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MISSING TRADITIONS OF BLACK CURRICULAR THOUGHT

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Black Intellectual Thought in Education: The Missing Traditions of Anna Julia Cooper, Carter G. Woodson, and Alain LeRoy Locke
Carl A. Grant, Keffrelyn D. Brown, and Anthony Brown / Routledge / 2016

I come to this book as a White scholar who identifies as both learning and curriculum theorist, who has intersected with the world of curriculum theory primarily as a student of pragmatists such as John Dewey and Maxine Greene. *Black Intellectual Thought in Education: The Missing Traditions of Anna Julia Cooper, Carter G. Woodson, and Alain LeRoy Locke* spoke with power to my world, as it clearly will to the scholarly lives of many others.

All three of these early 20th century scholars pointedly addressed the central issues at stake for U.S. educators in the brutal aftermath of the abandonment of Reconstruction. In so doing, they provide essential context for the abstract philosophizing of the White progressives and pragmatists of that era. Indeed, in taking constructs such as human equality, intellectual freedom, and cultural pluralism seriously relative to their present circumstances and the unfolding promise of their people in this country, Cooper, Woodson, and Locke have provided insight and direction that continues to be relevant and necessary today.

Grant, Brown, and Brown begin with some overarching observations about Black intellectual thought, including that it "at its core is counter-hegemonic" and that it "emerges out of an imaging by Black people of their full potential in spite of normative White domination" (p. xvi-xvii). Certainly, in reading this book, one comes to appreciate the extent to which these commitments drove the work of the intellectuals discussed here. Learning of their labors and writings, one cannot help but share in the authors' consternation and disbelief that these figures would not have been deeply woven into the U. S. curricular canon before now.

The authors also draw on Holt (1995) and Outlaw (2005) to argue that "… Black intellectual thought is both *experience* and *thought*" (p. xviii, emphasis original). As this text repeatedly

reminds, Black intellectual thought emerges in this country in response to a highly specific, universally shared, and extraordinarily harsh set of experiences. In rejecting the ignorant and demeaning constructions of their heritages and promise promulgated by the White cultural elite, Black intellectuals have often turned to original analysis of their lived experience—and to their personal knowledge of the worth of their people—in order to create cultural resources capable of nurturing new forms of self-understanding and racial pride.

As demonstrated throughout this volume, the profound interpenetration of scholarly study and experientially grounded analysis and insight that distinguished the scholarship of all three of these intellectuals resulted not only in the development of valuable cultural resources, but also in the conceptualization of original and contextually responsive approaches to both scholarship and activism. The authors' sensitive sociological framing of these contributions suggests the ways in which this developed relationship between experience and thought in the work of these intellectuals can continue to inform methodological commitments that remain at issue for curriculum theorists today.

Among the three intellectuals discussed here, the historian Carter G. Woodson might be deemed the consummate exemplar of academic scholar as curricular activist due to his sustained devotion both to creating a missing body of scholarly knowledge and to giving that knowledge meaningful expression within schools. As Wesley and Perry (2010) have noted, Woodson declined more secure and prestigious academic appointments in order to devote himself to a career of curricular activism.

Due to his strategic and lifelong alternation of scholarly and practice-based projects, Woodson is also likely the most well-known educational theorist. In earlier work, King and Brown (2015) had advanced the notion, revisited here, of a Woodsonian curricular framework for the teaching of Black history based on what they identified to be the three essential pillars of Woodson's project: "Teachers should develop their curriculum and pedagogy through approaching Black history as *critical and scientific, practical and relevant, and global*" (p. 27; also cited in Grant, Brown, and Brown, p. 107, emphasis added). As they suggest, this framework remains largely unrealized within most U.S. schools today.

A Harvard-educated historian, Woodson also strove throughout his life to construct probing and balanced accountings of African life and of the people of the African diaspora. Woodson's early text, *The Negro in Our History* (1922), provided a valuable scholarly synthesis of Reverend George Washington Williams' (1883) earlier two-volume study (Kelley, 1999). In addition to his other efforts, Woodson would continue to publish historical articles and monographs with titles such as *A Century of Negro Migration* (1918) and *The History of the Negro Church* (1927). As also reflected in the pedagogical framework King and Brown (2015) proposed, Woodson's scholarship placed Black American history within the broader contexts of African history and the history of the African diaspora. Kelley (1999) has argued that as an early leading historian

of Black experience, Woodson helped to propel the farsighted adoption among Black intellectuals of international and transnational perspectives at a time when White historiography "was largely rooted in racism, manifest destiny, social Darwinism, and imperialism" (p. 1050).

This transformative shift to the study of broader human contexts can be understood both as a response to the violence with which the Atlantic slave trade had sundered ties to the birth cultures of those enslaved, and as a rejection of the vainglorious and ideologically driven narratives of Euro-American scholars of the time. Early Black scholars such as Woodson, who had pursued their educations in elite White academies, found themselves positioned as both fluent insiders and cultural outsiders relative to the prevailing paradigms of their time. As the histories Grant, Brown, and Brown recount demonstrate, the resulting dissonance these scholars experienced provoked analyses and insights capable of disrupting those paradigms and of dismantling the historical assumptions and cultural prejudices underlying them.

Given that White academics were not, as he put it, "interested in the Negro", Woodson spearheaded the founding of the *Association of Negro Life and History* in 1915 and soon after launched an academic journal, *Journal of Negro History*, to provide a venue for historical narratives reflecting the highest scholarly standards. This journal continues to be published over a century later under the name *Journal of African American History*. As the authors state, Woodson recognized that "the process of revising and repudiating the symbolic violence within the history and curriculum of the Negro would require the development of a comprehensive curricular project organized on multiple planes—academic journals, textbooks, community gatherings, and teacher training" (p. 94).

The Association therefore created "a publishing press, K-12 curriculum materials, a teacher education correspondence course, a week devoted to Black History, and a Black History journal called the *Negro Bulletin*, all designed to making history accessible to teachers, students, and the general public" (p. 95). In the *Negro Bulletin*, Woodson directly addressed Black educators about his philosophy of education and informed them about emerging scholarly understandings regarding the histories of African peoples and the accomplishments of people of the African diaspora. In support of his efforts, Woodson evoked the disturbing consequences of abandoning young children to the pervasive cultural misrepresentations and grotesque caricatures of African-Americans that saturated both the popular and academic cultures of his time.[i]

The authors also state that Woodson's successful establishment of Negro History Week, the progenitor of what has now become Black History Month, stands among Woodson's proudest achievements. While, again, one might expect Black history to have by now assumed its natural place as an interwoven strand of U.S. history (King & Brown, 2015), in fact, frank and critical consideration of the nation's racial past and present remains rare within U.S. schools.

The satisfaction with which Woodson apparently viewed his successful start on introducing scholarly historical understandings about Black America can be seen as reflecting his activist impulse to view shifts in the quality of school practice as comparable in significance to the contributions one might make as a scholar.

In addition to the Woodsonian framework King and Brown (2015) had advanced for teaching Black history, Grant, Brown, and Brown propose here that Woodson also be recognized for providing a "tripartite critical framework" that theorized and addressed the "nullifying, hidden, and agentic aspects of curriculum" (p. 105) roughly half a century before these terms were advanced by Eliot Eisner and popularized by (White) scholars in the 1980s. Again, this analysis provides another example of insights grounded in the lived realities of Black people—and given resonant meaning through those realities—that can also offer valuable perspective on ongoing efforts to integrate critical lenses such as these today.

Remarkably, Woodson also found time to offer scholarly analysis of the structural forces that so effectively limited the educational and occupational opportunities of his people. His well-known construct of 'the miseducation of the Negro' (2010/1930) remains instructive today. Rather than engaging the prominent debate of the period regarding the appropriate *type* of education for the Negro, Woodson constructed a comprehensive and multi-tiered critique of the ultimate inadequacies of every form of educational opportunity that had been made available to Black Americans in the decades since Emancipation. The enduring power of this critique is suggested by the following quotation:

> For the white man's exploitation of the Negro through economic restriction and segregation the present system is sound and will doubtless continue until this gives place to the saner policy of actual interracial cooperation—not the present farce of racial manipulation in which the Negro is a figurehead. (Woodson, 2010/1930, p. 27)

The philosopher Alain Locke shared Woodson's commitment to researching and popularizing African history as one essential feature of the work of elevating the cultural stature and fostering the self-regard of all Black Americans. Although both scholars viewed race as a social construction, they aligned themselves with other Black intellectuals of their time—including DuBois—in viewing the reconstruction and reclaiming of a retrievable African past as vital to the work of securing a strong sense of cultural identity within the diasporic future.

A brilliant philosopher and inspired aesthete—the first Black American to study in Europe as a Rhodes scholar—Locke focused his contributions to this project within the philosophy of pragmatism and the worlds of African and African-American art. As a pragmatist,[ii] Locke identified a more curious and critical worldview as all that might save culturally diverse democracies from themselves. People needed to learn to see beyond the provincialisms of

their home community and to value the perspective that comes with being able to view human experience through a broader cultural lens. In collaboration with a Jewish colleague, Horace Kallen, Locke reframed and further developed James' concept of *cultural pluralism*. In keeping with his trans-cultural perspective on human experience, Locke framed the term in more profoundly transactional terms than even Kallen—positioning tolerance as a necessary *condition*, rather than desired end state, of inter-cultural exchanges (McKenna & Pratt, 2015).

In order to scaffold meaningful cross-cultural transaction, Locke outlined principled processes through which people might learn to compare and contrast different values and practices in a dispassionate manner. Drawing on an established area of philosophical study called *value theory*, Locke sought to operationalize the formal abstractions he found there. For example, he called for value contrasts between opposed actors to be considered from within three different contexts: each of the two socio-cultural frameworks from which those actors' competing value claims originated and the grounded circumstances within which the conflict between them arose. By practicing and growing comfortable with this three-phase process, Locke believed that people might come to appreciate the relative values of various diverse cultural forms.

Based on this highly original and hopeful notion, Locke went on to develop methodical and contextualized forms of reasoning for scholars and educators to employ during contested processes of normative knowledge construction within their professional settings. He found that "three working principles seem to be derivable for a more objective and scientific understanding of human cultures and for the more reasonable control of their interrelationships" (Locke, in Harris, ed., p. 73). One needs to: 1) focus on "functional similarities" in the expressions of divergent cultures rather than on their differences; 2) appreciate the extent to which cultural influences have moved between cultural groups and therefore not evaluate the worth of cultures as totalities, but rather undertake more limited comparisons; 3) appreciate that cultures must change and adapt on their own terms, and that no single set of cultural understandings or practices possesses universal applicability.

In their discussion, Grant, Brown, & Brown (pp. 128-130) emphasize that Locke intended for these new forms of reasoning to be taught in PK-12 schools and adult education settings, and to replace existing forms of formal logic and reasoning, which he found sterile. In particular, the authors draw attention to an article from 1935 in which they find that "Locke offers a particularly succinct and practice-oriented series of steps that a teacher might take in a classroom to help students critically reflect on and expand their value mind-set" (p. 129). Clearly, such a resource can be seen as responsive to calls that many contemporary philosophers of democratic education (e.g., Biesta, 2014; Green, 2000; Greene, 1988) have made for more regular and systematic analysis of and reflection upon the irreducible human differences that find expression within classrooms and broader school communities.[iii]

In a curriculum he co-authored, *When Peoples Meet: A Study in Race and Culture Contact* (1946), which was published by the Progressive Educational Association, Locke sought to strike a dynamic balance between the need for *all* people to embrace the challenge of learning from *all* other cultures and the importance of respecting and valuing the integrity of one's own culture and those of others. Explicitly engaging the question of cultural domination and subjugation, Locke insisted on a need for democratic citizens to recognize the implicit bidirectionality of all cross-cultural transactions *while also* recognizing each historically distinct culture as a holistic interpretive framework with distinguishing capacities and contributions of its own.

Locke, then, not only *theorized* the grounded implications of abstract philosophical claims for his polyglot and segregationist country, he also formulated practical approaches to realizing those implications within the social world. The bold and experimental character of Locke's philosophical work again likely follows, as the authors also suggest, from the continual and often acute episodes of rejection and alienation that Locke experienced as a highly educated Black intellectual of his time. Locke worked from within a deeply personal apprehension of the devastating limitations of many of the prevailing assumptions of the cultural context into which he had been born. As a result, Locke's pragmatism can arguably be seen as more fully imagined in relation to the needs of his society—as well as more deeply lived—than those of his more renowned contemporaries, such as John Dewey (see also, Margolis, 2007).

The authors term Locke's call for all people to become more cosmopolitan in these ways "strident," (p. 129). Certainly, it was daring and idealistic, perhaps impossibly so; and certainly, too, Locke appreciated all that militated against the possibility:

> Considerable political and cultural dogmatism, in the form of culture bias, nation worship, and racism, still stands in the way and must first be invalidated and abandoned. In sum, if we refuse to orient ourselves courageously and intelligently to a universe of peoples and cultures, and continue to base our prime values on fractional segments of nation, race, sect, or particular types of institutional culture, there is indeed little or no hope for a stable world order of any kind—democratic or otherwise. (Locke, in Harris, ed., 1989, p. 63)

When fired from his faculty position at Howard University for organizing to equalize pay scales between Black and White faculty members, Locke gravitated to the cultural ferment underway in Harlem. He is now widely recognized as the central theorist and a key galvanizing force of what became known as the Harlem Renaissance. His edited assemblage of Black scholarship, visual art, spirituals, and poetry, *The New Negro* (1925), introduced a radically reimagined conception of the hybrid possibilities of Black intellectual identity. As in his philosophical work, Locke situated his considerations of these labors and all they promised into relationship with the established cultural landscape, creating a place for Black artistic and scholarly contributions where none had been granted.

A recent theorist of the Harlem Renaissance has framed Locke's philosophical project in terms that also apply to Locke's scholarship in the arts:

> The master codes and rhetorical forms of the world of philosophy [Locke] entered were re-formed and encoded with messages that were arguably warranted and allowed space for African people. (Baker, 1987; cited in Harris, ed., 1989, p. 12)

The authors appear to align themselves with this perspective on work that has been criticized by others as elitist, accommodationist and, by DuBois, as romantic. In contrast to DuBois, Locke believed in the capacity of the arts to transform human values and perceptions. And although he maintained the traditional theoretical distinction between folk and high art, he saw the two as connected and in continuous interplay: he is said to have found Black folk culture, in particular, "a source of sophisticated and universally valuable aesthetic products" (Harris, ed., p. 90).

As the authors discuss, Woodson, Locke, and Cooper all worked "within a societal space philosophically derived from Modernist ideals of democracy and natural rights" (Grant, Brown, and Brown, p. xviii). Alongside other Black U.S. activists and scholars, these intellectuals seized on the concepts of human equality and freedom as tools with which to stake a place for themselves and their people within their hostile native land. Questions regarding the extent to which their more capacious (and coherent) reconstructions of what were originally elitist, racist, and gendered constructs are to be most appropriately framed as warranted and true, strategic and necessary, or as accommodationist and suspect remain contested today.

In particular, Cooper's fluent use of Victorian tropes regarding an essential feminine nature and its characteristic expressions has been criticized by some feminist scholars. More recently, however, other scholars have demonstrated the ways in which Cooper drew upon these constructs to stir the feelings of her audience and to align them with her purposes before pivoting to reveal their internal contradictions vis a vis race (May, 2012).

Cooper, who had an active religious life, also commonly employed Christian lessons as frameworks with which to expose and denounce her country's egregious hypocrisies and indecencies. While her creative employments of Christian scripture to these ends tended to be less thundering and apocalyptic than the related references of Frederick Douglass (Blight, 2018), they were no less penetrating. As the authors argue:

> Cooper's art of rhetorical advocacy is a valuable contribution to academic scholarship, especially to social justice and multicultural advocates. It begs to be studied. … In her presentations Cooper contextualizes her argument, takes into account the moment the

> audience is living in, establishes dialogic relationship with the people, and invites them into her oratory. (Grant, Brown, & Brown, 2016, pp. 43-44)

Cooper, born into slavery, took eagerly to schooling when it became available to her as a young girl during Reconstruction, successfully petitioning to take the male course of study at St. Augustine's Normal School and eventually serving as a student-teacher there. Cooper went on to study Latin, Greek, and French languages and literatures at Oberlin College and then taught for a number of years before returning to Oberlin to earn a Master's in degree in mathematics. Teaching was to become Cooper's lifelong commitment and passion: she taught at and eventually led the highly regarded Preparatory High School for Colored Youth in Washington D. C., also known as M Street, for most of her long career.

While teaching, Cooper wrote and published what remains her most well-known work, a collection of essays entitled *A Voice from the South* ([Cooper, 1892] reprinted in Lemert & Bhan, eds., 1998). This work can be seen today as an early contribution to reconfiguring the boundaries of social science research, even as these were taking form within the U.S. Drawing upon autobiography, history, social science, and literature, Cooper portrayed and analyzed the debilitating limitations she experienced as a Black woman of her time, leading her to theorize the intersecting relations between gender, race, and class in an original manner. The authors cite what are perhaps Cooper's most well-known words, "The colored woman … is confronted by both a women question and a race problem, and is as yet an unknown or unacknowledged factor in both" (Lemert & Bhan, eds., 1998, p. 134, cited in Grant, Brown, and Brown, p. 55).

The authors also argue that Cooper was among the first to demonstrate the power of narrative forms of representation and research as means for countering what she recognized to be the supremacist distortions of prevailing forms of social science research. As an educator and activist, Cooper challenged the racist and misogynist assumptions of White male intellectuals and their self-aggrandizing constructions of concepts such as "civilization" and "intelligence" and cautioned against internalizing the regressive visions of male strength and power found within the White community. Instead, Cooper called on Black students of both genders to create new conceptions of knowledge grounded in their lived realities and understandings and a sense of their own self-worth. She viewed the implications of race, gender, and class as indivisible within the context of any one life and insisted on the equal worth and political claims of every soul at a time of fierce rivalries between those championing, for example, the voting rights of White women and Black men.

Cooper continued to speak and to publish late into her long life; yet historically her work has rarely been cited, even when compared to her Black male and White female peers, who were themselves marginalized. Vivian May (2012), who has written what is arguably the most thoroughgoing scholarly consideration of the full body of Cooper's writings, asks why

Cooper's critique of male-centered reason is not cited alongside those of Wollstonecraft and de Beauvoir (p. 3). Lemert and Bhan (1998) have argued that Cooper's scholarship in political theory, which culminated in a doctoral degree at the Sorbonne on the Haitian revolution's role in the evolution of French revolutionary ideals, "anticipates by nearly fifty years the key terms of today's dependency theory of global economy" (p. 269).

May and others have suggested that multiple factors interacted to limit attention to Cooper's work both during her lifetime and since. As is often the case today, Cooper's position as a fulltime teacher likely diminished her intellectual status in the eyes of some, and her consuming teaching schedule kept her from attending professional meetings and conferences during the school year. Gender also created other barriers, as Kelley (1999) suggests below.[iv]

> Black women intellectuals such as Ida B. Wells-Barnett and Anna Julia Cooper, whose work and ideas tended to be marginalized by black male scholars and activists, provided a historical vision that would be taken up (if not acknowledged) by future generations of scholars. Their writings often espoused an international vision—attacking colonial expansion in Africa and Asia and arguing that domestic racist ideology is in part a product of imperialism. (p. 1053)

In addition, of course, the demands of teaching and the restrictions of gender operated within a culture of blatant and unapologetic racism, which obstructed Cooper at every turn—including barring her from receiving fellowships and grants that might have otherwise been available.

As little recognition as Cooper's scholarship has historically received, Grant, Brown, and Brown argue that even less attention has been given to Cooper's pedagogical methods, which incorporated demanding academic standards and were developed and realized within fraught and often openly oppositional political circumstances over the course of nearly 60 years. May (2007) suggests that Cooper's pedagogy was constructivist in approach and radical in its insistence on teaching academically serious material to students of all economic classes and life circumstances. With Woodson, Cooper argued that all types of education "be they classical, professional, or vocational, part-time or fulltime, should be sites for liberation" (May, 2007, p. 64). This orienting commitment to the intellectual liberation of all is also suggested by Cooper's translation and use of her own doctoral thesis in coursework at Frelinghuysen University, which was established for working men and women without the resources to study fulltime, and where Cooper served as president and professor after her retirement from M Street.

Today, as the authors note, scholars are returning to Cooper's writings, having located within them early iterations of contemporary lines of argument regarding the intersections of race, gender, and class. This growing awareness has emerged at a time when the role of women of

color in advancing strategically sophisticated approaches to seeing both *with* and *beyond* difference is also becoming more widely recognized. I have elsewhere proposed, for example, that Chela Sandoval's (2000) challenging synthesis of the methodological insights of third-world U.S. feminists might provide resources for avoiding the ways in which competing intellectual commitments, such as those reflected in the canon controversy of recent years, have weakened and splintered the Reconceptualist curriculum community (Mayer, 2016).

The inclusive, large-minded, and politically pragmatic orientation of Sandoval's work and that of other contemporary feminist scholars of color can also be heard in Cooper's writings. Philosophers Erin McKenna and Scott Pratt (2015) count Cooper among a handful of 19th century Black, White female, and indigenous activists who first spoke out about the value of human pluralism in terms that were to find echoes in the work of the later, academically canonized, pragmatist philosophers. In their theorizing of the development of a distinctively American school of philosophy—one they see as inclusive of but not limited to that later strand of (White, male) pragmatist thought—McKenna and Pratt (2015) position Cooper as a founding scholar.

Cooper was born 17 years before Woodson and 28 years before Locke and died in l964, having outlived both men. Although the lives of these three intellectuals overlapped, the authors do not explore their interactions other than a brief mention of a book by Woodson that was proposed for a series Locke developed, but never written (pp. 142-143). Certainly, though, the authors' evocative reconstruction of the lives and work of these three commanding intellectuals provokes further interest in those generative Black spaces that served to sustain these historically significant endeavors at so forbidding a time in this nation's history.

By sensitively situating these three intellectual histories within that period, Grant, Brown, and Brown do reveal the extent to which progressive White intellectuals of the time failed to recognize these accomplished Black scholars as their colleagues—or even as valuable intellectual resources. That the work of Woodson, Locke, and Cooper should have gone so utterly missing in the thought of progressive White educational theorists of the time—even in respect to the daunting challenges involved in educating and socially integrating the nation's freed Black population—raises unsettling questions about how pressing, and even desirable, those White scholars thought racial integration to be. As Margonis (2007), among others, has argued, this historic refusal on the part of White academics to attend to the work of their Black contemporaries has created self-imposed and self-enforced epistemologies of White ignorance that endure today.

With this volume, Grant, Brown, and Brown challenge their readers to confront the voids within White scholarship where consideration of the issues raised, and insights generated, by these three intellectuals should have been. As a student of John Dewey's, I have struggled to imagine how Dewey could have written so prolifically across this entire historical period and

yet failed, in any meaningful manner, to address either the work of his Black contemporaries or the racial controversies and turmoil of his time. Now, having read this book, I've come to imagine what I had been viewing as an incomprehensible vacuum as nothing more nor less than the predictable result of Dewey's unexamined deference to the totalizing segregationist worldview of the White academic culture of his time.

In concluding, Grant, Brown, and Brown offer several themes that they see as common to the three traditions of work they have discussed:

- A concern with humanizing Black lives and promoting their flourishing;
- A focus on positioning Black people as integral to the U. S. democratic experience;
- A lifelong dedication to developing and promoting educational experiences that supported the healthy identity development of those of the African diaspora.

This work, as we know, continues (e.g., Bazile, 2018; Berry, 2018). Calls for greater educational equity—cast and recast in recent years by prominent educational conferences and journals—invite a return to the insights of Cooper, Woodson, Locke and to those of their contemporaries who also dedicated their lives to naming, theorizing, and redressing the systematic expressions of racial prejudice and bigotry that limited then and limit today the educational horizons of children and young people of color in this country.

As scholars and activists who persevered within the direst of circumstances, Cooper, Woodson, and Locke can also teach much about the self-possession, tenacity, and sheer inventiveness required to enact transformative forms of pedagogical praxis in our time. In discussing their reasons for writing this volume, Grant, Brown, and Brown reflect upon how much it would have meant to them to encounter the work of these early American thinkers and dreamers in the course of their own studies. Indeed, their book promises to mean a great deal to a great many. As they have convincingly demonstrated, "It continues to be a great loss to American democracy that these stories are not known, because they are filled with deeds and services toward the common good and not simply words of promise" (p. viii).

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[i] In his seminal essay on the contributions of the Negro race, published in Alain Locke's edited text, *The New Negro*, Arthur Schomberg (1925) celebrated the impact of the Association's efforts:

> Almost keeping pace with the work of scholarship [under the direction of Woodson] has been the effort to popularize the results, and to place before Negro youth in the schools the true story of race vicissitude, struggle, and accomplishment. So that quite largely now the ambition of Negro youth can be nourished on its own milk (Locke, ed., p. 672).

[ii] Harris (1999) termed Locke's pragmatism 'critical pragmatism' in distinguishing it from those of Dewey, James, and Addams.

[iii] In *Deep Democracy: Community, Diversity, and Transformation* (2000), Green draws centrally upon Locke.

[iv] DuBois, who reviewed many of Cooper's writings as editor of the Crisis and chose from her work selectively is said to have drawn on her ideas in his own work without attribution (May, 2012; Grant, 2018).