 1746–1892* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993); Bettye Collier-Thomas, *Daughters of Thunder: Black Women Preachers and Their Sermons, 1850–1879* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1998); Elizabeth McHenry, *Forgotten Readers: Recovering the Lost*

History of African American Literary Societies (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2002); Barbara Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement: A Radical Democratic Vision* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Gerald Horne, *Race Woman: The Lives of Shirley Graham Du Bois* (New York: New York University Press, 2000); Elizabeth Alexander, "'We Must Be About Our Father's Business': Anna Julia Cooper and the In-Corporation of the Nineteenth Century African-American Woman Intellectual," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 90 (Winter 1995): 330–42.

7. Examples of general works that make no reference to black women include David Hollinger and Charles Capper's two-volume compendium *The American Intellectual Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005) and Linda K. Kerber's *Toward an Intellectual History of Women: Essays* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997). Moreover, many recent works on black intellectuals focus mainly on men. See, for example, Adolph Reed et al., *Renewing Black Intellectual History: The Ideological and Material Foundations of African American Thought* (Boulder, Colo.: Paradigm, 2010); Zachary R. Williams, *In Search of the Talented Tenth: Howard University Public Intellectuals and the Dilemmas of Race, 1926–1970* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2009); Stephen G. Hall, *A Faithful Account of the Race: African American Historical Writing in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009); Michael O. West et al., *From Toussaint to Tupac: The Black International Since the Age of Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009); Charles Pete Banner-Haley, *From Du Bois to Obama: African American Intellectuals in the Public Forum* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2010); and Jonathan Scott Holloway and Ben Keppel, eds., *Black Scholars on the Line: Race, Social Science, and American Thought in the Twentieth Century* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007).

8. This scholarship is far too extensive to be listed in full, but a sampling of such works includes Erica Armstrong Dunbar, *A Fragile Freedom: African American Women and Emancipation in the Antebellum City* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2008); Carole Boyce-Davies and Molara Ogundipe-Leslie, eds., *Moving Beyond Boundaries*, 2 vols. (New York: New York University Press, 1995); Brown, "Womanist Consciousness"; Hilary Beckles, *Natural Rebels: A Social History of Enslaved Women in Barbados* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1989); Judith Byfield et al., *Gendering the African Diaspora: Women, Culture, and Historical Change in the Caribbean and Nigerian Hinterland* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010); Bettye Collier-Thomas, *Jesus, Jobs, and Justice: African American Women and Religion* (New York: Knopf, 2010); Afua Cooper, *The Hanging of Angelique: The Untold Story of Canadian Slavery and the Burning of Old Montreal* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2007); Karen Flynn, *Moving Beyond Borders: A History of Black Canadian and Caribbean Women in the Diaspora* (Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2011); Paula J. Giddings, *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America* (New York: William Morrow Paperbacks, 1996); Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina,1896–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Barry Gaspar and Darlene Clark Hine, eds., *More Than Chattel: Black Women and Slavery in the Americas* (Bloomington: Indiana

University Press, 1996); Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent*; Hine, King, and Reed, "*We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible*"; Tera W. Hunter, *To 'Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors after the Civil War* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998); Dayo F. Gore, Jeanne Theoharis, and Komozi Woodard, eds., *Want to Start a Revolution? Radical Women in the Black Freedom Struggle* (New York: New York University Press, 2009); Cheryl D. Hicks, *Talk with You Like a Woman: African American Women, Justice, and Reform in New York, 1890–1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Darlene Clark Hine, *Hine Sight: Black Women and the Re-Construction of American History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997); Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family, from Slavery to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 2009); Martha S. Jones, *All Bound Up Together: The Woman Question in African American Public Culture, 1830–1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); Wilma King, *The Essence of Liberty: Free Black Women during the Slave Era* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2006); Lerner, *Black Women in White America*; Erik S. McDuffie, *Sojourning for Freedom: Black Women, American Communism, and the Making of Black Left Feminism* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2011); McHenry, *Forgotten Readers*; Jennifer L. Morgan, *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Jon F. Sensbach, *Rebecca's Revival: Creating Black Christianity in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006); Terborg-Penn, *African American Women in the Struggle for the Vote*; and Deborah Gray White, *Ar'n't I a Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation South* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999) and *Too Heavy a Load*.

9. Early chronicles of black women's history include Hallie Q. Browne, ed., *Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction* (Xenia, Ohio: Aldine, 1926); Monroe A. Majors, *Noted Negro Women: Their Triumphs and Activities* (Chicago: Donohue & Henneberry, 1893); Gertrude Mossell, *The Work of the Afro-American Woman* (Philadelphia: G. S. Ferguson, 1908); and Susie I. Shorter, *The Heroines of African Methodism* (Jacksonville, Fla.: Chew, 1891).

10. See, for example, Elizabeth Alexander, *The Black Interior: Essays* (St. Paul, Minn.: Graywolf Press, 2004); Houston A. Baker Jr., *Workings of the Spirit: The Poetics of Afro-American Women's Writing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Carole Boyce-Davies, *Black Women, Writing, and Identity: Migrations of the Subject* (New York: Routledge, 1994); Boyd, *Discarded Legacy*; Joanne Braxton, *Black Women Writing Autobiography: A Tradition within a Tradition* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989); Carby, *Reconstructing Womanhood*; Barbara Christian, *Black Feminist Criticism: Perspectives on Black Women Writers* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1985); *Women Writing Africa*, 4 vols. (New York: Feminist Press, 2003); Foster, *Written by Herself*; Karla F. Holloway, *Moorings and Metaphors: Figures of Culture and Gender in Black Women's Literature* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1991); Logan, *With Pen and Voice* and *We Are Coming*; Moody, *Sentimental Confessions*; Peterson, "*Doers of the Word*"; Claudia Tate, *Domestic Allegories of Political Desire: The Black Heroine's Text at the Turn of the Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Washington, *Invented Lives*; and Gay Wilentz, *Binding Cultures: Black Women Writers in Africa and the Diaspora* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992).

11. See, for example, Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*; Davis, *Women, Race, and Class*; Stanlie M. James and Abena P. A. Busia, eds., *Theorizing Black Feminisms: The Visionary Pragmatism of Black Women* (New York: Routledge, 1993); Valerie Smith, *Not Just Race, Not Just Gender: Black Feminist Readings* (New York: Routledge, 1998); Louise Michele Newman, *White Women's Rights: The Racial Origins of Feminism in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); and Serena Mayeri, *Reasoning from Race: Feminism, Law, and the Civil Rights Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011).

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13. A notable exception to this is Kevin Gaines, *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

14. Henry Louis Gates Jr., quoted in Ben Sisario, "Letter by 18th-Century Slave Fetches Record Price," *New York Times*, November 24, 2005.