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1 #SayHerName: Why Black Women Matter in Sociology

Hedwig Lee and Christina Hughes

In preparing to write this chapter in the *New Black Sociologist*, we read the original volume of James E. Blackwell and Morris Janowitz's[1] *Black Sociologists* to understand the state of the field and to provide us with additional insight about the meaning behind identifying as a Black sociologist today. As individuals who identify as women[2] of color (one Black and one non-Black), we were particularly keen to understand how we were depicted in this anthology. Where did we fit in our history as scholars? Indeed, what we really wanted to know was who were the people considered to be the founders of Black Sociology? According to Blackwell and Janowitz,[3] they were W.E.B. Du Bois, E. Franklin Frazier, and Charles S. Johnson, mighty intellectuals from whom we continue to draw insight about the human condition. Even today, discussions of our history as Black sociologists continue to focus on these men: their scholarship denied,[4] their scholarship reconsidered,[5] and their activism respected.[6] In fact, featured on the original cover art of *Black Sociologists* is an arrangement of their three portraits – a visual acknowledgment of their canonical status to be known and remembered in our writing of Black sociological history. But where are the women?

In the only chapter in the volume that touches on Black women's role in sociology, Jacquelyne Johnson Jackson wrote a descriptive piece on Black women's underrepresentation in the field drawing largely from survey data collected in the spring of 1972 from 66 African Americans with a doctorate in sociology, 11 of whom were women. She took care to note that even when prompted to cite influential figures in their own intellectual development, these women did not name other Black women. The chapter leaves one to wonder, what would happen if those portrait spaces on the cover were left blank, and in their openness, capable of fostering a radical potentiality to rewrite the lineage of our own intellectual traditions in a way that recovers the output and contributions of Black women as agents of knowledge during that time?

This chapter aims to begin the work of revising the existing chronology of the Black sociological canon by recognizing that there may be intellectuals who have somehow been erased, or at the very least, underestimated, from

our understanding of Black Sociology's history. It particularly focuses on Anna Julia Cooper and Zora Neale Hurston as differentially situated, yet intertwined, figures in early 20th century thought as a means to interrogate our intellectual loss from their repeated erasure. The title of this chapter symbolically draws upon the recently popularized hashtag campaign #SayHerName,[7] which specifically refers to the police brutality directed towards Black women in recent years, to also encapsulate the multitude of violence experienced by Black women beyond just harm to their bodies but also from the regular erasure of their feelings, stories, and truths as part of their everyday (and our intellectual) lives. Where do Black women scholars like Zora Neale Hurston and Anna Julia Cooper fit in our history as Black sociologists? Do they matter? Does their work matter? Can we say their names?

Subjugated Knowledges and Ghostly Hauntings

While Foucault[8] is commonly recognized as having coined the term "subjugated knowledges" to refer to the entirety of other ways of knowing that have been disqualified due to power's[9] reading of them as inadequate or unscientific, it was Patricia Hill Collins who famously applied this concept to the academic and political project of reclaiming Black feminist thought.[10] Though Collins herself contends that we should look beyond mere academic writings to "re-center" these subjugated knowledges, sociology has been less quick to seriously consider what that endeavor might entail. A rich tradition of Black feminist thought requires not only a contemporary recognition of Black women as legitimate bearers of their own knowledge but also a historical one, which traces the lineage of these ideas to the countless others who experienced their lives as Black women located within the specificities of time and place and along the contours of their own race, gender, class, sexuality, and other markers of social categorization. Collins[11] suggested that we as a discipline should treat as text the output of Black women blues singers, poets, and storytellers, whose work should prove crucial to recovering the archive of Black feminist knowledges that remain buried and overlooked.

What this mandate assumes – perhaps too optimistically – is that these knowledges are, in fact, recoverable. Unfortunately, a lay truism propounds that what is lost may not always be found. Avery Gordon[12] conceived of the tragic quality of these losses and impossibilities in *Ghostly Matters*, the title itself serving as a rhetorical recuperation of strict materialism in which she contemplates how the supposed realm of the immaterial haunts our everyday lives. The things that never happened, that were deemed impossible, that were cut short, or that merely existed in our imaginations – these are the apparitions that continue, according to Gordon, to *matter* even if they cannot be observed.

It follows from Collins' and Gordon's insights that the work of recovering the ideas of Anna Julia Cooper and Zora Neale Hurston for the Black

sociological canon is necessary but also inherently fragmented. The subsequent discussion attempts to highlight what we believe to be some of their crucial thoughts and frameworks while also acknowledging that this could never be a comprehensive discussion of them. By weaving in between their writings, letters, and biographical details, the aim of this chapter is to open a conversation on how the acknowledgment of these women and their output could have enriched historical and contemporary discussions within and outside sociological work. Moreover, it seeks to reclaim these Black sociologists as important figures in our history and identities as well as problematize ways of being and knowing that continue to disregard these women and other Black women scholars that have been crucial in the shaping of Black Sociology.

Another Scholar Denied: Anna Julia Cooper

> The colored woman of to-day occupies, one may say, a unique position in this country. In a period of itself transitional and unsettled, her status seems one of the least ascertainable and definitive of all the forces which make for our civilization. She is confronted by both a woman question and a race problem, and is as yet unknown or an unacknowledged factor in both. While the women of the white race can with calm assurance enter upon the work they feel by nature appointed to do, while their men give their loyal support and appreciative countenance to their efforts, recognizing in most avenues of usefulness the propriety and the need of woman's distinctive co-operation, the colored woman too often finds herself hampered and shamed by the less liberal sentiment and more conservative attitude on the part of those for whose opinion she cares most. That this is not universally true I am glad to admit. There are to be found both intensely conservative white men and exceedingly liberal colored men. But as far as my experience goes the average man of our race is less frequently ready to admit the actual need among the sturdier forces of the world for woman's help or influence.[13]

Read in retrospect, historical figures and their writings often present themselves to be deeply complex. Both a reflection of and figure of protest against the times, Anna Julia Cooper's writings on race and gender are just that: complex, contradictory, emancipatory, and complicit. While making the case that Black women – as uniquely located due to their race and gender – needed a greater voice in all spheres of social life, Cooper also essentialized women as being inherently different "by nature" and cast Black men as being backwards in comparison to their white counterparts. Cooper's feminist and racial politics represent one of the earliest articulations of the ongoing project of Black feminism(s), and despite what may be perceived today as containing controversial assumptions, are worthy of recognition for being part of an ongoing conversation on how to theorize oppression and social stratification. To fully appreciate the nuances of those contributions, it is first important to understand the context that shaped Cooper's

thinking, including her upbringing, her social milieu, and the opportunities both available and unavailable to her.

Anna Julia Cooper was born into slavery in 1858 in Raleigh, North Carolina. After the Civil War, she received a scholarship to attend St. Augustine's Normal School and Collegiate Institute (also in North Carolina), a center created with the explicit purpose of training teachers to work with former slaves. At St. Augustine's, Cooper proved herself to be an exceptionally bright pupil, whose prowess in both the liberal arts and natural sciences augured the academic accomplishments to come later in her life. While being constantly told to compromise her own education due to her race and gender, Cooper nonetheless eventually obtained a master's degree in mathematics from Oberlin College and later a Ph.D. in history from the University of Paris-Sorbonne.[14]

After completing her formal education, Cooper spent a significant amount of time teaching and later serving as principal at M Street High School in Washington, D.C.[15] There, she and notable anti-slavery activist, poet, and, educator Charlotte Forten Grimké developed a close friendship, and it was during her tenure at the M Street High School that Cooper wrote and published her most famous work, *A Voice from the South*.[16] Within the volume, Cooper voices a position on Black women's particular racial and gender experiences that is often cited as one of the first articulations of Black feminism and as a contribution to the social sciences.[17] Cooper's contention that African-American women should obtain the highest educational and spiritual achievements as possible for the betterment of the entire African-American community parallels Du Bois' "racial uplift" thesis, with an emphasis on women in particular.[18] Often denied the opportunity to publish in mainstream outlets, Cooper participated in a wide range of public scholarship and activism, often self-publishing her own work and spearheading associations like the Colored Women's League.[19]

A recent article entitled "Dear Doctor Du Bois" documents the difficulties Cooper faced in attempting to secure suitable publication outlets for her work by highlighting her correspondences with W.E.B. Du Bois.[20] In laying bare her attempts to achieve a public voice through publication in the *Crisis* magazine, these 33 letters document Cooper's publication efforts and the gatekeeping she faced in her dealings with Du Bois during his tenure as editor of the *Crisis*. Browne[21] referred to Cooper and Du Bois' relationship as being emblematic of the gendered relationship between Black intellectuals during that period more broadly, in which there existed both the possibilities for reciprocity as well as Black men's neglect of or patronizing attitude towards Black women's intellectual labor. Moody-Turner's[22] analysis concurs, stating that Du Bois "... offered his general support to Cooper, but time and again he resisted, neglected, or otherwise failed to assist Cooper in the actual publication of her writing."[23] It is important to note that Cooper and Du Bois were colleagues, contemporaries[24] and intellectual equals who, for example, were both members of the American Negro Academy and

attended the 1900 Pan American Congress in London.[25] While these correspondences may simply reflect the gender inequality that characterized this historical moment, the results of such interactions have had serious consequences for the history of Black Sociology. Moody-Turner goes on to argue that these correspondences:

> ... also [speak] to the often invisible processes through which black women's writings were ostensibly "lost." ... Cooper's "lost" writing underscores the need to read as meaningful that which is missing, silenced, or lost and to recover not only the writings themselves but also the circumstances that led to the disappearance of these writings from our "intellectual histories."[26]

Through these losses her scholarship was denied existence in important publication outlets that would have necessarily shaped our understanding of Black Sociology, particularly the conditions of African-American women. Moreover, we must recognize and embrace the circumstances through which her work was "lost." Those circumstances being, or at least including, resistance from Black male scholars such as Du Bois in allowing her an intellectual space in Black media and literary outlets. While the earlier quotation from *A Voice from the South* may have been ladled with contradictory stances, they also likely reflected her frustration in gaining footing and acknowledgement in Black intellectual spaces seeking to advance the condition of African Americans because of her position as a Black woman. Perhaps a telling quotation from Cooper's work summarizes her feminist politics – a "liberal" feminism – yet one rooted not just in equality across genders but also across several dimensions and intersections of social categorization. Presented at the World's Congress of Representative Women, a week-long convention on women's issues held at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893, Cooper said:

> Now, I think if I could crystallize the sentiment of my constituency, and deliver it as a message to this congress of women, it would be something like this: Let woman's claim be as broad in the concrete as in the abstract. We take our stand on the solidarity of humanity, the oneness of life, and the unnaturalness and injustice of all special favoritisms, whether of sex, race, country, or condition. If one link of the chain be broken, the chain is broken. A bridge is no stronger than its weakest part, and a cause is not worthier than its weakest element. Least of all can woman's cause afford to decry the weak. We want, then, as toilers for the universal triumph of justice and human rights, to go to our homes from this Congress, demanding an entrance not through a gateway for ourselves, our race, our sex, or our sect, but a grand highway for humanity. The colored woman feels that woman's cause is one and universal; and that not till the image of God, whether in parian or

> ebony, is sacred and inviolable; not till race, color, sex, and condition are seen as the accidents, and not the substance of life; not till the universal title of humanity to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness is conceded to be inalienable to all; not till then is woman's lesson taught and woman's cause won – not the white woman's, nor the black woman's, not the red woman's, but the cause of every man and of every woman who has writhed silently under a mighty wrong. Woman's wrongs are thus indissolubly linked with undefended woe, and the acquirement of her "rights" will mean the final triumph of all right over might, the supremacy of the moral forces of reason, and justice, and love in the government of the nations of earth.[27]

Cooper's message is invaluable: one cannot subsume or prioritize one's own oppression derived from particular categories, be it race, class, gender, and so on and so forth, and still achieve full emancipation. While it may have been tempting to merely call for the recognition of and rights for Black women, Cooper's contributions to sociology rely on this broader understanding that oppression works in multitudinous ways which must be tackled holistically, lest it ruin us all.

Another Scholar Reconsidered: Zora Neale Hurston

Unlike Anna Julia Cooper, who is formally recognized as a sociologist, Zora Neale Hurston is perhaps best known for her works of fiction. Hurston was also, however, trained under Franz Boas as an anthropologist, and spent much of her academic career writing about life in the American South, particularly the lives of African Americans.[28] In an effort to take up the general call for interdisciplinarity and to heed Collins' advice to look to storytellers and artists as well as academics to retrieve subjugated knowledges, this chapter also (re)considers Hurston and her writings – both "fiction" and "non-fiction" – as relevant to this discussion on revising the early canon of Black Sociology.

Hurston's ideas, which are often contrasted with Du Bois' stance on racial uplift, frequently spurned efforts to portray African Americans as upright citizens ready to assimilate into mainstream, white America.[29] Rather, Hurston, an ethnographer, felt compelled to portray African Americans in their complexity, fixating on the frequent compromises, contradictions, flaws, beauties, and joys permeating their everyday lives.[30] *Their Eyes Were Watching God*[31] laid bare many of Hurston's implicit feminist and racial politics. Differentiating between the dreams of men and women, Hurston wrote:

> Ships at a distance have every man's wish on board. For some they come in with the tide. For others they sail forever on the same horizon, never out of sight, never landing until the Watcher turns his eyes away in resignation, his dreams mocked to death by Time. That is the life of men. Now, women forget all those things they don't want to remember, and remember everything they don't want to forget. The dream is the truth. Then they act and do things accordingly.[32]

The passage conveys a kind of weary differentiation between men and women. By our interpretation, it could refer to men as those who have the privilege to hope and dream and women as those who must make dreams out of their realities. The specific line "the dream is the truth" almost too pointedly describes what Collins' so passionately calls for, i.e., Black feminism's goal of reclaiming the "truth" produced by subjugated knowledges held by Black women. In another passage from the novel, Hurston makes claims (albeit through her fictionalized characters) about what contemporary gender and feminist scholars would term patriarchal social arrangements, including marriage:

> There are years that ask questions and years that answer. Janie had had no chance to know things, so she had to ask. Did marriage end the cosmic loneliness of the unmated? Did marriage compel love like the sun the day?[33]
>
> The familiar people and things had failed her so she hung over the gate and looked up the road towards way off. She knew now that marriage did not make love. Janie's first dream was dead, so she became a woman?[34]

These two passages display a disavowal of compulsory matrimony on Hurston's part, and the novel as a whole attempts to largely crack open the many violences that can permeate traditional marriage as a model of couplehood, particularly for (Black) women.[35] This passage and the following could easily slot into queer theories rejecting heterosexual marital arrangements, reclaiming joy and pleasure for those who have historically been robbed of their sexual autonomy. In her famous "pear tree" scene, Hurston frankly depicts sexual pleasure as something that is unapologetically available to Black women, absent of coercion or shame:

> She was stretched on her back beneath the pear tree soaking in the alto chant of the visiting bees, the gold of the sun and the panting breath of the breeze when the inaudible voice of it all came to her. She saw a dust-bearing bee sink into the sanctum of a bloom; the thousand sister-calyxes arch to meet the love embrace and the ecstatic shiver of the tree from root to tiniest branch creaming in every blossom and frothing with delight.[36]

Much of Hurston's politics derived directly from her own biographical experiences. Born in 1891 in Alabama, Hurston eventually moved with her family to Eatonville, Florida – one of the first all-Black towns to be

incorporated into the United States – a town where her father served as mayor and preacher of its largest church.[37]

Hurston's later life was characterized by her associations with literary and academic giants, particularly those prolific during the Harlem Renaissance and in Anthropology, respectively.[38] In 1918, Hurston attended Howard University, where she notably became one of the earliest initiates of Zhi Phi Beta, co-founded the student newspaper *The Hilltop*, and wrote a short story that earned her entry into Alaine Locke's literary club, *The Stylus*. She eventually decided to leave Howard for a scholarship to attend Barnard College of Columbia University, where she earned a bachelor's degree in Anthropology. Following that, she began graduate school in Anthropology, working under Franz Boas and alongside Margaret Mead.[39] Much of her anthropological work was spent in the Caribbean and American South studying the role of racism and the legacy of slavery in shaping the distinct cultural forms found in those areas, with specific subjects ranging from voodoo to what was referred to as "paramour rights," i.e., the practice that enabled elite white men to take Black women as sexual concubines, including the right to have them bear their children.[40] While living in Harlem, Hurston also became enmeshed in the thriving arts scene active there at the time, notably becoming close friends with Langston Hughes and Countee Cullen.[41] While Hurston's contributions have been more greatly recognized posthumously, it seems apparent that works like *Their Eyes Were Watching God* will continue to deeply shape our conversations around how race and gender are entwined in the American imaginary.[42]

Like Cooper, Hurston was also a contemporary of W.E.B Du Bois, albeit a bit younger.[43] They, along with other authors, helped to form the nucleus of the Harlem Renaissance. Correspondences between the two show a mutual admiration for their work as writers. However, as discussed earlier, they had strong political differences, particularly in regards to race relations and racial advancement. In her biographic work on Hurston, Carla Kaplan[44] provides an interesting example of these differences in practice. In the late 1940s Hurston was commissioned to write an encyclopedia entry in the *Encyclopedia Americana* that would replace Du Bois' entry on Blacks in the United States that had been in the encyclopedia (with updates and revisions since 1904). She used this entry to celebrate Booker T. Washington, a known intellectual and political adversary of Du Bois, and to challenge what she interpreted as elitism in the writings of Du Bois in regards to pathways to racial advancement. Unlike Du Bois, Hurston sought to amplify the voices of non-elite African Americans rather than disregard them prima facie as being backwards, uneducated, and misguided. Hurston found no comfort in the racial project spearheaded by the likes of Du Bois and other elite African Americans, finding their self-appointed role in helping their poorer, less-educated counterparts to be dismissive and disingenuous.[45]

Kaplan[46] notes that although encyclopedia writing is considered routine for writers, Hurston saw this as a great honor because her work would

replace that of Du Bois. Like other Black women scholars of the time, whose work was often denied appearance in many publications outlets, this may have been particularly meaningful. Moreover, her interpretation of Black social and political life diverged from those of Du Bois, and she was given the opportunity and authority to provide additional perspectives on Black American life. The content of this encyclopedia entry also speaks to our need as sociologists to reclaim Hurston not just as an important non-fiction and fiction writer and anthropologist, but also a sociologist who helped to shape how we are to understand Black American life in all of its forms. That she found herself in direct conversation with Du Bois is a crucial detail given that contemporary calls to reclaim Du Bois' legacy abound yet recognition of Hurston's sociological contributions are largely nonexistent.[47]

Hurston's[48] essay "How It Feels to Be Colored Me" also highlights her ability to encapsulate the complex of identity of Black American women and well as links between racial identities to racialized emotions.

> Someone is always at my elbow reminding me that I am the granddaughter of slaves. It fails to register depression with me. Slavery is sixty years in the past. The operation was successful and the patient is doing well, thank you. The terrible struggle that made me an American out of a potential slave said "On the line!" The Reconstruction said "Get set!" and the generation before said "Go!" I am off to a flying start and I must not halt in the stretch to look behind and weep. Slavery is the price I paid for civilization, and the choice was not with me. It is a bully adventure and worth all that I have paid through my ancestors for it. No one on earth ever had a greater chance for glory. The world to be won and nothing to be lost. It is thrilling to think—to know that for any act of mine, I shall get twice as much praise or twice as much blame. It is quite exciting to hold the center of the national stage, with the spectators not knowing whether to laugh or to weep ... The position of my white neighbor is much more difficult. No brown specter pulls up a chair beside me when I sit down to eat. No dark ghost thrusts its leg against mine in bed. The game of keeping what one has is never so exciting as the game of getting.[49]

While the quotation could be interpreted as a neoliberal logic (i.e., taking it upon oneself to makes one's opportunities), the bootstrap mentality ignores the racialized history of holding such beliefs. That Hurston writes that slavery was not a "choice ... with [her]" is significant as is her decision to be joyful and to suggest the emotional burdens of the pain and guilt of slavery should be borne by whites. Her claim that her future potential is all the brighter given her starting point is a sentiment that attempts to reclaim her autonomy and to repudiate history, which perhaps best represents Hurston's feminist and racial politics more than anything.

Conclusion: Reclaiming Our Black Women Scholars

Anna Julia Copper and Zora Neale Hurston represent Black women scholars that are important to our history as Black sociologists. Though a growing body of work has begun to recognize the important role that these women have played in shaping intellectual and political thought,[50] we feel it is imperative that we reclaim and reconsider their role in shaping the discipline of sociology.[51] Indeed, the originals of sociology need to move beyond simple tropes like the "fathers of sociology" and "fathers of Black sociology" to be more expansive and truthful about our history. In a time when we are reclaiming the scholarship of marginalized voices in our field, we cannot forget the women and others frequently pushed to the margins of legitimate recognition.

It is hard to quantify the implications that the denial of their scholarship has had on our field. We cannot help but wonder if we were to ask current Black women sociologists to name the most influential Black scholars, whose names would we/they include? Would we say their names or the names of others like them? At the very least, acknowledging the work of these women can allow young Black women sociologists to know a truer history of our discipline – to see themselves in a field that purports to study and understand inequality yet often continues to perpetuate it. Acknowledging these women, their methods of investigation, and their creation of knowledge can also help to shape the way we approach research and the forms of knowledge that are valued. Drawing from the insights of Cooper and Hurston we can continue to put Black women in the center of our work in sociology.

It is our hope that this chapter allows us to reconsider how we have viewed our history as Black sociologists. It is neither meant to ignore the denials of scholarship faced by Black men nor to suggest that Cooper and Hurston were the only Black women in our sociological history that deserve attention. Indeed, there are many more women who could also fill the pages of this chapter. It is a call for us to be more critical of what we have been told about sociology and more open to and in search of what we have not been told. What have we lost and can we reclaim it? We believe that we can and we must fight to do so in order for sociology to enrich its texts and theoretical perspectives.

We would be remiss if we did not acknowledge the pivotal role of Black feminist scholars in the reclamation and rise of women like Cooper and Hurston as intellectual subjects and feminist icons.[52] We owe a lot to these women in shaping our thinking of Black women and their contribution to multiple disciplines, including those in the social sciences. They have and continue to help illuminate knowledges that have been lost or ignored. They are brave women who conjure the ghosts so that we can say their names.

Notes

1 Blackwell, James E., and Morris Janowitz. 1975. *Black Sociologists: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*. University of Chicago Press.
2 We recognize that there exist radical alternative spellings of the term (e.g., womyn, womxn, etc.) that aim to deconstruct the traditional spelling's compulsory gender binary. We use the traditional spelling for "woman/women" intentionally in order to signal our own identification (and consequent privileges) from being cisgender women.
3 Blackwell and Janowitz, 1975.
4 Morris, Aldon. 2015. *The Scholar Denied*. University of California Press. www.ucpress.edu/book.php?isbn=9780520276352.
5 Platt, Anthony. 1991. *E. Franklin Frazier Reconsidered*. Rutgers University Press. https://www.abebooks.com/E-Franklin-Frazier-Reconsidered-Platt-Anthony/18216363101/bd.
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7 Crenshaw, Kimberlé, Andrea J. Ritchie, Rachel Anspach, Rachel Gilmer, and Luke Harris. 2016. *Say Her Name: Resisting Police Brutality against Black Women*. African American Policy Forum, Center for Intersectionality and Social Policy Studies.
8 Foucault, Michel. 1990 [1976]. *The History of Sexuality*, Vol. 1: *An Introduction*. Translated by Robert Hurley. Reissue edition. New York: Vintage.
9 Power is defined here according to Foucault's conceptualization: as diffuse rather than centralized, embodied rather than owned, discursive rather than solely coercive, and so forth. Since we are using Foucault's own concept of subjugated knowledges, we assume his associated conceptualization of power.
10 Collins, Patricia Hill. 2008 [1990]. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. 1st edition. New York: Routledge.
11 Ibid.
12 Gordon, Avery F. 2008 [1997]. *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*. 2nd edition. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
13 Cooper, Anna Julia. 1988 [1892]. *A Voice from the South*. Oxford University Press, 134–135.
14 Gabel, Leona C. 1982. *From Slavery to the Sorbonne and Beyond: The Life and Writings of Anna J. Cooper*. Northampton, MA: Smith College Library.
15 Chateauvert, Melinda. 1990. "The Third Step: Anna Julia Cooper and Black Education in the District of Columbia, 1910–1960." In *Black Women in United States History: The Twentieth Century*, edited by Darlene Clark Hine, 5:261–76. Brooklyn: Carlson.
16 Cooper, 1988 [1892].
17 See Guy-Sheftall 2010; Baker-Fletcher 1994; May and Guy-Sheftall 2007; Giles 2006.
18 See Alridge 2007; Bailey 2004; Johnson 2013.
19 Moody-Turner, Shirley. 2015. "'Dear Doctor Du Bois': Anna Julia Cooper, W. E. B. Du Bois, and the Gender Politics of Black Publishing." *MELUS* 40 (3): 47–68. doi:10.1093/melus/mlv029.
20 Ibid.
21 Browne, Errol Tsekani. 2008. *Anna Julia Cooper and Black Women's Intellectual Tradition: Race, Gender and Nation in the Making of a Modern Race Woman, 1892–1925*.
22 Moody-Turner, 2015.
23 Ibid., 48.

24 Anna Julia Cooper was born a decade earlier than W.E.B. Dubois (Barber, Inniss, and Hunt 1998).
25 "Today in History: Anna Julia Cooper Writes to W.E.B. Du Bois" 2012.
26 Moody-Turner, 2015, 54.
27 Sewall, May Wright. 1894. *The World's Congress of Representative Women.* Rand, McNally, 711–715.
28 See Witcover 1994; Hurston 2009b, 2009a.
29 Carby, Hazel. 1991. "The Politics of Fiction, Anthropology, and the Folk: Zora Neale Hurston." Edited by Harold Bloom. *Zora Neale Hurston's Their Eyes Were Watching God*, 23–40.
30 Harrison, Beth. 1996. "Zora Neale Hurston and Mary Austin: A Case Study in Ethnography, Literary Modernism, and Contemporary Ethnic Fiction." *MELUS* 21 (2): 89–106. doi:10.2307/467952.
31 Hurston 2006b [1937]. *Their Eyes Were Watching God: A Novel.* Reissue edition. Harper Perennial Modern Classics.
32 Ibid., 1.
33 Ibid., 25.
34 Ibid., 30.
35 duCille, Ann. 1993. "The Coupling Convention: Sex, Text, and Tradition in Black Women's Fiction." *English Department Books*, November. http://wesscholar.wesleyan.edu/englbooks/30.
36 Ibid., 13.
37 Hurston, Zora Neale. 2015 [1928]. *How It Feels to Be Colored Me.* Carlisle, MA: Applewood Books.
38 See Manuel 2001; Hurston 2006a.
39 Boyd, Valerie. 2004. *Wrapped in Rainbows: The Life of Zora Neale Hurston.* Reprint edition. Princeton, NJ: Scribner.
40 See Ellis Jr. 2009; Hurston 2009c.
41 Boyd, 2004.
42 See Awkward 1990; Jennings 2013.
43 Zora Neale Hurston was born 23 years after Du Bois (Barber, Inniss, and Hunt 1998).
44 Kaplan, Carla. 2003. *Zora Neale Hurston: A Life in Letters.* New York: Anchor.
45 To be sure, both Hurston and Du Bois were strong advocates of African American rights and the acceptance of Blacks into society and bringing to bear the racism that impeded these projects. Indeed, there was also a good deal of overlap in the content of their entries, particularly in regards to voting, disenfranchisement, lynching and segregation (Kaplan 2003).
46 Kaplan, 2003.
47 It should be noted that Charles S. Johnson was highly supportive of Hurston's literary work early in her career. He published her second short story in *Opportunity* magazine during his tenure as editor. He further promoted her career by prompting her to enter the magazine's first literary contest in 1925 and to come to New York to join the "New Negro" Renaissance (Kaplan 2003).
48 Hurston (2015 [1928]).
49 Ibid., 15–16.
50 Moody-Turner and Stewart, 2010.
51 Lengermann, Patricia Madoo, and Gillian Niebrugge. 2006. *The Women Founders: Sociology and Social Theory 1830–1930: A Text/Reader.* Waveland Press.
52 See Walker 1975; Glass 2005; Collins 2008; Christian 1987.

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