(Re)Presenting the Public in Print: Examining African-American Media Activism at the Century's Turn

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Operating at the intersection of English Composition, Place-Based Rhetorical Scholarship, and African American Print Culture Studies, this dissertation examines African American public literacies in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century. Employing rhetorical analysis and close-textual examination of three activist magazines, including the National Association of Colored Women's *The Woman's Era (1894-97)*, The Colored Co-Operative Publishing Company's *Colored American Magazine (1900-1910)*, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's *The Crisis: A Record of the Darker Races (1910-present),* this research explores how African American activists used emergent forms of media (in this case, mass-produced newspapers and magazines) to shape who gets to participate within a public sphere of representation and speculate how to make this sphere more accessible to a wider range of readers and writers. Additionally, this analysis suggests that African American media in this period offers a model for local activism, civic engagement and public writing that students can draw from in their own academic and professional development. That is, this dissertation demonstrates how an exploration of turn-of-the-century media activism can inform contemporary

concerns about public space, access, and marginal and minority representation, especially as such discussions are influenced by and occur within new media landscapes.

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INTRODUCTION

"Black folks equate freedom with the passage into a life where they would have
the right to exercise control over space on their own behalf, where they would
imagine, design, and create spaces that would respond to the needs of their lives
their communities, their families...Growing up in a world where black working-
class and 'po' folk, as well as the black well-to-do, were deeply concerned with
the aesthetics of space...I learned to see freedom as always and intimately linked
to the issue of transforming space"

—bell hooks, "Black Vernacular: Architecture as Cultural Practice"

I chose to introduce my project with this passage by bell hooks because it foregrounds the
intimate connection between African American activist struggles for freedom and spatial
resignification. While hooks's work marks a call to action for African American readers and
writers to address current social inequities in the production and management of stable everyday
spaces for African American communities, this dissertation provides an historical case study of
African American media publicity at the turn of the twentieth century in order to trace the
activist inroads that have shaped marginal and minority engagements with and challenges to the
legislation of public spaces for subordinated communities—engagements that, as hooks points
out, were met with push back, hostility and even violence. Focusing on space, access, and
representation as master terms in my analysis of African American magazines, I explore the

extent to which black periodicals offer a material and virtual arena for theorizing and challenging how public space is characterized and realized.[1] Arguing that these periodicals offer a useful staging ground for understanding the dynamic interplay between spatial signification and different forms of social articulation, as well as the incisive and often stark consequences of making oneself or community experiences visible to a public sphere, this dissertation investigates the following questions: What is the relationship between public space and different forms of social representation? How might our public literacies be better attuned to inequities in power and access to public spaces? Can we "transform" space through writing? In other words, how might "transformation" be actualized through public discourse and the imagining of alternative spatial realities for minority citizens? The touchstone for my investigation will be the National Association of Colored Women's newspaper, *The Woman's Era* (1894-1897), The Colored Co-Operative Publishing Company's *The Colored American Magazine-CAM* (1900-1910), and The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's *The Crisis: A Record of the Darker Races* (1910-present). I suggest that such texts developed and codified a framework of resistance, very much in response to segregationist policies that cast racism and systemic oppression as public exigencies. That is to say, I maintain that African American public writers in this period reframe what constitutes a public crisis by exposing and critiquing the spatial hierarchies implicit within our public landscapes. Moreover, I argue that such media "worked upon" space by considering who had access to "the public" and the resources therein, by rearranging the public record to account for marginal and minority histories and biographies, and by altering the material and conceptual borders and boundary-lines defining and delimiting how public space was organized. Lastly, I suggest that black periodicals operate as sites of

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[1]   By virtual space I mean a space that transcends material contexts and accounts for the conceptual exchange of ideas between texts and readers. Here I am signaling to Wolfang Iser's notion of virtual space as the interaction between texts and readers which animates meaning.

rhetorical praxis whereby public writers theorize as well as reconstruct a public sphere of representation.

This research offers a reflection on the interrelation between racial categorization and public representation. As critical race scholars and public sphere theorists such as Michael Dawson and Joanne Brooks suggest, "whiteness" and "blackness" are socially-constructed racial categories predicated upon access to public resources and representation within public institutions. Brooks observes that "whiteness as an identity comes into being and attains value as individuals subordinate or reject their particularizing ethnic or class interests to access specific modalities of social and political power" (Brooks 71). Contrastingly, blackness as an identity is defined through its exclusion from these "modalities of social and political power" (Dawson 25). This project maintains that turn-of-the-century black periodicals were entry points for renegotiating who could access public resources and how blackness derived visibility within public institutions and venues. Access in this context implies a disruption of hegemonic systems of power that malign, isolate, and discriminate against marginal and minority populations. Through this valence, I view access not simply as participation within these systems of power, but instead as a fundamental critique and renovation of these hierarchical power relations.[2] Relying on periodical publicity as a means for reinscribing this power relationship, the public writers I take up in this analysis—W.E.B. Du Bois, Pauline Hopkins, Jessie Redomond Fauset,

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[2]   My interest in access was first spurred by the taxonomy that Adam Banks denotes in *Race, Rhetoric and Technology,* which reads access through material, functional, experiential and critical valences. My definition of access here is informed by Banks's notion of "critical access." Echoing the work of James Porter, Elaine Richardson, Cynthia Selfe, and Richard Selfe, Banks's taxonomy is "pieced together...from the patches of others' definitions and debates," as it attempts to "locate technology as a site and means for African Americans' continued efforts to 'carve out free spaces' in oppressive locations such as the classroom, the streets, the airwaves" (Banks 43). Banks defines critical access as understanding the "benefits and problems any technology well enough to be able to critique, resist, and avoid them when necessary as well as using them when necessary" (42). Thus, critical access allows users of a given technology to transform the very tools they were initially barred from using and accessing in such a way that exposes the "systemic racism that creates the digital divide" (45).

and Ida B. Wells—attempt to make space for African Americans in public culture, while also redefining what constitutes public space based on principles of access.[3]

Concerns surrounding access to public resources were particularly current in the fifty years between the end of the Civil War and World War I, given the characteristic changes to the public sphere that were already underway due to mass industrialization and modernization. As June Howard points out, "the nation appeared at once more closely connected and larger" (Howard 124). Such a perspective was assisted by technological advancements in transportation, communication, and information exchange, which worked to minimize spatial and temporal distance while also expanding the body politic. For example, the transcontinental railroad was completed in 1869, and in 1883 railroad companies adopted the Standard Time Zone to synchronize and standardize time between different geographical locations. As a result, an influx of people into cities—as African Americans migrated North from Southern rural areas and Eastern and Southern Europeans immigrated to the United States—altered the feature of urban and rural landscapes. Additionally, communication technologies such as the telephone and phonograph changed how and when individuals communicated with one another. Mass-circulated media such as magazines and newspapers coincided with this process of modernization, as innovations in printing allowed publishers to print more visually-elaborate layouts at higher volumes:

By the early 1900s the physical appearance of magazines was transformed by the

new dry–plate processes by which pictures, line drawings and photographs could

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[3] In this sense, space is not the vacuum in which people, events, and institutions exist; rather space is itself a mutable object that can be worked upon, modified, and shaped through rhetorical practices. By actively using the label "the public," periodical writers endeavored to instill in these spaces ethical and political significance—and point to the historical, ideological, and discursive traditions determining these spaces. In other words, the public is not a space; rather "the public" is a rhetorical apparatus for theorizing, critiquing, and even producing the values and functions of given spaces.

be printed as half–tones […] Widespread use of this process followed, with the

increased opportunity for magazines to become designed objects, not merely

collections of type with occasional woodcuts or steel engravings (Schmidt 3).

Such technologies led to the rise in mass-marketed monthly magazines such as *McClure's*,

Munsey's, *Ladies' Home Journal*, and *Cosmopolitan.* As Matthew Schneirov argues in *A Dream*

of a New Social Order, the growing popularity of "monthlies" reflected a cultural moment in

which middle class readers sought out and dreamed of alternative social hierarchies. Schneirov's

work is crucial to my analysis insofar as it provides a framework for approaching popular

magazines as not only habituating texts—that is, texts that preserve dominant cultural

hierarchies—but also as texts that open up space for pushing against or complicating these power

relationships. Although Schneirov's model does not specifically reference the treatment of

African Americans in these popular magazines, it does offer a foundation for thinking about the

degree to which this cultural moment, inspired by mass market mediums, created a literary

landscape for exploring social justice topics. I am in no way suggesting that black periodical

literature mirrors or mimics these popular magazines (in fact, *The Colored American Magazine*

took as its model *The Atlantic Monthly*, which experienced a drop in circulation between 1870

and 1890 as a consequence of the growing popularity of monthlies). Instead, I am suggesting that

turn-of-the-century periodical production, by virtue of its wide engagement with a more diverse

population of readers, played a crucial role in dictating the substance of social justice discourse.

Thus, the commercialization of periodical literature and the growing popularity of monthly

magazines in this period marked a sea-change in American aesthetic values, political

consciousness, and forms of public engagement, which stimulated conversations about public

space, environmental justice, and urban renewal programs. Such conversations also inspired

dialogue among marginal and minority activists contending with segregationist policies that severely limited how African Americans could access public resources.

Studying how marginal and minority activists used print media and public writing to theorize how one could access and become visible within a public sphere of representation can serve to refine contemporary discussions about blackness, policing, and public space— discussions that have become more pressing given the recent media coverage of police brutality and aggression against African Americans. Moreover, many of the questions that African American periodicals were raising at the turn of the century about public space and racial identity, and the stakes implicit in making oneself or community experiences visible through writing can illuminate contemporary place-based literacy practices, particularly those invested in teaching students how to safely, ethically, and responsibly articulate themselves or represent other communities within a public sphere of representation. However, it is important to point out that this dissertation project does not seek to outline the benefits of superimposing or translating the same place-based literacies we find in turn-of-the-century African American media into a contemporary classroom environment. Rather, this dissertation suggests that we can use a rhetorical and discursive engagement with periodicals such as *The Woman's Era*, *CAM*, and *Crisis* to better understand the role of space in current place-based literacy practices. As scholars and instructors, we can translate these lessons into more coherent teaching methods that resonate with the particularities of contemporary theories of space and wider activist and environmental movements.

This project began as part of a seminar paper for an American Literature course I took in my second year at the University of Pittsburgh. I was researching Charles Chestnutt's *Marrow of Tradition*, which offers a fictional account of the Wilmington Insurrection of 1898. Chestnutt's

narrative focuses on the role of public writing and newspaper reporting in directing public opinion. In order to supplement my reading of Chestnutt's fictional rendering of the Wilmington riots, I researched how the event was covered in mainstream media. I also tried to find African American periodicals that referenced the riots, hoping to land on a different, possibly more sympathetic account. Although my search results were sparse—as is often the case when conducting research through digital archives—I found myself interested in how African American periodicals narrated public events, public histories, and public lives.

While this dissertation incorporates archival materials, my experience "in the archive" is vastly different from more traditional print culture approaches and methods, as the majority of my archival work was conducted in front of my computer. When I wasn't reading these materials on digital archives, I found them in microform collections, which I was able to request through my university library system or through interlibrary loans from other institutions. Moreover, given the scope of my research interests and my desire to read these materials through a rhetorical and close-textual lens, I chose magazines that had been digitally archived so as to have more time reading and interpreting the materials. Since *The Colored American Magazine* and *The Crisis* had enjoyed a relatively large audience, it was easier to get my hands on multiple digitized collections. My research for *The Colored American Magazine* was mostly conducted through the HathiTrust Digital Library (which is organized by University of California member institutions) and the Digital Colored American archive (which offers full-color, downloadable reproductions of *The Colored American).* The Digital Colored American archive was digitized from and belongs to The James Weldon Johnson Memorial Collection in the Yale Collection of American Literature and the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. For *The Crisis Magazine*, I relied on The Modernist Journals Project, which is a joint project managed by

Brown University and the University of Tulsa. Hard copies of *The Crisis* (vol. one through twenty-three) were supplied by the University of Illinois. Finally, due to its short run as the national organ for the NACW before it was folded into *National Association Notes*, digitized editions of *The Woman's Era* were more difficult to find. However, Emory University's Emory Women Writers Resource Project—in collaboration with the Lewis H. Beck Center at Woodruff Library and the Virtual Library Project—offers transcribed reproductions of *The Woman's Era*, and also includes downloadable images of individual pages and advertisements.

Initially, I considered charting the currency of specific terms, such as public space, public interest, public opinion, and public good, intending to offer a discursive interpretation of how a language of "the public" was used and deployed in these magazines. However, although these documents are digitized, most do not allow for keyword searches (since they are copies of images). Because Emory University provides transcribed reproductions of *The Woman's Era*, I was able to discursively analyze the amount of times "the public" was referenced in each issue and in what context—that is as a spatial denotation (i.e. "public space," "public school") or as a cultural system ("the public," "public opinion," "public good") (see Chapter Two). Yet, such an analysis proved too narrow and didn't offer insight into the ways in which these periodicals were texturing and reconstituting the public sphere through public writing. Therefore, I expanded my analysis in order to explore how *CAM*, *Crisis*, and *The Woman's Era* interpret and place into dialogue themes such as space, access, and representation. As I pushed forward with my investigation, I worried less about capturing a "complete picture" of how the public is explicitly referenced in these magazines, and instead tried to derive a set of concepts, a grammar, for understanding how *CAM*, *Crisis*, and *The Woman's Era* theorized the public sphere as a material space with consistent and coherent material borders, a discursive site that makes legible and

illegible certain and specific identities and, as a conceptual sphere, where individuals test the shapes, contours, and limitations of democratic life or institutional space. Thus, my research was more like starting in the middle of a blank map and moving into multiple directions simultaneously. As a result, themes such as space, access, and representation function as a kind of conceptual compass for navigating the public literacies manifested in these magazines.

I have three cascading goals for this project. First, this dissertation aims to refine current methods within place-based scholarship by accounting for a history of spatial activism within marginal and minority communities. That is, while contemporary approaches to ecocomposition, environmental rhetorics, and ecological models have highlighted the extent to which our spatial forums shape and inflect how discourse is produced in the classroom, digital forums, and public venues, missing from these conversations is an attendance to the historical and activist antecedents informing this preoccupation with space (particularly among marginal and minority populations). Aiming to account for this history of spatial activism in African American public writing, my dissertation will reflect upon the role of African American activist media in drawing out critical connections between the navigation of public space and the legislation of racialized bodies, what scholars such as Chandan Reddy refer to as the "spatialization of the racial social order." Second, this dissertation project serves to show *how* turn-of-the-century African American periodicals offer a unique vantage point for engaging with discourses of space, as such writing offers an expanded definition of environmental literacy, specifically one that reads systemic racism as an environmental crisis. Third, this analysis aims to unpack the central role media plays in teaching citizens how to visualize, interpret, and evaluate racial identity. Ultimately, I hope to demonstrate how an analysis of turn-of-the-century media activism can inform contemporary concerns about public space, access, and marginal and minority

representation, especially as such discussions are shaped by and occur within new media landscapes, such as digital spaces. I use this term to signify the sphere of commercially-produced media that aimed to comprehend and confirm the relationship among aesthetics, cultural critique, and political activism. I suggest that *CAM, Crisis*, and *Woman's Era* mark a diverse cross-section of the racial uplift movement, which far too often is wrongly viewed as a fairly generic and monolithic mode of protest. The "media landscape" that I depict through my analysis of these magazines provides an alternative approach to uplift doctrine—one that was consistently engaged with both producing and imagining new public spaces for African American communities, while also reimagining blackness within these new material and virtual publics.

In order to move forward, it is important to clarify how I am reconciling the relationship between "space" and "place," as such language is often used interchangeably. Drawing from the work of cultural geographers Michel de Certeau and Henri Lefebvre, I will outline how I am deploying such terminology in regards to African American periodical production. I will then pivot from a discussion about place and space to a more directed analysis of the role of media in the production of public space and counterdiscourses.

In *The Practice of Everyday Life*, de Certeau defines place as "an instantaneous configuration of positions" (117). Accordingly, places are byproducts of territorialization and come into being through the mapping, sorting, and the legislation of one's physical and cultural environs for the purposes of acquiring power and organizing communities based on those power relationships. In short, places house and are inscribed by rhetorical action. Contrastingly, space lacks meaning and order, and prefigures questions of power and access. Space, de Certeau writes, "is composed of intersections of mobile elements. It is in a sense actuated by the

ensemble of movements deployed within it." (117). de Certeau continues, "space occurs as the effect produced by the operations that orient it, situate it, temporalize it, and make it function in a polyvalent unity of conflictual programs or contractual proximities" (117). Arguing that space allows for disruption, intervention, and resignification of meaning, de Certeau characterizes space as a staging ground for new meanings to occur through alternative renderings, representations, and discourses. Sidney Dobrin's analysis of de Certeau's work incisively captures the relationship between freedom and spatial transformation—a connection that I introduced earlier in my analysis of bell hooks's "Black Vernacular: Architecture as Cultural Practice" and would like to refine in subsequent chapters:

> What is central to de Certeau's definition of space is that it is *produced*. Space, then, is ambiguous in that it is freedom...Place is the temporal instance of observation of a site of ideological struggle and is written by whomever is winning the struggle at that moment. The production of space, the writing of place, is the inscription of power onto the freedom of space in order to embed the safety of an order onto/into a place. Space is where hegemony is trying to happen but where counter-hegemonies still have footholds. Space is where inequity and suffering happen...Space is the ever-present trace of possibility that the meaning of a location...might be achieved (Dobrin 41).

This interpretation of de Certeau's work not only highlights the "ideological struggles" implicit in the production of space, but also links the notion of "freedom" to counter-hegemonic gestures to rewrite or reproduce space. It is precisely through the struggle to transform space and produce new spaces, as de Certeau points out, that the social hierarchies underpinning our physical and social environments become readable and available. In other words, we learn about the social

sphere and social hierarchies through the ordering and reordering of space; place is the calcification of these social orderings in a given temporal or historical moment.

Henri Lefebvre's work similarly posits space as a site for counter-hegemonic action. Arguing that space is not "a preexisting void, endowed with formal properties alone" or "a container waiting to be filled by a content—i.e. matter, or bodies," Lefebvre understands space as socially contoured and infinitely recontextualized by difference (qtd in Dobrin 42). Space is thus an arena for ideological tension, revision, and creation, while place is the result of such action. Recognizing the mutually constituting and coexistent relationship between space and place, both de Certeau and Lefebvre treat these terms as modes of understanding and interpreting the social sphere. Although it is necessary to read "space" and "place" in dialogue, for the purposes of clarity this dissertation foregrounds space as a master term—as such terminology highlights the poetic and generative qualities implicit in place-based literacy practices. Moreover, this dissertation relies on a discourse of space in order to foreground the interanimating relationship between space and racial identity.

Lefebvre's triad model is particularly useful in understanding how social identity is implicated in the process of producing and transforming space, which offers a helpful springboard for animating my discussion about the racial hierarchies implicit in public space and activist struggles to clarify these discrepancies of power and access. Offering a roadmap for understanding how space is socially produced, Lefebvre's conceptual triad identifies three categories of analysis in the production of social space, including "representations of space," "representational spaces," and "spatial practices." According to Lefebvre, there are "representations of space," which are controlled by planners and bureaucrats and are "encountered through the understandings and abstractions contained in plans, codes, and designs

that shape how we conceptualize ordered space," there are "representational spaces," which include how citizens imagine spatial order, "a space experienced through the complex symbols and images of its 'inhabitants' and 'users,'" and lastly, there are spatial practices, which incorporate lived experiences that "secrete" their own social or representational order or meanings (qtd in McCann 172). Each of these categories of space rely on bodily representations and enactments. As A. Merrifield notes in "Place and Space: A Lefebvrian Reconciliation," Lefebvre "gives centrality to the body in the understanding of the relationship between [the different moment of his triad] [...] The relationship to space of a 'subject' who is a member of a group or society implies a certain relationship to their body and vice versa" (524). Throughout this dissertation, I will consider how African American activist periodicals served as "representational spaces" that exposed racist social practices and challenged state-sponsored segregationist programs not only by supporting activist initiatives to build, refine, and expand access to public facilities, but also by renovating the terms on which blackness was represented within public space.

By specifically focusing on public space, this dissertation calls attention to the various ways in which the production of space is intimately connected to the evaluation and legislation of racialized bodies in both material and symbolic public spheres of representation. In other words, public space offers the most explicit vantage point for deciphering the interanimating relationship between the production of space and the legislation of bodies in space, as well as the ideological struggles implicit within these bodily and spatial enactments. As McCann notes in "Race, Protest, and Public Space: Contextualizing Lefebvre in the U.S. City":

The production of public space can be seen, then, as a continual struggle between

the state and capital trying to produce and maintain a seemingly homogeneous but

fundamentally contradictory abstract space, on the one hand, and subaltern groups, often working through oppositional elements in the media, asserting their 'counter-spaces' and constructing 'counter-publics,' on the other. In the U.S. city this process of contestation and struggle is fundamentally and inescapably racialized and entails not merely the making of certain streets as 'White' or "Black' spaces but simultaneously the social construction of subjective identity and political activity through spatiality (180).

Activist media, in McCann's view, is the best arena for discerning the production of public space because such work is deeply invested in reconciling divisions between "White" and "Black" spaces in order to renovate how "the public" views, interprets, and outreaches on behalf of the racial subjects formed out of these environs. In "Constructing Difference in Public Spaces: Race, Class, and Gender as Interlocking Systems," S.M. Ruddick refines this relationship between public space and racial identity, arguing that "public spaces can disturb our conventional hierarchical notions of scale," that is geographic scale, "becoming at once local and national spaces for the construction, mediation, and regulation of social identities" (140). Additionally, Ruddick posits that the media is a "critical tool in instructing the public" how to imagine and evaluate intersections among race, class, and gender categories, as the media "is one discursive medium through which images [of subject and object] are generated and maintained, representing interactions to the public at large" (138). Drawing inspiration from McCann and Ruddick, this dissertation focuses on how African American activist media interrogated blackness as a public performance. Inherent in such work is a reimagining of the shape and territory of "the public" as a material and symbolic sphere. Furthermore, I suggest that African American periodicals conceived the public sphere not so much as a physical space accessible to

individuals who leave the private/domestic borders of their homes, but rather as a kind of grammar that allows us to make certain and specific evaluations about public space and the limits of democratic justice.

Each chapter of this dissertation highlights the centrality of public discourse in the making of—or, as Matthew Schneirov argues, *dreaming of*—new political and aesthetic realities. By changing the frame through which blackness could be become visible within our public venues, I argue, the public writers and editors of African American periodicals set out to reconstitute our spatial landscapes. Implicit within this argument is the notion that places change when new spatial subjects emerge—a concept we can apply to current writing situations within and beyond the academy. Consequently, this analysis is not simply an attempt to chart or map a fixed history of African American periodical activism. For as Christopher Keller and Christian Weisser note in their introduction to *Locations of Composition*, "creating a map is to stabilize places, to show how they look at a moment frozen in time" (Keller and Weisser 5). Rather, this analysis is organized in such a way as to provide an entry point for engaging questions concerning access to public spaces and resources, and the role of activist media and public writing in revising our forms and forums of representation—concerns that are very much applicable to contemporary conversations surrounding the policing and bordering of public space. Therefore, the framing chapters in this analysis, Chapters One and Five, demonstrate ways of applying these conversations about the public to place-based scholarship and public and professional writing curricula.

The first chapter of this dissertation provides a survey of current place-conscious scholarship in composition and rhetoric. Throughout this chapter, I argue that place-conscious scholarship can benefit from a more nuanced discussion of the public sphere, specifically with

respect to how our public spaces maintain hierarchies of power and access that are exclusionary towards racialized bodies. Such conversations, I suggest, have a long and popular history in African American activist media. Placing Sidney Dobrin, Jenny Edbauer, Michael Warner and Jenny Rice into dialogue, this chapter tracks how place-conscious scholarship attempts to define and categorize environmental exigency—as each of these scholars read and negotiate environmental crisis through the valence of lived experiences and localized identities. This chapter then shifts to a more extensive discussion of the role of race in the production and legislation of public space, using W.E.B. Du Bois's *Souls of Black Folk* and "Conservation of the Races" speech (a speech directed to the American Negro Academy in 1897) as foundational texts for articulating a racially-inscribed concept of conservationism. I suggest that Du Bois's conservationist approach to space is reflective of larger African American activist efforts to resignify local spaces and institutions in this period—efforts that are specifically visible in African American activist media.

Chapter Two of this dissertation draws connections between space and citizenship/national identity by emphasizing how public spaces maintain certain standards of representation. The first section of this chapter chronicles the ways in which the National Association of Colored Women's *The Woman's Era* newspaper expanded the territory of the public sphere by covering activist efforts to build African American public reading rooms and libraries. In publicizing these efforts, *The Woman's Era* revised the concept of the public sphere by broadening who had access to public space and altering how blackness was represented within these spaces. The second section of this chapter spends time with a column entitled "The Ghetto," which ran in early editions of *The Crisis*. In this section, I emphasize the role of "the ghetto" as an "anti-public" space deprived of basic public resources and assistances.

Chapter Three uses *The Colored American Magazine (CAM)* as a touchstone for investigation. Focusing on the period between 1900 and 1904, I argue that what is particularly noteworthy in these years are the connections *CAM* forged between epideictic rhetoric and public space. I suggest that these connections were a result of Pauline Hopkins's editorial oversight, which aimed to position women and women's issues in the public sphere, making the domestic sphere open to public critique and activism. I focus on two examples in which the connection between epideictic rhetoric and public space is distinctly manifested in stories highlighting women's experiences, achievements, and activism. These examples include Pauline Hopkins "Famous Women of the Negro Race" biographical sketches and a four-part series chronicling prominent African Americans living in the city of Pittsburgh, entitled "The Smoky City." In each example, I claim that *CAM* used history as a means for recontextualizing African American women's public presence in mainstream media.

Chapter Four considers how our narratives of racial passing offer insight into the relationship between public space and blackness by offering a critical reading of Jessie Redmon Fauset's "Emmy," which ran in the December 1912 issue of *The Crisis Magazine*. Reading "Emmy" alongside of the articles preceding and succeeding Fauset's story, this chapter focuses on how pedagogy is taken up as a theme and project in *Crisis*. I suggest that the December 1912 issue of *Crisis* presents a framework for understanding pedagogy as not simply a method for inscribing pre-existent dominant norms, but rather as a means for intervening, questioning and challenging dominant systems of representation and public articulation.

Chapter Five demonstrates how the public and professional writing classroom offers a forum for engaging discussions about space, access, and different forms of social representation—which include public and professional identities. Drawing from the framework

established in previous chapters, which emphasized the role of localized writing and media publicity in reconstituting physical, virtual, and imagined spaces, chapter five applies such discussions to the writing classroom, considering how we can frame discussions surrounding the social constructedness and representative qualities of public space in courses that imagine a community beyond the academy.

The purpose for conducting this research is to explore the affordances of recuperating "the public" as a rhetorical apparatus for hypothesizing the shapes and confines of democratic justice, citizenship rights, and public representation. Moreover, this dissertation provides an analysis of African American periodicals in order to clarify key discussions in placed-based scholarship regarding the role of public and institutional space in the production (and erasure) of racial identity. In short, the underlying argument of my research is that turn-of-the-century African American periodicals offer a model of public engagement via activist writing, which, in turn, can help contemporary writing theory and pedagogy better unpack the consequences and impact of representing one's individual or communal experiences in public forums.

1.0   RESIGNIFYING PLACE: WHAT'S AT STAKE WHEN WE WRITE ABOUT PLACE?

Place-based scholarship attempts to underline the various spatial contexts and contingencies influencing acts of literacy. As Katrina M. Powell notes in a review essay for the September 2014 issue of *College Composition and Communication*, entitled "Locations and Writing: Place-Based Learning, Geographies of Writing, and How Place (Still) Matters in Writing Studies," place-based inquiries in composition and rhetoric "emerged as a way of conceptualizing the writing classroom, writing studies more generally, the role/place of composition in the university, and as a way to understand place-based education through community studies and ecocomposition" (Powell 178). Moreover, place scholarship provides a robust body of literature on activism and activist rhetorics, foregrounding the role of writing and spatial literacies in community outreach initiatives and service learning programs. Harkening back to the thirty year legacy of such work in the writing classroom, beginning with Marilyn Cooper's "Ecology of Writing," Maleo Powell's 2012 address at the *Conference on College Composition and Communication* underscores space as a focal point for writing, invention, and recontextualization, stressing that "spaces are made recursively through specific, material practices rooted in specific land bases, through the cultural practices linked to that place, and through the accompanying theoretical practices that arise from that place" (Powell 388). More recent inroads in place scholarship privilege terms such as "position," "networks,"

"location,""ecologies," and "ecological literacies" in order to highlight how our material and discursive relationships arrange and are arranged by physical and cultural space.[4]

In a journal article entitled "Let's Not Forget Ecological Literacy," which ran in the inaugural issue of *Literacy and Composition Studies*, Matthew Ortoleva makes a case for an ecological literacy that doesn't obfuscate the natural environs undergirding when, how, and where we write and teach writing. Although recognizing the unique critical opportunities afforded by ecocomposition, Ortoleva surmises that ecocomposition's "broad treatment and bifurcated nature" limits its capacity to attend to the "ecological exigencies currently affecting all levels of the biosphere, micro and macro" (Ortoleva 69). Ortoleva posits that "ecological literacy is perhaps a more powerful tool for framing issues of ecological and environmental concern," as it "can serve as the foundation for literate acts that seek to address the human relationship to the natural world (Ortoleva 69). While I sympathize with Ortoleva's views regarding the importance of treating and diagnosing environmental exigencies through acts of literacy, the examination that I offer in this chapter builds from Derek Owens's suggestion that "we envision composition studies as environmental studies—not as an offshoot of ecology but as the study of one's immediate and future environs (city blocks, mall parking lots, backyards, office cubicles,

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[4] Given the manifold methods associated with the study of space, I use "place-based scholarship" as an umbrella term for describing what Nedra Reynolds calls the "where of writing—not just the places where writing occurs, but the sense of place and space that readers and writers bring with them to the intellectual work of writing" (Reynolds 176). Although compositionists have traditionally approached this work through the valence of either technical communication, environmental rhetorics and environmental legislation/outreach (Karis and Killingsworth; Killingsworth and Palmer; Herndl and Brown) or through sustainable discourses, nature writing, or local and community pedagogies (Dobrin and Weisser; Owens), I use "place-based scholarship" to push beyond disciplinary borders, implicating not only composition and rhetorical inquiries into space, but also the work of cultural geographers and public sphere theorists. More generally, I define place-based scholarship as work that explores not only the ways in which individuals and communities can shape and texture space through writing and different forms of media expression, but also the role of natural, man-made, and cultural spaces in influencing how individuals and communities write and receive texts. While in my Introduction I delineated how cultural geographers distinguish between terms like "place" and "space," I am not necessarily interested in enumerating or redefining these spatial categories. Rather, I am hoping to find linkages between these disciplinary fields, considering how using race as a determining variable in place-based inquiry might afford a deeper investigation of the interrelation among space, access, and representation.

apartment buildings, crowded highways)" (Owens 6). Such a shift, I contend, requires a more pronounced exploration of public spaces, placing into focus concerns about who has access to public space and how marginality is represented within these spheres of influence. This formulation extends place-based study and analysis from simply preserving or sustaining our physical and natural environments through writing to exploring specific questions about how we treat, legislate, and constitute public space along a racialized axis.

Particularly relevant today are concerns surrounding the policing of African American bodies in public spaces, as activist movements such as Black Lives Matter have not only mobilized in reaction to the problematic policies and practices of the American Justice System and local police enforcement, but have also called attention to the racial hierarchies implicit within our public spaces. Rather than emphasizing the natural world as a site of preservation and protection, this chapter promotes an interpretation of place-based literacies that prioritizes production, creation, and intervention in everyday lived spaces. In my analysis, I claim that perhaps one way of reapproaching place-based studies in the field of composition and rhetoric can be through the valence of spatial resignification—a valence, I suggest, that is very much drawn from a longer history of African American activist discourses. Exposing the degree to which our physical and cultural landscapes are not merely sites to be preserved and protected from adulterating forces (political, economic, or otherwise) but instead spaces that hold within themselves different power hierarchies that are exclusionary, I argue that African American activists discourses have historically promoted a form of conservation that privileges the needs of present and future generations, drawing attention to the embodied experiences of individuals who are marginalized within these environs. Such discourses underscore the incisive relationship between space and different forms of social representation. Thus, proponents of these

conservationist discourses attempt to resignify space by reconstituting their own spatial identities (i.e. how one is seen, becomes visible, and resides within different physical and/or cultural spaces).[5] Here, I am drawing from Henry Louis Gates's concept of resignification or "signifyin(g)," which he describes in *The Signifying Monkey* as a "doubling" or "redoubling" of dominant cultural and linguistic meaning. Re-signifying gestures reveal the extent to which subject formation is a discursive practice with structural features that can be co-opted with the aim of re-contextualization (that is, for the purposes of imbuing these discursive and visual regimes with new significations).

For the purposes of clarifying how this form of spatial resignification manifests in public landscapes, I'd like to turn to a photograph (Figure One). I'd originally encountered this photograph, entitled "YMCA, La Boca Reading Room and Office," from the Jesse Alexander Photograph Collection at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture while researching African American library development. Although it was difficult to find identifying information beyond what is gathered from the title, this image captures, in my view, African American citizen subjects recomposing and resignifying space via acts of literacy. These literacy practices are not simply reflected in the reading and interpretation of texts, even though this is explicitly evident in the image's foreground. Rather, these literacy practices are expressed through African American embodiment and the physical inhabitation of space—as the African American subjects of this image are reconstituting the space of the reading room by recomposing their own spatial identities (that is, how blackness becomes legible as a public subjectivity). These public performances of spatial inhabitation are therefore forms of public literacy, as they exhibit a capacity to read, navigate, and intervene in the real and symbolic spaces that organize a public

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[5] In this chapter, I suggest that marginal and minority communities use this process of resignification to appropriate spatial discourses in such a way that exposes—and endeavors to remediate—the racist power systems organizing our physical and cultural environs.

sphere of representation and influence. Additionally, there are the texts themselves—specifically the newspapers and magazines strewn across the desks and leaning on the laps of individuals—that signal a literacy of production, a textual literacy. While the larger project of this dissertation is to demonstrate how these forms of public literacy are enacted in turn-of-the-century African American periodicals, this chapter offers a critical mapping of the scholarly inroads undergirding place-based inquiry.

In order to contextualize my move toward spatial resignification as a new interpretive lens within place-based scholarship, I will briefly situate this approach alongside of, and at times in contrast with, several different methodological frames within place-based research. Charting the ways in which ecocompositional scholarship gave way to the public turn in place-based inquiries, the first section of this chapter will review how an attendance to the public sphere and public space can extend place-based scholarship by recalibrating where we locate and how we discern environmental exigencies, pointing attention to the social divisions inhered into our physical spaces. In the second section of this chapter, I will show how an attunement to the role of race and racial discourses in the legislation of space can help shift current methods in place scholarship toward questions of access and representation. This section will foreground a Du Boisian approach to conservation—one that endeavored to disturb the spatial boundaries imposed through segregationist policies by complicating and challenging the terms on which such policies defined race and racialized subjects. In this section, I argue that Du Bois's notion of conservation, which is evinced in *Souls of Black Folk* and "Conservation of the Races," a speech Du Bois made to the American Negro Academy in 1897, casts race as a focal point for reading and resignifying physical and cultural space, bringing into focus the violent and traumatic racial histories bolstering how we negotiate and inhabit these environs.

The goal of this chapter is to consider how master terms such as space, access, and representation arise in place-based scholarship, taking up the question that Ortoleva poses at the end of his article, namely: *How might ecological literacy connect with larger social issues, such as race, poverty, and class struggle?* My hope is that such work will clarify not only my rationale for examining African American periodicals as place-conscious texts, but also reinforce the relevance of these texts amidst current institutional and sociopolitical climates. While this chapter does not explicitly foreground African American periodical production, it does provide a theoretical grounding for understanding the interrelation between terms such as space, access, and representation—a constellation that will inform my analysis of turn-of-the-century African American periodicals in the chapters that follow. Ultimately, I maintain that recognizing the extent to which a history of racism and racial hierarchies are materialized within our physical and cultural environs can serve to direct our attention to the political implications of place-based composing practices, gesturing toward a more inclusive and participatory framework for understanding the role of space in the production of writing.

1.1   PRESERVATION, THE PUBLIC SPHERE, AND PUBLIC SUBJECTIVITIES

In *Ecocomposition: Theoretical and Pedagogical Approaches*, Sidney I. Dobrin and Christian Weisser explore the relationship between place and discourse, specifically "written discourse" and "the places in which it is situated and situates" (Dobrin and Weisser 10). Building from Marilyn Cooper's "Ecology of Writing," which presented an ecological model characterized by "an infinitely extended group of people who interact through writing...[and] who are connected by the various systems that constitute the activity of writing," Dobrin and Weisser foreground

the environment as a viable lens for understanding and contextualizing literate acts, underscoring activism as a primary tenet of place-based inquiry (Cooper 372). Drawing a distinction from ecocriticism, which focuses on the interpretation of environmental texts and discourses, Dobrin and Weisser introduce the term "ecocomposition" in order to account for the production of place-based writing, as such work "places [the] environment as a central concern of theory, pedagogy, and praxis...[and] raises the preservation of natural environments to its rightful place as one of the most significant political concerns in composition studies today" (Dobrin and Weisser 56). Because writing is situated in specific physical and cultural environs, Dobrin and Weisser argue, it is never an isolated activity and is implicated in an ecology of interanimating forces, including social, cultural, institutional, and personal influences.

Only a decade after publishing *Ecocompostion: Theoretical and Pedagogical Approaches*, Sidney Dobrin announced that terms such as "place," "nature," and "environment" have neglected to "validate inquiry regarding the relational characteristics of writing systems or writing as complex system" (Dobrin 124). Arguing that ecocomposition has simply "given rise to an increased use of environmentalist texts—often in the form of nature writing," Dobrin asserts that place scholarship has literalized the notion of environmental crisis, limiting spatial inquiry to concerns about environmental justice and sustainable living (Dobrin 124). While I acknowledge that these concerns are valid (and even necessary) entrypoints into place-based literacy, I contend that such concerns should not be the only exigencies that place-based writing theorizes. Using Dobrin's work as a springboard for complicating how space has been taken up as a theoretical and pedagogical apparatus in place studies, it's useful to adjust the lens through which place-based composing practices read and interpret space, not simply as an arena or site to be protected, altered, or inhabited by individual subjects, but as an "ever-present trace of

possibility," a roving site where "inequity and suffering happen...[and] might be changed" (Dobrin 41). Approaching environmental exigencies through the vantage point of public space and subjects, I consider how the work of Jenny Edbauer, Michael Warner, and Jenny Rice build from and draw on Dobrin's spatial theories, locating moments of cohesion among place studies and public sphere scholarship.

A focal point among place scholarship has been subject formation, notably how individual subjects navigate and are affected by their home, community, and institutional landscapes. However, as Dobrin points out, terms such as subjectivity and subject formation too often connote student subjects working within a first-year writing curriculum. In cultivating an approach to subjectivity that aggrandizes the individual, autonomous, and somewhat essentialized student subject acting upon or being acted upon by the natural environment, place-based inquiry overlooks the many opportunities that writing affords in generating non-autonomous subjectivities, working to preserve the academy as the dominant site for critique and cultural analysis. Citing Lester Faigley's *Fragments of Rationality: Postmodernity and the Subject of Composition*, which argues against "the preservation of a truncated rational subject in writing pedagogy," Dobrin suggests that an attention to space should further decenter—and not entrench—our field's notion of the writing subject, as such subjects are not always students in the classical sense (qtd in Dobrin 81).[6] Moreover, the preservation of a truncated rational student subject serves to abnegate African American learners from our disciplinary purview, as

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[6] Throughout his chapter entitled "Beyond the Subject of Composition Studies," Dobrin suggests reorienting our disciplinary focus on student subjects to questions of agency, recognizing that "agency is not an issue of the subject but rather an issue of the subject in ecological relationships" (78). Here, Dobrin advocates an understanding of discursive agency that is conditioned upon the various socio-cultural environs influencing the writing process. Moreover, by shifting emphasis to the ecologies through which writing happens, Dobrin's formulation de-essentializes not only the individual writing subject who is implicated in and changed by the various environs he/she inhabits but also the literate act itself, foregrounding the extent to which such acts are spatially relative. In my view, this redistribution of questions of subjectivity to concerns about discursive agency works against preservationist attempts to compartmentalize and cordon off how we write and engage with space as an institutional or disciplinary genre, as such engagements are roving, flexible, and interdisciplinary.

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Jacqueline Jones Royster and Jean C Williams have pointed out in their article investigating the erasure and pathologization of African American students within our disciplinary histories.[7] In short, because African American students, instructors, and administrators were often left outside of our disciplinary narratives, preserving an historically idealized "student subject" or "student writer" serves to "misrepresent," render "invisible," or "circumscribe" African American presence both within our writing classrooms and our larger cultural histories (Royster and Williams 579).

According to Dobrin, ecocomposition—and I would insert much of our place-based scholarship—comes up short on three fronts. First, such scholarship privileges nature and natural systems as the primary locations for investigation and intervention, which in effect bolsters a preservationist logic that aims to maintain (rather than sustain) these spaces. Second, by principally focusing on student subjects, place-based scholarship solidifies institutional monopolies over intellectual work, rendering invisible the countless minority activists committed to questions regarding the allocation of space and spatial resources. Third, place-based scholarship provides a limited and narrowing view of subjectivity, one that risks essentializing who counts as a writing subject and overlooking the manifold subjectivities that are arranged and can help rearrange our spatial constructs. Dobrin writes that such scholarship "attempts to reinvigorate subject formation of student subjects (most often first-year writing students) with environmental political positions, positions designed to spark 'thinking' about the environmental

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[7] In "History in the Spaces Left: African American Presence and Narratives of Composition Studies" Jacqueline Jones Royster and Jean C. Williams assert that African American students are not fully accounted for in our disciplinary histories. Moreover, when such students are incorporated into official disciplinary narratives they are often misrepresented as "problem" students requiring remedial attention in "basic writing" courses. Therefore, Royster and Williams's work suggests that in order to "counter mythologies about African American presence in composition studies" our disciplinary narratives must "adjust the historical lens by shifting the gaze to the experience of African Americans" (579). This article posits that one way of attending to African American "presence" in our canons is by focusing on how African American writers engage with questions of space and spatial visibility both inside and outside of the academy.

or ecological 'crisis'" (Dobrin 124). This prioritization of natural environs as the sole sites for activist protection is particularly problematic given contemporary exigencies involving the policing of our public spaces, including public streets, pools, and schools—spaces that retain the fingerprint of segregationist policies and racial discrimination.[8] Thus, a greater attention to public space and the extent to which such spaces are discursively drawn can extend (and to some degree challenge) traditional notions of what counts as an environmental exigency. Furthermore, public sphere scholarship can help shift our focus from individual student subjects intervening in environmental crisis to a more nuanced notion of how our discourses about space have the potential to create non-essentialized public subjectivities, which in turn generate new opportunities for understanding our material and cultural landscapes and environmental exigencies.

Jenny Edbauer's "Unframing Models of Public Distribution: From Rhetorical Distribution to Rhetorical Ecology" is a foundational text in not only reconsidering the role of exigence in rhetorical theory, but also in turning toward public sphere theory as a way to unmoor place-based scholarship from its singular focus on nature and environmental phenomena. Sketching a history of rhetorical theory's treatment of exigence as one node within the rhetorical situation—a formulation that interprets audience, rhetor, exigence, constraint and text as a "totality of discreet elements"—Edbauer, building from scholars such as Michael Warner, Barbara Biesecker, and Louise Wetherbee Phelps, introduces the term "affective ecologies" in order to "recontextualize rhetorics in their temporal, historical, and lived fluxes" (Edbauer 9). Heightening the role of place in understanding rhetorical action, Edbauer's affective ecologies "allows us to more fully theorize rhetoric as a public(s) creation" (Edbauer 9). By accounting for the placement of

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[8]   Here, I am referencing the increasing visibility of police brutality and overuse of force against African Americans on public streets (Michael Brown; Eric Garner), in public schools, pools, and playgrounds (Tamir Rice; Tatiana Rose, McKinney Texas) and detained by public officials (Freddie Gray; Sandra Bland).

rhetorical action, Edbauer's ecological model unpacks the relational and mutually constituting nature of material and cultural/social space, which is especially evinced in public interaction. Citing Nedra Reynolds's *Geographies of Writing*, Edbauer posits that space cannot be decoupled from the socially- and culturally-marked bodies that fill and reside within our physical locations, suggesting that "place becomes a space of contacts, which are always changing and never discrete" (Edbauer 10).[9] Describing an interaction between two people on a public street, Edbauer notes that such contact is "never simply a matter of those two bodies" (Edbauer 10). Rather, "the two bodies carry with them the traces of effects from whole fields of culture and social histories" (Edbauer 10). Space therefore encompasses not only material places (streets, buildings, pools, or classrooms) but also our personal perceptions and representations of place and the political and cultural performances that happen within these sites. Rhetorical exigencies, Edbauer notes, emerge within this context of spatial, discursive, and bodily contact and are *radically distributed* across our material and cultural spaces.

This language of radical distribution, which Edbauer borrows from Phelps, resonates with Michael Warner's public sphere scholarship.[10] Warner's work clarifies the various ways in which

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[9] Nedra Reynolds's *Geographies of Writing* was key in understanding how spaces are embodied and felt. Reynolds argues that the field of composition too often uses the language of place metaphorically, which risks erasing the felt experiences of bodies inhabiting space. Arguing that it is necessary "to understand geographies as embodied, and how the process of social construction of space occurs at the level of the body, not just at the level of the city or street or nation" (143), Reynolds suggests that how we label space, as either "good" or "bad" for instance, is contingent upon not only discernible and discreet physical characteristics but also the emotions such places compel in individuals, such as fear, nostalgia, comfort, security, etc. Therefore, "space, at least as it is represented metaphorically, hides consequences from us" (27). In other words, as my article aims to point out, environmental exigencies occur and can best be discerned through the embodied experiences of individuals and communities whose histories have been left out or negated in service of dominant cultural logics. For without fully accounting for these spatial experiences we run the risk of "hiding" or erasing the interanimating relationship between space and felt experience.

[10] Louise Wetherbee Phelps's early work in rhetoric and composition critiques element-based theories of discourse that shrink and essentialize the "traditional communication triangle," such as speaker-audience-message. According to Phelps, such theories require further contextualization, expansion, interpretation, as scholars in composition and rhetoric should "peruse their logic to the limit, or treat them in historical-institutional terms" (60). Edbaur draws from Phelps's critique in order to propose her ecological model for rhetorical scholarship. Challenges to the "traditional communication triangle" are waged by not only Phelps in *Composition as a*

our public spheres of representation, and I would add our public spaces, are byproducts of social and historical phenomena. Publics form and circulate as "concatenations of texts through time," both reflecting and refracting normalized cultural logics through sociality and discursive exchange (Weisser 62). Deriving meaning through cultural visibility and discursivity, publics operate as "engine[s] of translatability, putting down new roots wherever it goes," while also remaining connected to and conditioned upon past performances and discursive actions. By accounting for the historical antecedents leading to and distinguishing the public sphere, Warner's work foregrounds how our environmental exigencies, which are essentially public exigencies, are an ongoing reconciliation with the past. Warner writes:

> No single text can create a public. Nor can a single voice, a single genre, or even a single medium. All are insufficient [...] since a public is understood to be an ongoing space of encounter for discourse. It is not the texts themselves that create publics, but the concatenation of texts through time...Between the discourse that comes before and the discourse that comes after, one must postulate some kind of link. And the link has a social character; it is not mere consecutiveness in time but a context of interaction (Warner 62).

Warner's formulation resonates with Dobrin and Faigley's critique of the rational student subject, as he rejects the notion of a singular, universal subject creating or intervening in a single, universal public sphere via discursivity. Rather, the public sphere is a "multi-generic lifeworld organized not just by a relational axis of utterance but by potentially infinite axes of citation and characterization," which in turn engenders new citizen subjects and subjectivities to emerge (Weisser 71).

Human Science, but also by Barbara Biesecker in "Rethinking the Rhetorical Situation from Within the Thematic of Difference."

Drawing from Michael Warner's work, Jenny Rice's *Distant Publics* proposes a "publics approach" to writing theory and instruction that is "not reducible to individual speakers or writers," but rather one that "cultivates communal meanings and public subjectivities" (Rice 20). As Rice asserts, "public subjectivities are roles we inhabit when we speak and act about matters that put us in relation to others" (Rice 45). Accordingly, public subjectivities become access points for understanding how our physical landscapes dictate and discern which subjectivities get to speak and are heard on matters of civic import. Rice's scholarship is neither interested in the work of preserving natural environments for the purposes of ecological justice nor in theorizing the material and cultural practices that produce place. Rather, Rice's work is concerned with how citizens envision themselves in relation to public space. Moreover, Rice's work argues that it is through "publics, not place, that rhetoricians can make the strongest intervention into imperiled places," for it is only through the public sphere, public discourse, and public subjectivities that we can diagnose specific exigencies related to physical and cultural space (Rice 14).

Integrating what Jenny Rice refers to as a "publics approach" to our thinking about space not only serves to draw attention to the public spaces inflecting literate acts, but also productively underscores the interanimating qualities of public space and public subjectivities. Moreover, Rice's work is a useful launchpad for discussing how public space has often been integral in not only policing racialized bodies, but also in limiting how blackness could be read, interpreted, and legislated. Rice's discussion of "public subjectivities" should intuitively lead to a more nuanced conversation about who constitutes a public subject, what rights are associated with different subjectivities, and the extent to which public space constrains racialized bodies from constructing new and alternative public subjectivities—concerns that crystallize the relationship between race and spatial access.

In this section, I have provided a brief survey of place-based scholarship, considering areas in which place studies could extend its spatial theories past nature and "natural" environs, as well as revise its standards for interpreting what counts as an environmental exigency. Aiming to locate moments of resonance or opportunities for crosstalk with public sphere scholarship, this research highlights how a greater attendance to the role of public space and public subjectivities helps clarify and contextualize consequential discussions regarding access to space and the resources therein, as well as the incisive role history plays in the navigation of public space and the legislation of racialized bodies. The next section will consider how W.E.B. Du Bois's *Souls of Black Folk* and "Conservation of the Races" speech introduces a conservationist discourse that presses on deeply-held assumptions about space, access, and representation. Recognizing the extent to which environmental preservation has long been a term associated with the maintenance of violent, traumatic, and discriminatory physical and cultural landscapes, Du Bois's critical work promulgates a view of space, nature, and environments that emphasizes their social constructedness. By acknowledging how our natural and man-made spatial landscapes are entangled in a history of racial oppression, Du Bois's conservationist discourse marries racial uplift ideology with a more pronounced engagement with public space.

1.2   BLACKNESS AND PLACE: TOWARD A DISCOURSE OF CONSERVATION

In a critique of ecocritical scholarship, Paul Tidwell argues that "ecocriticism was founded on a too limited canon of writings based on too narrow a definition of nature writing" ("The Blackness of the Whale" np). Tidwell also asserts that "ecocritics who continue to resist or reject African American concepts as foreign to their concerns risk a hardening of their developing

discourse into a reactionary and racist defense of an essentialized idea of nature" ("The Blackness" np). Drawing on Tidwell's work, as well as the work of ecocritics Robert D. Bullard and Carolyn Merchant, Scott Hicks's "W.E.B. Du Bois, Booker T. Washington, and Richard Wright: Toward an Ecocriticism of Color" proposes rereading the ecocritical canon to account for marginal and minority writers. Placing the work of Henry David Thoreau, Aldo Leopold, John Muir, and Rachel Carson alongside of, and in some cases in critical tension with, the work of African American writers, Hicks compels place scholars to be "conscious of various environments (urban, rural, and suburban, and the miscegenations and marginalization therein) as well as attuned to the political ramifications of social justice, justice not just for the cliched redwoods and spotted owls, but for communities and cultures as well" (Hicks 203). Although place scholarship in composition and rhetoric differs from ecocriticism in its focus on composing practices (as opposed to interpretive strategies), ecocriticism's recognition of the blatant negation of African American discourses in its canons, along with its rejection of essentialized notions of space, can offer a heuristic for locating oversights within our own field and methods.

Referencing Bullard and Merchant's work on ecocritical intersectionality, Hicks asserts that "environmental crises reflect, and cohere along, racial and gender lines, thus demonstrating the importance of 'intersectional' ways of thinking 'green'—with race and racism a critical axis" (Hicks 203). This approach foregrounds racism as a central component for understanding environmental exigencies. If racial hierarchies are radically distributed across our physical and cultural environs, then ignoring or overlooking these discrepancies of power and access works to minimize, gloss over, and in some cases erase the structural inequities underpinning a discourse of environmentalism and environmental justice. Following scholars such as Hicks, I argue that

clarifying this history allows us to contextualize contemporary spatial exigencies, such as the policing of African American bodies in our public spaces.

In other words, while place-based scholarship is rife with concerns (and doubts) about future environments and what the next environmental crisis might be, missing from such discussions is an attendance to how a history of racism informs current social policies that exclude and oppress citizens of color, constraining their access to certain physical and cultural environs.[11] This investment in the material reality of history, particularly as it is grounded in our physical and cultural spaces, is best expressed in W.E.B. Du Bois's critical writing. Although Du Bois wrote in multiple genres, an engagement with space as both historically inflected and discursively arranged cuts across his academic, creative, and public writing. Works such as *Souls of Black Folk* and "Conservation of the Races" illustrates how our ideas about nature and environment are held up by deep racial hierarchies developed in response to colonial and imperial conquest—conquests that resulted in the appropriation and dispossession of lands, the enslavement and segregation of marginal and minority communities for the purposes of tending these lands, and racist regulatory and legislative initiatives that controlled physical activity and bodily agency. Moreover, Du Bois's conservationist approach to space undercuts perservationist thinking in two significant ways: 1.) Du Bois draws a parallel between the preservation of lands and the degradation of African American bodies, depicting environmental exigence as rooted to

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[11]   Research by Lani Guinier explores how racial liberalism imposes more restrictions on access to public resources by entrenching a post-racial perspective that serves to erase race as an implicit variable for understanding and negotiating public crises. Accordingly, "racial liberalism positioned the peculiarly American race 'problem' as a psychological and interpersonal challenge rather than a structural problem rooted in or economic and political system" (100). See Guinier's "From Racial Liberalism to Racial Literacy: Brown v. Board of Education and the Interest-Divergence Dilemma." Adam Banks's "Race, Rhetoric, and Technology" also offers a useful reading of the racialization of access to digital technologies. Moreover, Ta-Nehisi Coates's "A Case for Reparations" offers a useful history of de jure and de facto segregation as they are manifested in structural inequities in housing opportunities, public housing, and federal funding for such projects.

and grounded in the exploitation of Black bodies and 2.) Du Bois prioritizes intervention and disruption over preservation and maintenance as key components of his activism.

In *Souls of Black Folk*, Du Bois maps a geography of the south that foregrounds segregation, labor exploitation, and economic injustice. Remarking on "the islands from Charleston south, the abandoned rice-fields along the rivers for thirty miles back from the sea, and the country bordering the St. John's River, Florida...reserved and set apart for the settlement of Negroes now made free by act of war," *Souls* presents a landscape reliant on—and perpetually marked by—the historical legacy of racism, oppression, and violence, where "black farmers are peons, bound by law and custom to an economic slavery, from which the only escape is death or the penitentiary" (Du Bois 12). Such a legacy, evident in the material arrangement and physical infrastructure of the south, is interpreted through the "Jim Crow Car" window.[12] Inviting a white reading public into this "mixed" train car through direct address, Du Bois's speaker intermittently comments on the car's shape and racial makeup.

> If you wish to ride with me you must come into the 'Jim Crow Car.' There will be
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> no objection—already four other white men, and a little white girl with her nurse,
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> are in there. Usually the races are mixed in there; but the white coach is all white.
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> Of course this car is not so good as the other, but it is fairly clean and

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[12] This is not the first time that Du Bois references "the car window" as an access point into African American living spaces. In *The Philadelphia Negro*, a sociological study on African American communities in Philadelphia's Seventh Ward written between 1895 and 1897, Du Bois refers to the "car window sociologist" who "while attempting to understand the South or black Americans, spent a few leisurely hours on holiday, riding in a Pullman car through the South, generally not venturing into the communities" (qtd in Green and Driver 37). Here, the car window operates not as a vehicle for seeing and interpreting the black experience as it is manifested in physical and cultural space, but rather as a border or boundary inhibiting the scholar from discerning and contextualizing this spatial history. Moreover, the car window sociologist is a pejorative designation that underscores the scholar's isolation from the public sphere of influence. That is to say, the sociologist's car is either completely devoid of public critique or exists within a homogeneous public sphere of influence. Here, Du Bois seems to be suggesting that the space of criticism is not divorced from the public sphere, but rather must be navigated and mediated through a public sphere and through public space.

comfortable. The discomfort lies chiefly in the hearts of those four black men

yonder—and in mine (Du Bois 70).

Positioning himself, as well as a "mixed" reading public, within the "Jim Crow Train Car," Du Bois draws a connection between the asymmetry of power implicit in the public sphere (as the Jim Crow Car is a form of public transportation) and the racial inequities evinced in the physical landscape of the South. Here, public space mirrors the "natural" landscapes of the rural south, operating as a reflective lens that connects the racial oppression of the past to the systematic racism of the present. Thus, public space operates as a critical apparatus for political intervention and poetic invention, as it is only through the Jim Crow Car that we can access, interpret, and potentially modify the material and cultural inequities of racism, segregation, and labor exploitation. Literally cutting across or intervening in the landscape, the Jim Crow Car provides the potential for resignification by attending to the historical legacy of racism underpinning the physical land, functioning as a material space to inhabit as well as a vehicle for reflection and bearing witness.

As *Souls* moves farther down South and deeper into The Black Belt, "the 'Jim Crow Car' grows larger and a shade better...[as] three rough field-hands and two or three white loafers" accompany the speaker, while "a newsboy...spreads his wares" (Du Bois 71). The largeness and lightness of the Jim Crow Car is offset by the "strange land of shadows" characterizing Dougherty County, where "even slaves paled in the past, and whence come now only faint and half-intelligible murmurs to the world beyond" (Du Bois 71). It is only through the interpretive lens of the Jim Crow Car (a kind of roving public) that the "half-intelligible murmurs" of historical trauma become readable and available, a trauma characterized by "the clank of chained feet marching from Virginia and Carolina to Georgia [and] heard in the rich swamp

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lands," by the "wail of the motherless, and the muttered curses of the wretched...echoing from the Flint to the Chickasawhatchee," and by the "blood" of slaves who've "dropped dead in the furrow...[and] kicked aside" while "the plough never stopped" (Du Bois 76). Moreover, in giving voice to this "mute subject" of history, whose toil is braided into the rural landscape of the South, Du Bois's travelogue opens up and makes tenable future "worlds"—or to use Du Bois's language, "worlds beyond."[13] Such "worlds" are not abstract; rather, *Souls* makes clear that overlooking (or even negating) the history of racism informing past and present social policies endangers the health of the country, warning that if "we debauch the race thus caught in our talons, selfishly sucking their blood and brains in the future as in the past, what shall save us from national decadence?" (Du Bois 56). Race prejudice and violence is thus treated through an environmentalist discourse—racism is viewed as wasteful, decadent, and debaucherous, marking an exploitation of resources and bodies.

The environmental exigency impeding progress, for Du Bois, was therefore the color line, which he suggests "remains a heavy fact...[that] cannot be laughed away, nor always successfully stormed at, nor easily abolished by act of legislature" (Du Bois 56). By underscoring the futility of a singular unilateral approach to race prejudice, *Souls* prioritizes ideas, cultural training, and discursive intervention as central components of his activism. Accordingly, the material history of race prejudice "must be recognized as facts, but unpleasant facts; things that stand in the way of civilization and religion and common decency. They can be met in but one way—by the breadth and broadening of human reason, by catholicity of taste and culture. And so, too, the native ambition and aspiration of men" (Du Bois 56). While activists

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[13] Here, I am gesturing to Scott Hicks's work, which asserts that Du Bois's *Souls* challenges Booker T. Washington's reading of "the land of the south as a space that predates historical inscription," and instead "denaturalizes and defamiliarizes such assumptions by seeking to speak for the *mute subject*" (italics added, 209). See "W.E.B. Du Bois, Booker T. Washington and Richard Wright: Toward and Ecocriticism of Color."

such as Booker T. Washington sought a materialist and economic approach to combating racism through manual labor and slow economic development, recognizing black and white space as separate and distinct spheres of relations, Du Bois's activism aimed to resignify our physical and cultural landscapes as sites for "mixed" engagement and political intervention.[14] Promoting a conservationist discourse that challenged the notion that such spaces should be preserved, compartmentalized, and instrumentalized, especially for economic profit, *Souls* endeavored to open up and broaden access to these environs. Moreover, making such spaces safe and habitable for African Americans—rather than protecting the environment from human incursion and molestation—was central to Du Bois's environmental activism.

Although *Souls* promotes what I'm calling a conservationist logic that foregrounds the spatial histories informing and assembling racist social policies such as segregation and labor exploitation, Du Bois's theory of conservation was initially (and more directly) explored in his 1897 speech to the American Negro Academy, entitled "Conservation of the Races." In this speech, Du Bois draws a connection between the conservation of the African American race and the fulfillment of the ideal of "human brotherhood," noting "We believe in the duty of the Americans of Negro descent, as a body, to maintain their race identity until this mission of the Negro people is accomplished, and the ideal of human brotherhood has become a practical possibility" (Du Bois 825). Therefore, while *Souls* accounts for an historical legacy of racism in American society, Du Bois's "Conservation" speech is an argument for the future, one that rests

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[14]   Booker T. Washington's 1895 Atlanta Comprise speech, delivered at the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta Georgia, proclaimed that African American class mobility could only be manifested through the "production of our own hands" (Atlanta Compromise np). Advocating a "separate but equal doctrine," which would become settled law the following year in the 1896 Plessy v. Ferguson ruling, Washington maintained that "in all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress" ("Atlanta" np).

on reconciling concerns about the existential requirements of race identity, survival, and progress.

Despite the fact that "Conservation" endeavored to respond to two question that Du Bois saw as central to such concerns—namely "have we in America a distinct mission as a race...a distinct sphere of action and an opportunity for race development, or is self-obliteration the highest end to which Negro blood dare aspire?"—the futuristic tone of Du Bois's speech offers more of a heuristic for future inquiry than a firm resolution on questions of race and racial discrimination. Very much a prelude to his notion of double consciousness, a concept more robustly expressed in *Souls*, "Conservation" draws attention to the problematic binary relationship between African American race identity and American nationality, asking:

> What, after all, am I? Am I an American or am I a Negro? Can I be both? Or is it my duty to cease to be a Negro as soon as possible and be an American? If I strive as a Negro, am I not perpetuating the very cleft that separates Black and White America? Is not my only possible practical aim the subduction of all that is Negro in me to the American? Does my black blood place upon me any more obligation to assert my nationality than German, or Irish or Italian blood would? (Du Bois 821)

Resolving that the concept of race is contingent upon environmental phenomena more so than scientific and biological data, Du Bois suggests that the suppression or "obliteration" of African American race identity would essentially impede the progress of civilization. Responding to social Darwinists, Du Bois's speech argues that existential questions surrounding the relationship among race, citizenship, and nationality could best be understood by the conservation of the African American race. By inhibiting the progress of such a race through exclusionary social

policies, modern society could never learn "the great message [African Americans] have for humanity" (Du Bois 820). This logic is also later expressed in *Souls*, as Du Bois asserts that the American Negro "would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of White Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world" (Du Bois 3). Making a case for African American race identity based on the discursive worlds that such a race might generate, Du Bois's notion of conservation is fundamentally rhetorical. Whereas *Souls* aims to draw an incisive connection between an historical legacy of racism and the social policies of the present, "Conservation" implicates the health of future environs on the conservation of Black bodies and their discourses. Yet both texts not only implicate the physical environment, unearthing the hierarchies of race, power, and access baked into such environs, but also conjure discursive "worlds beyond," as we notice in the "murmurs" of *Soul's* mute subject of history and in the "message" that African Americans hold for humanity (referenced in "Conservation"). This reading of space as not simply an objectified container of material relations (or a preexisting site that individuals passively move into and out of) but rather as an ecology of interanimating forces that is historically inflected and discursively arranged reflects what I'm referring to as a conservationist approach to place-based inquiry. Deriving my definition of conservation from Du Bois's critical work, which highlights the entangled and enmeshed nature of space and the need to protect bodies in space (rather than protect space at the expense of bodies), this research suggests that a firmer engagement with the central role that race plays in our negotiation of space, nature, and environment could serve place-based scholarship.

Directing "Conservation" to the American Negro Academy, Du Bois argues that "it is our duty to *conserve* our physical powers, our intellectual endowments, our spiritual ideas; as a race we must strive by race organization, by race solidarity, by race unity to the realization of that

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broader humanity which freely recognizes differences in men, but sternly deprecates inequality in their opportunities of development" (Du Bois 822). To conserve the African American race, then, necessitated not only cultivating material wealth through physical labor, which was very much a Washingtonian approach to race activism, but also developing intellectual and spiritual strengths, which required that African Americans speak back to and disrupt systematic oppression through discourse and ideas, sustaining their "message" into the future. Yet sustaining such a message entailed not only an engagement with the past, but also an anticipation of the future. Moreover, developing our civilization's physical and cultural environs depended on realizing and witnessing the African American race's "message to the world" (see above). Du Boisian conservation therefore calls attention to the discursive and temporal qualities implicit in how we locate and legislate space and place-based needs, requiring an engagement with the past in order to ensure future progress. Drawing attention to the role of discourse in reading and resignifying our physical and cultural environs, Du Boisian conservation accounts for the degree to which these environs are arranged and legislated along a racial axis. Such work is particularly relevant to contemporary place-based research and literacy because it foregrounds race and race conservation as an environmental exigency, accounting for the extent to which institutional racism and the systemic oppression of marginal and minority communities impedes developmental opportunities and future environmental progress. Moreover, Du Boisian conservation can help refine our current notions of public and place-based literacy by drawing attention to questions of access—that is, questions regarding access to public space and the resources therein, as well as access to a public sphere of influence, which often excludes or confines how blackness comes into view and is legislated publicly.

This chapter has located moments of intersection among place scholarship, theories of the

public sphere, and racially-focused approaches to space and public literacy. Although my reading

of Du Bois has centered on his long-form writing, such work offers insight into a racially-

focused engagement with space that corresponds with turn-of-the-century periodical activism

and public writing, as Du Bois both read and wrote prolifically for periodicals in this period.[15]

Much of the writing that led to *Souls* appeared in white progressive periodicals including *The*

Atlantic Monthly, *Independent Weekly*, *Dial*, *Booklover's Magazine*, *New York Times Magazine*

Supplement, Conservator, *International Journal of Ethics*, *New York Evening Post*, *New World*,

and the *Christian Register*, as well as black periodicals including *Voice of the Negro*, *Southern*

Workman, *A.M.E. Church Review*, and *Scroll*. Articles such as "Strivings of the Negro People,"

published in the August 1897 edition of *The Atlantic Monthly*, was the first of four that would

run in the *Atlantic* and later be published as "chapters" in *Souls*. "A Negro Schoolmaster in the

New South," "The Freedman's Bureau," and "Of the Training of Black Men" were published

respectively between January 1899 and September 1902. Furthermore, as Brian Johnson notes in

Du Bois on Reform: Periodical-Based Activism, many of the articles that Du Bois wrote for the

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[15] See Brian Johnson's *Du Bois on Reform: Periodical-based Leadership for African Americans,* which charts W.E.B. Du Bois's development as a periodical writer, beginning with his earliest articles for Thomas Fortune's *New York Globe* when he was still in high school. According to Johnson, Du Bois's public writing was very much inspired by race activists such as Rev. Alexander Crummell, who sought to educate a more generalized, less educated African American public. Aligning himself with Crummell's more secular reform efforts, which privileged education *and* moral advancement, Du Bois maintained that moral and ethical progress necessitated a more rigorous liberal arts training. Johnson chronicles Du Bois's frustration with the "religious fatalism" he saw championed by nineteenth and early twentieth century Black churches and religious organizations and his pursuit of periodical publication in order to overturn this influence (Du Bois, qtd. In Johnson xiii). According to Johnson, "Du Bois believed that [Black churches and religious organizations'] refusal to rely upon liberal arts training to prepare for an increasingly civilized American culture necessarily limited African American moral and ethical possibilities in an advancing modern age. And the periodical became Du Bois's point of entry into tightfisted southern—and primarily religious—African American communities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. African American preachers had their wooden pulpits, and with the periodical, Du Bois had his paper pulpit" (Johnson xxiii). Thus, "the periodical provided Du Bois's scholarly opinion on African American reform matters—prior to that time, a discourse generally reserved for ministers in black churches and religios organizations—a public sphere of influence" (Johnson xxiv). After graduating from Harvard University, Du Bois gathered experience in public writing by forging a connection with Crummell's American Negro Academy (1897-1903) and its *Occasional Papers.* Du Bois and Crummell agreed that a "scholarly utilitarian periodical" should be the primary location for offering an alternative platform for social outreach.

Atlantic, particularly those that later appeared in *Souls,* resulted from an ongoing correspondence with Richard Jones at *Collier's Weekly.* In his correspondence with Jones, Du Bois expressed a desire to find outlets for public writing that focused on, in Du Bois's words, "the darker races in America, Africa, and Asia" (qtd in Lewis 758). While the *Atlantic* offered Du Bois some leeway in making these communities more visible in mainstream America, black periodicals were central organizing tools for race activism and more progressive racial policies. Du Bois's later work for *The Crisis Magazine* emphasized the social constructedness of space –an approach we also see cultivated in activist periodicals including the National Association of Colored Women's *The Woman's Era and* Pauline Hopkins's *Colored American Magazine* (which I will analyze in Chapters Two, Three, and Four).

As John Clabord writes, "Du Bois strategically reimagines Kantian and conservationist discourse," as he "naturalizes integration and internalizes a vision of democracy across the color line" (Claborn 127). Tying African American experiences of space to segregation, Du Bois's periodical writing refined the conservationist discourse of his critical work in order to promote a more expansive version of the public sphere. Gifting African American public subjects with a "second sight," which allowed them to see "signs of the social world" nested within our material environs, Du Bois's work "posed a challenge to segregation" (Claborn 127). Thus, it was the first-hand experience of racial oppression, according to race activists like Du Bois, that made African Americans more calibrated to the social nature of space and more able to navigate characteristic changes in the public sphere at the century's turn. Continuing immigration, urbanization, and imperialist pursuits into Cuba, Guam, and the Philippians were only a few factors leading to a more expanded public sphere of relations. Additionally, technological innovations such as the telephone, as well as the introduction of electric trains to rail systems

allowed individuals to be in more contact with one another. Lastly, advancements in half-tone printing and print advertising provided publishers with the technical means to print higher quality layouts in larger volumes, expanding their readership. Responding to these changes, activist periodicals became useful sites for critiquing the social order and renewing African American public presence within mainstream and counter-mainstream discourses. In the following chapters, I will examine how these texts initiated productive conversations about the relationship between space and discourse and discourse and subjectivity—conversations, as I have tried to detail, that resonate with contemporary place-based scholarship. More specifically, Chapter Two will highlight the ways in which black periodicals championed progressive efforts to create new, accessible safe spaces and retreats for African Americans, such as African American public reading rooms and libraries, settlement houses, kindergartens, and public schools. Such work, I note, advanced an engagement with public space and local environs as a prerequisite for race activism and intellectual refinement. In addition to building public facilities that served African American populations throughout the country, these periodicals took up urban renewal projects and city beautification campaigns that promoted community gardens, the planting of trees, and waste-removal programs. Such an engagement with the physical environments structuring and organizing the public sphere allowed African American periodicals to draw connections between access to public space and race identity.

1.3   CONCLUSION

As this chapter has demonstrated, space, nature, and environment have long-been areas of inquiry in composition and rhetorical study. However, such scholarship has neglected to perform

a sustained critical analysis of how African American discourses impact the ways in which we historicize, theorize, and practicalize through literacy instruction the relationship space and different forms of social representation. Moreover, place-based scholarship has often viewed space, environment, and nature from a somewhat limited and essentialized vantage point, privileging natural environs and constraining environmental exigencies to the preservation of natural landscapes. Consequently, place-based inquiry has often been relegated to units or themes in the writing classroom in which students wage environmental justice campaigns or write about a local town hall meeting that they've attended. A closer analysis of race and the racial hierarchies inflecting how we think, write, and speak about place and place-based needs can lead to more substantial discussions about the spatiality of writing. In *Postcompostion*, Dobrin defines the spatiality of writing as "casting space not as that which must be in the beginning before creation, as Plato's *Timaeus* suggests...but as a function of writing" (Dobrin 30). In other words, space is not an object to be examined in writing, but instead a conceptual apparatus through which writing happens. More specifically, space both produces and is produced by writing. Understanding how marginal and minority writers have used place-based inquiry to expose ongoing systematic oppression and institutional racism serves to ground place scholarship and pedagogy in material and practical conversations about space as a function of writing, especially as such conversations underscore how race and racial discourses are constrained by access to certain and specific material and cultural spaces.

Concerns about space and spatial allocation have been central to the field of composition and rhetoric. Foremost of these concerns have been questions regarding how new subjectivities access institutional space and in turn shape the institutional landscapes they inhabit through writing (Bartholomae). Therefore, the history of composition studies has been a history of how

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we come to terms with institutional space and the various ways in which these spatial constructs legislate our literacy practices, including the ways in which we teach, learn, and produce discourse. Highlighting this disciplinary predilection, place scholarship such as ecocomposition "attempt[s] to provide a holistic, encompassing framework for studies of the relationship between discourse and environment" (Dobrin and Weisser 572). However, as I argue, adjusting the lens through which we view place-based literacies and activism to account for African American struggles to safely inhabit public space is of central importance to place-based scholarship, especially as contemporary activist movements such as Black Lives Matter serve to draw our attention to deep cultural divides in how citizens inhabit public space. Therefore, I suggest that place-based scholarship more rigorously engage questions concerning the racialization of public space, recognizing the extent to which space inherits and promotes racial hierarchies that texture our discourses about race and racial subjects. In an attempt to frame and guide my investigation of African American activist media in the chapters that come, I pose the following heuristic:

> 1. How do African American discourses of place shape consequential questions concerning who has access to "the public" and the resources therein, how marginality is represented within our public spaces, and whether we can reconstitute space by changing our representations of marginality or by accounting for marginal experience within our public venues?
>
> 2. What are the stakes and consequences of making oneself, one's suffering, one's experiences visible through public writing? What are the consequences of visibility for marginal and minority communities in our physical and/or cultural environs?

3. How might we account for an expanded definition of public literacy and public exigency in contemporary writing contexts? What types of assignments might elicit a deeper engagement with public space as a function of writing, rather than as simply an arena for writing?

This analysis has aimed to shore up a theoretical framework informed by contemporary theories of space. The project of this dissertation will be to further illustrate how the spatial theories that I've combed through in this chapter operate in and are advanced by turn-of-the-century African American periodical activism. The goal of this chapter was to offer an overview of how a racially-focused approach to space can help refine current place-based composing practices, using Du Bois's *Souls* and "Conservation" to clarify key discussions about the role of race in the production of public space. In the chapters that follow, I will show how this ideal of conservation manifests itself in activist periodical writing.

2.0 MAKING SPACE: ACCESSING PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS THROUGH PRINT PUBLICITY IN THE WOMAN'S ERA AND THE CRISIS MAGAZINE

In Chapter One, I referenced an image of an African American reading room, which was part of the Jesse Alexander Photograph Collection at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture. This chapter begins in similar fashion, as I call attention to not only the image referenced in my previous chapter (Figure One), but also to two photographs of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute's reading room taken in 1902 and 1906, respectively (Figures Two and Three). Read together, these photographs offer an alternative portrayal of blackness at the turn of the century—a portrayal that complicates the demeaning and discriminatory depictions of blackness so prolific in this era of American history. Overturning mainstream depictions of black public subjects as either infantile, criminal, or overtly sexualized, these photographs foreground black literacy, education, and cultural refinement. While these images may in part reflect a respectability politics that enlisted educated and elite classes as the sole surrogates for racial uplift (a signature of turn-of-the-century race activism), they also crystallize the interanimating relationship between public space and racial subjectivity, which is the object of my examination in this chapter. Staged in the Y.M.C.A. (Figure One) and the Tuskegee Institute (Figures Two and Three), each of these photographs emphasize public space and positioning.

While Figures One and Two foreground the literate activities that are cultivated in and refined through the space of the reading room, Figure Three offers a more materialist vantage point, showcasing the books and busts so characteristic of libraries and reading spaces. Moreover, Figures Two and Three capture African American men and women reading together, underscoring the extent to which African American literacy practices were, to a large degree, communal. In "Black Readers and their Reading Rooms," Elizabeth McHenry explains that "by reading (whether independently or as part of a group) and...by participating in the conversations inspired by the texts they read in the context of a literary society, library, or reading room," African Americans "presented themselves as 'fit for society [and] better neighbors in any community'" (McHenry 117). Additionally, black public subjects were able to assert their voices "through collective reading and literary activities such as those sponsored and sustained by the texts included in the early black press as well as those collected by early African American libraries and reading rooms" (118). Although these photographs were not published in *The Woman's Era* or *The Crisis Magazine*, given the relative newness of half-tone printing technologies, I include them here because they reflect the work of these periodicals. Such work, I argue, challenged and critiqued racial hierarchies by highlighting the role of public space in arranging and navigating blackness as a public subjectivity.

Chapter One of this dissertation provided a theoretical context for casting racism and systemic oppression as an environmental crisis. Moreover, I suggested that turn-of-the-century African American literary activists drew attention to the racial hierarchies implicit in our public landscapes. In this chapter, I examine how *The Woman's Era* and *The Crisis Magazine* narrated and interpreted public environments, considering the territory of the public through both a literal (libraries, reading rooms, and schools) and figurative (ghettos) vantage point. Much like the

photographs that I referenced earlier, these periodicals undertook the work of reassembling the physical territory of the public sphere for the purposes of resignifying blackness as a public subjectivity. This chapter suggests that turn-of-the-century African American periodicals pursued two strategies of resistance. Instead of simply promoting a doctrine of respectability—one that mirrored Victorian mores —The *Woman's Era* and *The Crisis Magazine* adopted forms of resistance that 1.) endeavored to physically alter the material landscapes of African American communities for the purposes of extending access to public institutions, as we can see in their coverage of library and school development and 2.) provided a lens for thinking about the intimate connection between space and racial identity, a more theoretical project that is reflected in W.E.B. Du Bois's staging of the ghetto in *The Crisis Magazine*. Each of these approaches, I claim, posit the public sphere of representation as a literal and figurative sphere of relations, seeking to refine and dictate the terms on which we come to regulate, determine, and understand this sphere by accounting for African American experience, knowledge, and public presence.

By concentrating on libraries, schools, and ghettos, this research foregrounds the role of physical space in the production of the public sphere. Libraries, reading rooms, and public schools were central hubs for not only literary acquisition, but for community organization and activism. The rapid growth of literary societies in the antebellum and postbellum periods and their fundamental role in library and school development speaks to the significance of these spaces, particularly in regards to community education and activist mobilization. While library and school development challenged racial barriers placed on access to public institutions, the proliferation of ghettoized spaces—which included tenements, slums, or any isolated or segregated area deprived of state resources—spoke to the erosion of these institutions for African American and marginal communities. Moreover, progressive concerns for urban reform led to

greater attention to the economic, social, and cultural variables implicit in the construction and maintenance of the ghetto. This chapter examines how African American periodicals assisted in the development of new dwelling places for African Americans by chronicling efforts to build and refine African American public spaces, including libraries, reading rooms, and public and normal schools, and critiqued segregationist policies through a critical analysis of the ghetto—an analysis that explored the material and psychic consequences of spatial dislocation.

The goal of this chapter is to chronicle how African American public writing demonstrates an engagement with space that is activist and interventionist. Such an engagement recognizes "the public sphere" as both a space of danger and progress for African Americans, as the public sphere is cast as both a space in which blackness is marginalized and discriminated against and a space through which discrimination and marginalization can be exposed and resignified via public writing. Throughout this chapter, I offer an historical context for thinking about how African American public discourses can serve to clarify the intimate relationship between space and racial subjectivity, offering a model for writing about space that takes seriously questions concerning public visibility and access.

2.1   SETTING THE STAGE: MASS CIRCULATED PRINT MEDIA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE WOMAN'S ERA AS AN ACTIVIST PERIODICAL

In *The Ethos of Rhetoric,* Michael Hyde explores the relationship between ethos and physical space. According to Hyde, ethea, from which Aristotle's ethos is derived, referred to a dwelling space. More specifically, as As Aric Putnam notes in his analysis of Hyde's work, "a cave in

which one dwelt" (Putnam 35). Ethea later came to connote the habits and behaviors one developed within this dwelling space. This pre-Aristotelian context allows us to re-negotiate ethos as not simply an individual's display of character and virtue (as it is typically construed), but rather as a public presentation mediated by and contingent upon one's spatial relationality. Hyde defines the "ethos of rhetoric" as "the way discourse is used to transform space and time into 'dwelling places'" (Hyde xiii). These dwelling places come to characterize one's habits of mind, behaviors, and moral and intellectual development. Furthermore, "the ethos of rhetoric highlights how locality is a foundation for public expression and political culture" (Putnam 35). This conception of ethos not only draws connections between space, discourse, and subjectivity, but also underlines the extent to which space shapes, influences, and dictates the parameters of public deliberation. As Putnam notes, "the term ethos provides a vocabulary for the treatment of the rhetorical effect of collective identity formation," which presses on Aristotle's more individualized conception of ethical development (Putnam 35). In other words, if ethos is the byproduct of one's dwelling practices, then one's virtues, habits, and moral and intellectual development is collectively—and not individually—construed. This offers a unique vantage point from which to approach a rhetoric of race politics, since such dwelling practices tended to be roving, insecure, and inhospitable for marginal and minority groups. In reaction to state surveillance and encroachment upon marginal and minority inhabitation of space, marginal and minority activists pursue rhetorical practices that "propose alternative spaces in which progressive communities can be imagined" (Putnam 36). Given its platform as an emergent modern media at the latter half of the nineteenth century, African American periodical publicity was an effective outlet for staging this rhetorical intervention.[16]

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[16] By "emergent media," I am pointing to emerging trends in periodical publication that made this medium decidedly more modern. These trends include emergent printing technologies such as half-tone printing that

In "Beyond the Bounds of the Book: Periodical Studies and Women Writers of the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," Jean Marie Lutes suggests that "as scholars confront the implications of the interactive modes of reading associated with periodical studies, they are reshaping our understanding of the public - mass publics, public spheres, and public identities" (345). Indeed, the emergence of mass-circulated newspapers in the 1860s, which was due in part to an increasing public propensity for receiving news about the Civil War, introduced new forms of literary engagement, community correspondence and activism. This propensity for news grew in the wake of the Civil War. As Lutes explains, "between 1870 and 1900, the number of daily newspapers quadrupled, and the number of weekly publications tripled" (Lutes 99). Such an increase was reflective of the growing accessibility of print media, as "the plummeting price of newsprint—publishers who paid $440 a ton for paper during the Civil War were paying only $42 a ton by 1899—allowed the average newspaper to expand dramatically in size" (Lutes 99). Print accessibility also led to an expansion of the reading public, which now included women.

Although women's magazines were circulated in the antebellum period, such as the *Ladies Magazine* (1828-1837) and *Godey's Lady's Book (*1830-1898), circulation and sales figures for women's magazines in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century eclipsed those of previous decades. Among these were the *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Women's Home Companion*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Delineator*, *McCall's*, and *Pictorial Review*. As Ellen Gruber Garvey notes, "the label 'ladies' reassured readers that world would be concerned with matters of the home and would not be improper or controversial. Yet recent researchers find that some of the work editors did on domestic, children's, and fashion magazines was surprisingly at odds with conventional ideology about women's roles" (Garvey xi). Turn-of-the-century print journalism was also

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allowed for the display of photographic images as well as illustration, the increasing popularity of monthly magazines with an interest in social justice and reform, and the growth of print advertising, which catalyzed a more commercialized approach to print media.

characterized by the growing popularity of monthly magazines, such as *Scribner's*, *McClure's*, *Munsey's,* and *Cosmopolitan*, which pursued a professional middle-class reading public vastly different from the elite "Yankee humanism" modeled in older, more traditional periodicals, such as The Atlantic Monthly.[17]However, although this period saw an expansion in print journalism and its target audiences, many of the newspapers, monthlies, and women's magazines cited above did not adequately address pressing questions about racism and mob violence. As Jacqueline Goldsby has noted in *A Spectacular Secret: Lynching in American Life and Literature*, "as American journalism turned modern at the end of the nineteenth century, newspapers abided by and abetted the murders of black people as the sum (rather than the price) of their ambitions" (71). Beginning with the *Freedom's Journal* (1827-29), the first black publication in North America, African American newspapers and magazines undertook the work of critiquing these oversights in the mainstream press, accounting for a history of suffering, protest, and activism.

As Roland Wolsely points out, "the number of publications issued by blacks before the Civil War has been verified as forty or more...[and] many of the journalistic publications issued after 1827 were hardly more than pamphlets and were short-lived" (28). Among these newspapers included the *Colored American*, the New York *Age*, *Aliened American*, *Mirror of Liberty*, the *Elevator*, *Freeman's Advocate*, *Palladium of Liberty,* the *Genius of Freedom*, and the

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[17]   Here, I am referring to the "highbrow" culture advanced by periodicals such as The Atlantic Monthly. In "Periodical Studies and Cultural History/Periodical Studies as Cultural History: New Scholarship on American Magazines," Scott Casper suggests that the *Atlantic* privileged "New England values," namely "a liberal optimism concerning the educability and fundamental integrity of the American majority" (264). Casper notes that the editors of *Scribners*, Thomas Bailey Aldrich and Horace Scudder, "felt a rising pessimism about the place of Yankee humanism in an increasingly industrial, commercial, and class-stratified, and multi-ethnic society" (Casper 264). These new monthlies "celebrated progress in various forms: the control of nature through engineering, the domination and civilization of seemingly 'primitive' non-Western peoples, the enterprises and philanthropies of 'captains of industry,' and a culture of abundance symbolized by the rise of advertising" (265). The *Atlantic's* circulation dropped in the period between 1870 and 1890s, mostly as consequence of the growing popularity of mass-market monthlies like *Scribners*, *Munsey's*, *McClure's* and *Cosmopolitan*.

Herald of Freedom. Additionally, Frederick Douglas published and edited a range of black newspapers and magazines leading up to and during the Civil War, including the *North Star, Frederick Douglass' Paper,* and *Douglass' Monthly.* In content, early black newspapers resembled magazines, publishing opinion pieces, profiles of African American activists and abolitionists, and editorials:

> Although little news appeared in these early papers and much of the material that did appear was of the kind now usually bound into magazines of opinion, they are classified generally as newspapers rather than periodicals because of their appearance, frequency of issue, and their habit of calling themselves news organs (Wolseley 36).

Since their inception, African American presses were blurring traditional print genres, a legacy that periodicals such as *The Woman's Era* would later further. In similar fashion to the white press, African American newspaper and magazine publishing took off after the Civil War, establishing 575 new papers in the period between 1875 and 1890. Reasons for the upsurge in newspaper production included advancements in education, increased literacy rates, suffrage for African American men, growing financial support for the press through social services, and religious organization and activism (Wolseley). Furthermore, restrictions placed on access to public space and increasing segregation galvanized African American periodical activism:

> During the Reconstruction years blacks were pushed into ghettos in the larger cities of both North and South. Segregation became the enforced way of life for them...[which] led to a community-conscious press devoted to protest against discrimination as well as to reporting the minutiae of black life (Wolseley 39).

The latter half of the nineteenth century also saw an uptick in smaller, non-commericial, and activist presses, such as suffrage, socialist, labor, and racial protest journals. Lutes explains:

> Many suffragists, socialists, labour organizers, and racial and ethnic minorities established their own newspapers. Few of these alternative presses existed to make money...Many of these journals were short-lived and had limited readership, but they served as critical venues for expressing resistance to oppression; they also acted as platforms for reformers who used them to attract attention from mainstream presses (Lutes 105).

Although many of these alternative presses didn't account for intersectional issues, there were some notable exceptions. For example, Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton's *The Revolution* (1868-1872), championed suffrage for white and black women, drawing connections between racial and gender discrimination, which diverged from the more conservative (and more exclusionary) stance of white suffragists in this period. However, Anthony and Stanton's *Revolution* was written from a white perspective for white women, and didn't reflect the everyday experiences and social hurdles that African American women were regularly encountering. Thus, while suffrage journals offered some relief to the male-dominated perspective so pervasive in the nineteenth century, such presses fell short of advocating on behalf of all women, often excluding African American writing and racial discussions from their copy. It isn't until *The Woman's Era* that we find a periodical not only committed to the work of racial uplift, but also interested in publishing and developing new African American female voices.

The impetus for publishing a monthly periodical came from the large, and mostly positive, reception to an antilynching leaflet distributed by *The* Woman's Era Club of Boston

(WEC) in response to the Denmark Lynching of Barnwell County, South Carolina.[18] Decrying the lynching of John Peterson, the leaflet was "sent in every direction...[and] brought back numerous and encouraging" responses" ("Boston" 1). In the inaugural issue of *The Woman's Era*, the editorial team of The Woman's Era Club of Boston acknowledged the need to further engage these concerns about lynching, as well as other race- and gender-related subjects:

> This reception of the leaflets has revealed to the club a line of work which has
> been little used and which the club can incorporate with its other work with
> advantage. This is the publication and circulation of matter that refers especially
> to the race, not alone, but also such matter as shall be for the advancement and
> encouragement of the race and to quote from our constitution 'to collect all facts
> obtainable, showing the moral, intellectual, industrial and social growth and
> attainment of our people' ("Boston" 1).

Recognizing the importance of "collecting" and publicizing "facts" that attested to the legitimacy and humanity of African American men and women, and the stark consequences of dehumanization, which was evinced in the lynching spectacle, *The Woman's Era* sought to enter into a cultural space that had historically barred and marginalized both African Americans and women. *The Woman's Era* was the first of its kind to offer an intersectional vantage point that aimed to clarify the unique social positioning of African American women, while also bolstering

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[18]   In April 1893, John Peterson was lynched in Denmark, SC for attempted assault with the intent to rape. Mamie Baxter, a fourteen-year-old from a wealthy white family, identified Henry Williams as the man resembling her attacker. After a failed attempt to escape custody, Williams was exonerated by four white farmers who verified his innocence. A second suspect, John Peterson, was indicted after fleeing town (most likely in response to growing skepticism toward black men in the town). After much debate between pro and ant-lynching activists in local newspapers and before Peterson could verify his alibis, Peterson was lynched in the courthouse square. A local reporter described the event as follows: "Very similar to that in a trial justice's court [...] The prisoner was placed upon the stand and made his statement, evidence was taken on both sides and the prisoner permitted to cross examine the witness." Nevertheless, "the jury of public opinion passed upon his case and the verdict was guilty" (qtd in Kantrowitz 231). Peterson was pronounced dead after being shot to death by members of the crowd. According to the coroner's report, John Peterson "came to his death at the hands of about 500 citizens who intended to inflict the punishment of death" (Kantrowitz 231).

African American public identities to account for their "moral, intellectual, industrial, and social growth" (see above). However, this project of bolstering African American public identities in response to mainstream depictions of blackness as infantile, criminal, and overtly sexualized, required that blackness as a public and cultural "ethos" be renegotiated. In order to do so, *The Woman's Era* buoyed efforts to establish and refine African American public spaces for the purposes of recasting blackness in the public sphere.

Edited by Josephine St. P. Ruffin and Florida R. Ridley, *The Woman's Era* was "devoted to the interest of Women's Clubs, Leagues, and Societies throughout the country" ("Masthead" 3). As Elizabeth McHenry notes in *Forgotten Readers,* "no other venue provided black women in the last decade of the nineteenth century with the space in which to publish their work and let their voices be heard" (McHenry 218). Beginning as a monthly newspaper published in Boston, The *Woman's Era* was a central organizing tool for The Woman's Era Club of Boston (the predecessor to the National Association of Colored Women), forging connections between different black women's club movements throughout the country. The newspaper included a "Club News" section, which reported on club meetings, lectures, and activist initiatives taken up by club women in Kansas City, New York, Washington D.C., Chicago, and Providence R.I. In 1896, a merger between the National Federation of Afro-American Women, The Colored Women's League of Washington D.C., and The Woman's Era Club of Boston led to the organization of the National Association of Colored Women (and The Woman's Era newspaper became the official organ of the NACW). Although The *Woman's Era* newspaper only ran for four years, between March 1894 and January 1897, it was central to the development of the NACW and the precursor to the movement's *National Association Notes*. Costing only ten cents for a single issue, a dollar for a year's subscription, and seven dollars for 100 copies, *The*

Woman's Era relied on subscriptions for funding, offering premiums to readers with the most subscriptions. Moreover, although *The Woman's Era* published some local advertisements, including dressmaking services, public notaries, dentists, grammar lessons, music institutions, and books of poetry and literature, the bulk of the periodical's financing was taken on by Josephine St. P. Ruffin. The periodical also included a regular advertisement for Atlanta University.

Both *The Woman's Era* and *National Association Notes* championed progressive efforts to create new, accessible safe spaces and retreats for African Americans, such as African American public libraries, reading rooms, settlement houses, kindergartens, and schools. Such work advanced an engagement with public space and local environs as a prerequisite for race activism and intellectual refinement, which was a fundamental tenet of the NACW's middle-class motto, "Lifting as We Climb." In an editorial entitled, "Greeting," running in the inaugural issue of *The Woman's Era,* restrictions placed on access to public space and the intellectual resources therein become a clarion call for "advanced women" to mobilize. Taking "its first bow" to "a long suffering but indulgent public," the editorial referenced the "circumscribed sphere" in which African American women were relegated and the "narrowness of her environment" as the most profound and prolific inhibitors to racial uplift ("Greetings" 1). As the article asserted, "the impossibility of mingling freely with people of culture and learning, and so carrying on the mental growth begun in schools and colleges, shuts her in with her books but shuts her out of physical touch with the great world of art, science and letters which is open to all other ambitious women" (Greetings 1). Although "Greetings" takes on a somewhat narrow and classist tone in its privileging of "advanced women" as the surrogates for racial uplift, this inaugural editorial

placed into focus the necessity to build new physical and cultural spaces that were flexible, accessible, and amenable to African Americans.

As is noted in the "Club News" section of the newspaper's first issue, which reported on efforts to build an "industrial school" and "ladies exchange" in Kansas City, *The Woman's Era* aimed to "impress the public with the idea that such an association," that is, the NACW, "was a necessity to the city" ("Club News" 1). Reinforcing this mission to invest in public facilities such as training schools, hospitals, and orphanages for African Americans two years later at its national convention and in its reporting in the "Convention Notes" section of *The Woman's Era*, the NACW noted that "convention efforts will be made to accomplish tangible results by bringing together the women who have founded homes, orphanages and hospitals, that our coming women may gather inspiration and the public be educated as to the actual work our women are striving against odds to do" ("Convention Notes" 3.2). In the same June 1896 issue, the Phillis Wheatley Club of Louisiana reported its progress with establishing "a sanitarium and training school for nurses...in the New Orleans Medical School Building" ("Club Notes" 3.2).

The women writing for these magazines employed an intersectional approach to race activism, clarifying the racial and gender hierarchies implicit in how we access, interpret, and legislate public space. As Elizabeth Blum notes in "Women, Environmental Rationale, and Activism During the Progressive Era," while "white women worked with their gender stereotypes to gain access to the public sphere […] African Americans stereotypical image failed to provide the same safe path" into public involvement (78). Therefore, by championing initiatives to build public facilities for African American men and women, periodicals such as *The Woman's Era* and *National Notes* were implicitly altering how blackness became visible within these spaces and to a larger public sphere of representation.

In the following section, I consider how The *Woman's Era* undertook the work of chronicling and managing efforts to refine and reconstitute public space for the purposes of making it more habitable for African American communities. Given its status as the first periodical written by and targeting African American women, *The Woman's Era* attended to intersectional discussions about the racial and gender hierarchies implicit in how we access, interpret, and legislate public space.

2.2 THE LITERARY ACTIVISM OF *THE WOMAN'S ERA*

To track how often and in what context *The Woman's Era* deployed a discourse of the public, I searched each issue of the periodical available in digitized form through the Emory University Writer's Project for terminology referring to the public or public sphere (See Appendix B). Moreover, in order to get a keener sense of how *The Woman's Era* engaged with physical space, I also chronicled how often terms such as "space," "place," "nature," and "environment" were used (Figure 7). After looking through 23 issues of *The Woman's Era,* beginning with the March 1894 inaugural issue and ending with the final issue in January 1897, I found that a discourse of the public reached its peak usage between November 1894 and July 1895 with an average of 15.5 mentions in 22 articles and two advertisements (Figure 6). In this period, *The Woman's Era* ran many articles about developing and participating within public institutions, such as public schools, libraries, and nursing and medical facilities. Concerns about public schooling and instruction were particularly common (see volume 1.8 "Modern Education as Influenced by the Reformation; 1.9 "Missouri: Modern Education"; 2.1 "Discipline"; 2.2. "Discipline). Additionally, *The Woman's Era* published articles about participating in politics and attaining

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suffrage (see volume 1.8 "Illinois: Women in Politics"; 1.8 "What Equal Suffrage Has Done for Colorado"). Lastly, the increase in public discourse could also be reflective of ongoing lynching reporting, as *The Woman's Era* regularly covered antilynching bills and campaigns throughout the South. Terms such as "public opinion," "public sentiment," and "public good" were mainly deployed in association with such coverage.

In Figure 8, I mapped the relationship between figurative and literal uses of the public. I define "literal" references to the public as any reference that is made to either physical public institutions, such as public schools, public roads, public libraries, public hospitals, etc. or official positions or occupations, such as public servants, public officials, public speakers etc. "Figurative" references to the public include references that gesture to a "general" public, public sentiment, public opinion, public gaze, etc., as such terminology describes a more elusive public sphere of representation. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that *The Woman's Era* incorporated both literal and figurative references to the public, although favoring more "figurative" references on average. It is only in the last year of the publication that more literal uses of the public outnumber figurative references. This may be reflective of a shift in editorial focus in the final issues of *The Woman's Era,* which prioritized club news, minutes, and reports more so than original material, including editorial commentary, fiction, and current events. In referencing the public as both a literal and figurative formation, *The Woman's Era* was able to imbue public spaces, such as schools, libraries, and hospitals, with ethical and political significance, exposing the extent to which the inaccessibility of such spaces to African Americans was essentially undemocratic. Furthermore, *The Woman's Era* revised the concept of the public by supporting efforts to build and bolster African American public spaces and by accounting for black experiences within these landscapes. Finally, it's no coincidence that a discourse of the public

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outnumbers alternative place-based terms, such as "space," "place," "nature," and "environment," as the "public" is a decidedly more political and representative terminology (Figure 7). In using such terminology, *The Woman's Era* could investigate and reappropriate how blackness derived meaning as a public identity by producing accessible public spaces.

Medora Gould's article in the first installment of *The Woman's Era* (March 1894) called attention to the various limitations, physical and psychic, placed on access to public space. In a literary review of the Cambridge edition of Henry W. Longfellow's poetry, Gould made reference to the public reading spaces available to minority women, writing, "There is one room in the Boston Public Library of which very few women seem to be aware, or perhaps, wrongly suppose that it is reserved for the exclusive use of men, since it is resorted to almost entirely by the sterner sex" ("Literature Review" 1). Alluding to the fact that such a "wrong supposition" was informed by an historical legacy barring women from these spaces, Gould made interesting connections between the public nature of print publication and its potential to inspire self-education, noting that "a thorough knowledge of Longfellow's verse is part of the education of every American, and the publication of his complete poetical works in one volume is a most practical effort in the popularization of the best literature" ("Literature Review" 1). Yet even the opening up of public spaces to marginal and minority groups could not undo or counterbalance the impression that such spaces were restricted, as residence within these public sites were often accompanied by ideologies of white supremacy and misogyny. Although Gould's article aimed to encourage minority women to "spend a half-hour in the Magazine Room after a shopping trip down town," the fulfillment of this "hope" necessitated a wholesale renegotiation of the public sphere of representation as it existed across different material spaces. For inhabitation of the

wrong "public spaces" could lead to physical aggression, harassment, and even in some cases bodily harm.

This sentiment is further elucidated in Florida R. Ridley's "Open Letter to Mrs. Laura Ormistan Chant," published in the June 1894 edition of *The Woman's Era*. Noting the "shock occasioned" by Chant's efforts to defeat a "resolution at the National Conference of the Unitarian church denouncing lynching," Ridley writes:

> We, ourselves, are daily hindered and oppressed in the race of life; we know that
> every opportunity for advancement, for peace and for happiness will be denied us;
> we know that in most sections Christian men and women will absolutely refuse
> not only to live beside us, to eat with us, but also to open their church doors to us;
> we know that our children, no matter with what tenderness they may be reared,
> are considered legitimate prey for insult; we know that our young girls can at any
> time be thrust into foul and filthy smoking cars; no matter what their straits,
> refused food and shelter if sought among whites in many sections. We feel deeply
> the lack of opportunities, for the culture brought by the *public* libraries, the
> concert and lecture halls which are everywhere denied us at the South. ("Open
> Letter" 3).

Foregrounding the many restrictions placed on access to "public libraries" and "concert and lecture halls," Ridley indicted the hypocrisy of the Christian church as a public institution, as well as progressive reformers such as Laura Ormistan Chant who claimed the banner of progressivism while overlooking the hierarchies of race and power informing issues of poverty, crime, and economic disparity. Pointing to the paradoxical social dynamics underwriting public space, which in turn led to the foreclosure of public resources for marginal and minority groups,

Ridley's letter formulated a view of public space that addressed both its liberatory and discriminatory potential. That is to say, it is precisely in response to the segregation of public space—such as the portioning off of neighborhood spaces, church spaces, railway spaces, and employment spaces—that marginal communities questioned the conditions on which their status as citizens was spatially demarcated.

Evincing the connection between public space and citizenship rights, Ridley argued that the denial of public resources for African American communities—and the abandonment of these communities by public institutions—found a direct corollary in lynching and mob violence. In other words, lynching was the most pronounced expression of the complete disenfranchisement of Black bodies in a public sphere of representation. In order to challenge these social hierarchies, which in effect led to disenfranchisement, dehumanization, and terrorization, *The Woman's Era* underscored the importance of establishing habitable public facilities that accommodated African Americans, especially facilities that promoted and cultivated educational opportunities. Such facilities included libraries, public schools, and non-traditional reading spaces, such as traveling libraries and YMCA and YWCAs.

In addition to public libraries, African American men could access books, magazines, and other printed materials through the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). Membership included access to reading rooms, room and board, concerts, and swimming pools. Women's associations saw the potential in promoting African American entry into these spaces and often endorsed efforts to expand these resources to African American men. In the July 1894 installment of *The Woman's Era*, Rosa L. Jessup reported that Ladies' Auxiliary, a women's coalition founded in 1888 to "promote the work of the Young Men's Christian Association" has "given to the Young Men's Christian Association a library containing five hundred volumes, all

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within the past two years" ("Club News" 4). Noting that this type of support was "of a practical character" and central to the activist "work among the Colored People of the City," Jessup asserted that clubwomen and their literary enterprises should continue to "materially assist in carrying on the good work" ("Club News" 4). According to Jessup, this "good work" was grounded in establishing spaces where African Americans could build literary and activist coalitions. Culminating in the establishment of the Wabash Avenue YMCA in 1911, a mainstay of Chicago's Black Metropolis and a central hub for African Americans migrating North, African American club women bolstered support for these establishments through material donations and periodical publicity.[19]

Boston's The Woman's Era Club also constructed their own traveling libraries. Reporting in the "Club Notes" section of *The Woman's Era* in October/November 1896, a club member noted that a "stationary table" was set up at the New England Hospital for Women and Children, where "a collection of the best books and photographs of colored authors" were made available ("Club Notes" 3.4). Works by Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. Du Bois, Paul Laurence Dunbar, Archibald Grimke, and William Wells Brown were on display, along with books by Alice Ruth Moore, Rachel Washington, and A.A. Casneau. These traveling libraries also took the form of book receptions. In the "Club Notes" section of the *National Association Notes,* published in November 1900, a member of the NACW reports that a "book reception" was held "for the purpose of getting good books for the library of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial School" by

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[19]   The Wabash Avenue YMCA was modeled after a downtown YMCA in Chicago that excluded African Americans from using its facilities. Built in 1911 on Wabash Avenue, the Wabash YMCA was a facility for African Americans working at Pullman Car Company shops, in steel mills, and meat-packing plants. As Beth Tompkins Bates notes in *Pullman Porters and the Rise of Protest Politics in Black America, 1925-45*, clubwomen such as Ida B. Wells-Barnett were central to the building's establishment: "Ida B. Wells-Barnett was among those who protested the exclusion of black citizens from the beds, reading rooms, and gymnasiums of the YMCA...[and] rallied the community for funds to construct a YMCA for black citizens in South Side neighborhoods" (Bates 44). The Wabash YMCA is one example of the importance periodical publicity played in developing African American public facilities.

members of the Tuskegee Woman's Club ("Club Notes" np). The *National Association Notes* also chronicled the emergence of these efforts in Southern states.

Covering the Athens, Georgia branch of the NACW, Judia C. Jackson reported in March 1899 that a "movement is on foot with the Literature Committee to establish a reading room by each member contributing his individual property, viz. magazines, papers, books" and "by soliciting aid of the same kind from friends who are circumstanced in this way" (McHenry 243). Jackson also expressed plans for the future, noting that members sought to "have this developed into a library" (Mchenry 243). Southern literary societies often donated books to African American reading rooms as well. For example, the Phillis Wheatley Literature and Social Club of Charleston, SC provided books for the local Y.W.C.A.(McHenry 243).[20]

The *Woman's Era* newspaper regularly reported on community activists who undertook the work of building local institutions. In a July 1894 article entitled "A Safe Voyage and Quick Return" a club member outlined Rev. C.N. Field's activism in the West End of Boston. The reporter noted that "the people have been quick to recognize [Field's] services in securing from landlords leaner, warmer, and healthier tenements for the poor" ("Safe Voyage" 4). The article went on to note Field's "efforts to secure in congested districts of the city branches of the public library" and praise his "public spirit" ("Safe Voyage" 4). Two months later in the September 1894 installment of *The Woman's Era*, an article chronicling the work of both Leonard Grimes and Rev. C.N. Field pointed to the overlapping efforts of these community activists. The article, entitled "Father Grimes and Father Field," noted that "none were found able take up the work where the Rev. Mr. Grimes left it until Rev. Father Field stepped in" ("Father" 6). The article

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[20] The Phillis Wheatley Literary and Social Club was established in 1916. Consisting of nineteen women members and led by Jeanette Cox, wife of Avery Normal Institute principal Benjamin Cox, the society would meet to discuss literature and advocate for African American communities in Charleston, SC. The society regularly donated to local organizations such as the YWCA, NAACP, Avery Normal Institute, and the Jenkins Orphanage.

continued: "[Field's] successful work in closing up the liquor saloons, in cleaning up the homes of the poor in his neighborhood, in his trade schools and in his latest and most significant achievement, the securing of a branch of the public library for the West End with all that that implies, he is unconsciously, perhaps, making realities of some of Father Grimes most cherished dreams" ("Father" 6). This passage is particularly insightful because it not only provided a public historical record of Leonard Grimes and C.N. Field's community work (a tradition that Pauline Hopkins continued in her "Famous Men and Women of the Negro Race" series for the *Colored American Magazine*), but also emphasized the extent to which this work impacted the physical locales defining African American public space. Focusing on material sites such as liquor saloons, tenements, trade schools, and "most significantly" public libraries, this writer attended to the physical locales that characterize urban public space with the aim of adjusting these spaces to African American experience, narration, and reform. The writer suggested that Field's work with public libraries is his most important achievement. Rather than explaining why this is the case, the writer alluded to the many implications this achievement boasts with the statement "with all that that implies."

The establishment of literary and educational spaces not only created a forum for African Americans to read texts, extending who could access a culture of letters, but also galvanized clubwomen to produce literary texts themselves. *The Woman's Era* and *National Association Notes* were the primary reading materials in African American libraries and reading rooms, and the growth of these reading landscapes led to a greater demand for African American periodicals. Periodical writing therefore offered African American women a place to produce texts of their own, which countered normative gender roles that cast women as passive consumers of literary culture. Claiming agency over writing, clubwomen were both authoring texts for the purposes of

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making their voices more publicly visible and reconstructing the material boundaries of publicness through the development of public reading facilities. Moreover, clubwomen saw the importance in engendering these literary skills through education, and their campaigns to promote African American reading rooms and libraries coincided with efforts to build public schools.

The NACW made expanding access to literary and educational facilities central to their activism. Given that African American subjective identity was understood, regulated, and legislated through the legislation of physical space, the construction of African American public spaces inevitably affected—and countered—these racist social policies. This is not to say that such endeavors immediately changed—or even diluted—institutional racism. It is to say, however, that *The Woman's Era* initiated the work of reconstituting public space through discursive address. Moreover, *The Woman's Era's* treatment of public space offers an implicit critique of the scope, nature, and territory of the public sphere by clarifying and refining African American experiences within this sphere of influence and representation.

2.3   *THE CRISIS* AND GHETTOIZED SPACES

In my previous section, I explored how *The Woman's Era* chronicled efforts to build African American literary and educational spaces through periodical publicity. I suggested that *The Woman's Era* challenged the recession of African American space, a hallmark of legalized segregation, through the construction of new African American public facilities. In this section, I will examine how W.E.B. Du Bois's *The Crisis Magazine*, first published in November 1913 (thirteen years after the final issue of *The Woman's Era* in January 1897), presented an

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engagement with space that highlighted the erosion and deprecation of the very spaces that *The Woman's Era* aimed to establish and cultivate. In so doing, *Crisis* presented a sustained critiqued of segregationist policies, foregrounding the social and psychic cost of physical isolation and terrorization. While *The Woman's Era* focused on building and developing African American public facilities, *The Crisis Magazine*, targeting a wider and more mixed reading public, called attention to the legal and psychic barriers restraining African American progress. Such an engagement with space is most pronounced in a column entitled "The Ghetto," which is the focus of this section. By foregrounding the ghetto as a specific site of racial exclusion and deprivation, the editors of *Crisis* could draw connections between material and psychic loss. That is to say, what is particularly poignant about this column is its focus on the socio-cultural and psychological nature of space.[21] Similar to *The Woman's Era's* characterization of the public sphere as both a literal and figurative formulation, *Crisis* portrayed the ghetto as an anti-public sphere that was both real and conceptual. The ghetto was cast as both a material manifestation of the "color line" and a roving cultural site with porous borders and boundary lines. This more incisively critical focus on ghettoized spaces was reflective of W.E.B. Du Bois's less accommodating (and less conservative) approach to race activism.

Founded and edited by W.E.B. Du Bois, who was acting as the Director of Publicity and Research for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A.C.P), *The Crisis Magazine* recuperated an approach to magazining that had presented itself as a failure in the first decade of the twentieth century, a period that Du Bois referred to as a "graveyard" for

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[21] By referencing the "psychological nature of space," I am drawing attention to not only the social interactions that happen within the ghetto but also the ways in which these social interactions are interpreted by human agents. By attending to the psychological nature of space, this research underlines the ways in which individuals interpret different spatial arrangements. This chapter suggests that the periodical press offered an alternative interpretation of space, aiming to re-define how space was organized, which subjectivities could and could not be visible, and which bodies did and did not have access to the resources available within these sites.

black periodicals that weren't owned, edited, or in some way associated with Booker T. Washington's brand of race politics. As Abbey Arthur Johnson and Ronald Maberry Johnson note in *Propaganda and Aesthetics: The Literary Politics of Afro-American Magazines in the Twentieth Century,* "Du Bois reported that his 'friends' would talk about 'the graveyard of ambitious and worthy ventures—*the Colored American* and *the Voice of the Negro* to name the latest—and say that the American Negro has not yet reached the place where he appreciates a magazine enough to pay for it" (Johnson and Johnson 32). Having had his own experience editing the *Moon Illustrated Weekly* in 1906, which ran for only one year, and the *Horizon: A Journal of the Color Line,* which ran from 1907 to 1910 and was loosely affiliated with Du Bois's Niagara Movement, Du Bois pursued an approach to periodical publishing that could be seen as an amalgamation of the cultural and institutional politics of The *Woman's Era* and the *Colored American Magazine*. Advancing a progressive agenda that underscored the importance of classical training, intellectual refinement, and positive representations of blackness in mainstream media, *Crisis's* mission was to "set forth those facts and arguments which show the danger of race prejudice, particularly as manifested today toward colored people" ("Editorial" 10). Explaining that the magazine "takes its name from the fact that the editors believe that this is a critical time in the history of the advancement of men," the mission statement running in the first issue of *Crisis* foregrounded segregation as a key deterrent to racial justice:

> Human contact, human acquaintanceship, human sympathy is the great solvent of human problems. Separate school children by wealth and the result is class misunderstanding and hatred. Separate them by race and the result is war. Separate them by color and they grow up without learning the tremendous truth that it is impossible to judge the mind of a man by the color of his face. Is there

any truth that America needs to learn more? Back of this demand for the segregation of black folk in public institutions...is almost always a shirking of responsibility on the part of the public—a desire to put off on somebody else the work of social uplift, while they themselves enjoy its results ("Editorial" 10).

Aiming to make "the public" more accountable to the work of social uplift, *Crisis* would provoke public sentiment by exposing the "facts" about racial injustice, violence, and terrorization.

Crisis's success, particularly in its early years, was reflective of Du Bois's heavy-handed influence. Since *Crisis's* inception, Du Bois worked to leverage control over the magazine by belittling and breaking with the NAACP's Executive Committee. As a result, circulation increased from 1,000 copies in November 1910 to 9,000 in 1911, and 35,000 in late 1915 (Johnson and Johnson). In a November 1915 editorial entitled "We Come of Age," Du Bois noted that the magazine's increasing popularity was due to the self-supporting system that Du Bois himself cultivated. He went on to explain that the NAACP "has never expended a single cent for publication of The Crisis" and that he shouldered the expenses of the magazine ("We Come" 25). "In not a single case," Du Bois asserted, "has the Association or anybody connected with the Association, except the editor, assumed the slightest responsibility or risk or advanced a single cent" ("We Come" 25). After reaching its highest circulation numbers in 1919, selling 95,000 copies of the magazine, *Crisis's* support began to decline, reporting less than 65,000 copies in 1920 and 30,000 in 1930 (Johnson and Johnson).

By the time *Crisis* boasted its self-supporting status in 1915, smaller magazines like the *New Era* of Boston (not to be confused with *The Woman's Era*, which was initially an organ of the New Era club of Boston) went into production. Founded by Pauline Hopkins, the *New Era* had a short run, lasting only two issues. However, the establishment of the *New Era*, along with

other little magazines, including *Stylus* in Washington D.C., *Survey Graphic* in New York, *Carolina Magazine*, the University of North Carolina's student paper, *Fire* and *Harlem* in New York, *Black Opals* in Philadelphia, and the *Saturday Evening Quill* in Boston was very much an extension of the cultural work initiated by *The Woman's Era* and to a larger degree *Crisis*. Avoiding the hurdles associated with establishing a journal that acted as a conglomeration of regional clubs throughout the nation, a difficultly that *The Woman's Era* had to contend with, as well as the landmines associated with putting together a large monthly magazine that detached itself from institutional policy, an issue that *Crisis* faced, little magazines could take up a more partisan platform and more incisively align itself with literature and aesthetic pursuits. As Johnson and Johnson note, "In publicizing the cultural renaissance to cities across the land, the larger journals had encouraged the development of smaller journals and artistic group," and as "organizational periodicals faltered, black little magazines appeared ready to carry on the standard and to suggest new approaches to Afro-American literature" (63). *Crisis's* critical commentary was seminal in offering an activist framework that smaller magazines could refine, specifically in regards to the connections it made between aesthetics and politics, a signature of the Harlem Renaissance. Moreover, *Crisis's* reflection on segregation and ghettoized spaces was especially prescient, given its recognition of the ghetto as an isolating psychic space, as well as a material site characterized by the erosion of state infrastructure such as taxation, labor, regulation, energy, education, and policing. Further, it's striking to see references to "the ghetto" so early in the twentieth century, since such terminology was not particularly common in this period.

Originally a 16th-century Venetian term derived from the Italian word *ghet* (which referred to waste or slag), the term described houses and neighborhoods where Jewish

communities resided. One of the earliest references to "the ghetto" was the Nuovo Ghetto, which was a segregated Jewish area located in Venice island in 1516. Eastern European Jewish immigrants were the first to incorporate the term into American lexicon in the late nineteenth century. Israel Zangwill introduced the term in his 1892 novel, *Children of the Ghetto*. The term also found currency in Abraham Cahan's *Yekl: A Tale of the New York Ghetto. The Crisis Magazine's* column, however, marks one of the earliest references to the African American ghetto. Some scholars suggest that Du Bois may have encountered this terminology during his studies in Germany, propelling him to make connections between antisemitism and African American discrimination. Du Bois also may have encountered the term in Jewish novels about tenement living. It is possible that Du Bois deployed this terminology in order to highlight the extent to which segregation was an anti-modern practice. In an "Opinion" column running in the December 1913 edition of *Crisis*, one writer argues that "It is utterly absurd in this day and generation to return to the ghetto of the middle ages, abandoned by Europe long ago, and it cannot now be tolerated in a community which calls itself democratic. It is contrary to every modern ideal and aspiration" ("Opinion" 69). In a somewhat confusing aside, the writer asks, "Why, if it is successful, should similar legislation not be undertaken against Jews or Slavs or Italians or any other group in our cities" ("Opinion" 69). Although "The Ghetto" drew some connections between African American discrimination and the oppression of other marginal communities, the column primarily underscored the unique relationship between blackness and public space. In the November 1910 issue of *Crisis*, one month before "The Ghetto" column was established, the Economics Department ran a report from the *Baltimore News* referencing "Negro ghettos":

The Baltimore News has sent a correspondent through the South to see how the

Negro ghettos are arranged there. Most of the cities say that 'public opinion' keeps

the Negro population segregated and intimate that mob violence is ready to

enforce this opinion together with social ostracism for the white seller of the

property. In Alabama disenfranchisement is said to keep colored folks 'in their

places' ("Economics" 6).

Perhaps Du Bois's decision to introduce a column entitled "The Ghetto" was influenced by this

report, since the first installment of his column ran the following month. Desiring to turn "public

opinion" for the purposes of discrediting segregation and lynching, *Crisis's* column took on

questions concerning the cultural logic underpinning ghettoization, exploring how legal

segregation informed and habituated this process of keeping African Americans "in their places"

("Economics" 6).

In the column's inaugural issue, which ran in December 1910 (the second installment of

the magazine), spatial segregation was explored through the vantage point of history and culture:

It is curious how old ideas recur and ancient ones persist. In earliest times the

easiest way to prevent trouble was to separate the combatants—put space between

them, herd them in separate sections and territories. So long as the world was

wide this was feasible and often effective. As the world grows narrower, it is not

so easy and as it grows more civilized it is less advisable. For after all culture is

the meeting and learning of men ("Ghetto" 20).

Prefacing with a veiled reference to Frederick Jackson Turner's "Frontier Thesis," which

explained that the shifting cultural terrain of late nineteenth-century industrialism and

modernization was predicated on the closing of the Western frontier, the writer implied a

connection between space and national subjectivity. The erosion of local connections to land as a result of modern telecommunications technology, industrialization, and American imperialism in the Caribbean engendered a notion of territoriality "as a defining principle of national identity" (Reddy 42). Territoriality became a form of organizing, regulating, and allocating space and spatial resources, as such resources were designated by state governments as opposed to by local officials or popular sovereignty (Plessy v. Ferguson). The allocation of such resources worked in turn to justify and inure a racial social structure. "The Ghetto" explored this relationship between space and national identity, particularly the relationship between blackness and the denial of public space. Arguing that cultural advancement was contingent upon the "meeting and learning of men," the December 1910 column noted that the "color line" was "barbarous...unjust...unwise" and led to "the extreme Ghetto idea" (Ghetto 20). Such an idea, the column asserted, was legitimated by legal segregation:

> The half-trained white Baltimore tradesman reasons logically: If I can push black
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> men out of my way in train and street car, in theater and art gallery, in church and
>
> park, why can I not segregate them in a Ghetto? The Atlanta 'cracker,' newborn to
>
> good wages and political power, is jealous of ambitious black folk. If he can take
>
> a black man's vote away why can he not take his home and force him back to the
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> alley, whence he came? ("Ghetto" 20-1).

Legal precedent and state enforcement thus provided the rationale for "the half-trained white Baltimore tradesmen" and the "Atlanta cracker" to perform racial prejudice. Ghettoization in this context is read as the psychological consequence of segregationist policies. That is, it is treated as a way of making material and cultural meaning out of spatial delimitations based on "the accident of color" (20). Moreover, spatial inhabitation (or the lack thereof) justified—or became

the means through which to understand and legislate—racial constructs, however "undemocratic" and "uncivilized" such policies were regarded by marginal communities (21).

Covering segregationist policies throughout the country, as well as local periodical reporting of such policies, *Crisis's* column narrated both attempts to resist segregationist initiatives and the social, economic, and psychic costs of such initiatives. Primarily, the column constructed a story of legal segregation and racial alienage. In these brief snapshots, public space was treated as an exclusionary site for policing and preserving racial social hierarchies. In turn, the ghetto was viewed as the result of public neglect and racial discrimination. Although the column did sometimes offer more detailed descriptions of the material conditions of ghettoized spaces, such as public schools in the "Red Light District," "old tumble-down shacks," and sub-par "sewerage water, and street conditions," the ghetto was often referenced without any characterization or definition, as one submission simply reports without further clarification: "St. Louis, Mo., and Birmingham, Ala., are proposing a ghetto" ("Ghetto" 99; January 1912; "Ghetto" 221; March 1913; "Social Uplift" 9; May 1913; "Ghetto" 9; April 1911). Other submissions offered a more abstract understanding of what this terminology implies, as a report on segregated cemeteries notes: "The Supreme Court of the United States is called upon to decide the right of a colored man to bury his wife in a Chicago cemetery. He had buried four children in the cemetery before its trustees started the Ghetto of the Dead" ("Ghetto" 120; July 1913). The magazine would also often publish local coverage of these spaces. For instance, the third installment of the column in January 1911 cited the *New York Sun's* reporting on Baltimore segregation ordinances: "The Negro invasion in Baltimore is principally in a north and northwesterly direction, comprising the most beautiful, most exclusive and most valuable residential sections. About the year of 1885 steadily but insidiously the Negro began to invade

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white residential sections..." ("Ghetto" 11). The column went on to reference the *New York Evening Post's* coverage of the same ordinances, what the column referred to as "the Ghetto idea": "Segregation has never been a very successful solution of the race problem, as may be seen in the experience of European cities with ghettos and in Russia's attempt to keep Jews confined within certain pales" ("Ghetto" 11). This is not the first time that Jewish ghettos were referenced in the column. Throughout the column's run, connections between discriminatory practices targeting Jewish communities in Europe and African American racial discrimination in American were frequently made. Describing a report from Chicago about segregation laws in hotel dining rooms, the January 1912 issue of *Crisis* noted:

> The National Single Tax League met at Chicago and arranged a dinner at the Hotel La Salle. They found, however, that Negro guests would not be welcome, and immediately took the meeting to another hotel. Joseph Fels, the millionaire patron of the league, said 'There will be no compromise here. I am a Jew and know something of race exclusion. We will either call off the banquet or go some place where the colored men may sit with us at our own table as equals' ("Ghetto" 99).

Some scholars suggest that such coverage reflected Du Bois's belief that African Americans could learn from Jewish oppression in Europe.[22] In a July 1911 issue of *Crisis* Du Bois wrote:

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[22] There are also scholars who have suggested that Du Bois's early work in *Souls* and *The Philadelphia Negro* was disparaging toward Jewish communities. Lenora E. Berson's work outlines Du Bois's "deep hostility toward the Jewish stereotype" (qtd in Sevitch 324). Berson cites Du Bois's observation in *Souls* that "only a Jew could squeeze more blood from debt-cursed tenants" as exemplary of this hostile attitude. David J. Hellwig has also noted that Du Bois was "unhappy with the role of Jews in the emerging New South" and cites an article that Du Bo is wrote for the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* in which he refers to "shrewd and unscrupulous Jews" (324). However, other scholars note that Du Bois removed these derogatory references to Jewish communities in his revisions for 50th anniversary edition of *Souls*. In "W.E.B. Du Bois and Jews: A Lifetime of Opposing Anti-Semitism," Benjamin Sevitch cites a letter Du Bois had written to Herbert Aptheker prior to making these revisions: "As I re-read these words today, I see that harm might come if they were allowed to stand as they are. First of all, I am not at all sure that the foreign exploiters to whom I referred

"Good luck to the Jews—they are our best friends, and we rejoice to see them getting out of the Ghetto the Negro is just getting into" ("Allies" 113). In October 1916, *Crisis* drew comparisons between African Americans in the South with Russian Jews, as each were examples of "the oppressed" ("Migration" 270). A decade later, the magazine made similar comparisons between exclusionary practices at Butler College in Indianapolis and Jewish segregation in Czarist Russia:

> In Czarist Russia the number of Jews admitted to universities was strictly limited. In Hungary they are mobbing and beating the Jews to keep them out of college. In the United States at Harvard, Columbia and such institutions underground methods are used to limit the number of Jews and Negroes admitted. But Butler College, Indianapolis, goes back to the open and honest methods of Czarist Russia ("Exclusion" 23).

These allusions to the Jewish ghetto reiterated the fact that "the ghetto" existed across international boundaries and histories. In these brief references, the social nature of space was highlighted, as "the ghetto" functioned as a means for displacing marginal populations for the purposes of preserving racial hierarchies. Furthermore, "the ghetto" was often read as a consequence of legal precedent, as the column tended to focus on city ordinances excluding African Americans from public space, limiting African American access to public resources, or asymmetrical legal treatment.

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in my study of the Black Belt were in fact Jews. I took the word of my informants, and I am now wondering if in fact Russian Jews in any number were in Georgia at that time. But even if they were, what I was condemning was the exploitation and not the race nor religion. And I did not, when writing, realize that by stressing the name of the group instead of what some members may have done, I was unjustly maligning a people in exactly the same way my folk were then and are now falsely accused" (qtd in Sevitch 325). Sevitch also cites a letter Du Bois wrote in 1893 to the John F. Slater Fund, which subsidized his studies in Germany, noting the growing anti-Semitism in Germany and commenting that it "had much in common with our own race question and is of considerable interest to me" (qtd in Sevitch 325). Such comparisons between Jewish marginalization in Europe and African American segregation in the United States were refined in Du Bois's work for *The Crisis Magazine*.

For instance, the January 1912 installment of "The Ghetto" reported an incident in

Abilene, Texas, where "sixty persons, representing a wealth of $3,000,000 signed a bond for

$1,000 in behalf of Mrs. Lucy Matheson, who recently shot and killed her husband at the home

of Stella Ramsey, a colored woman" ("Ghetto" 99). The entry further noted that "bankers,

merchants, and rich cattleman were among the signers" (99). In contrast to Matheson's treatment

by Abilene residents, Stella Ramsey was "maintained at the jail," allegedly protected by "a

strong guard" who held back an angry mob of miners marching from "Mingus to

Abilene...[with]...the purpose of doing violence to the colored woman" (99). Although the entry

didn't explicitly mention the threat of lynching, references to the lynch mob hint at the growing

regularity of such violence. Moreover, Stella Ramsey's story running in "The Ghetto" is further

contextualized by a four-page editorial on lynching practices, which ran in the same issue and

included a photograph of a lynching postcard that was sent to Reverend John J. Homes, a

Unitarian minister who delivered a denunciation of lynching at a meeting in the Ethical Culture

Hall in New York City.[23] Later installments of the column did include lynching reports. For

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[23] In order to counterbalance mainstream reporting on lynching, which tended to either sympathize with the lynch mob or downplay the lynching itself, *The Crisis Magazine* regularly publicized reports and images of lynching in the South. As Anne Carroll notes in "Composite Texts in the *Crisis,"* "a few white periodicals devoted occasional attention to the achievements of African Americans or protested lynchings and acts of racism and violence, but such coverage was the exception" (Carroll 90). Lynching coverage could be found throughout the magazine, in columns including "The Burden," "Along the Color Line," and in "Opinion" pieces. *Crisis* would also publish maps and statistics, including the number of victims, their gender, and other pertinent information, to show the regularity of such events in Southern cities. The decision to report on John Haynes Holmes's harassment and the lynching postcard that he received was explained by W.E.B. Du Bois the following month: They are "a gruesome thing to publish...and yet—could the tale have been told otherwise? Can the nation otherwise awaken to the enormity of this beastly crime of crimes, this rape of law and decency?" (qtd in Carroll 98). Especially "gruesome" is the front of the postcard, which included a photograph of a lynching victim surrounded by a crowd of men. As in most lynching photographs, the men do not shield their faces. Rather, the men are faced toward the camera—a posture reminiscent of the poses one might find in a hunting photograph. The message on the back of the postcard read: "This is the way we do them down here...Will put you on our regular mailing list. Expect one a month on the average" (Carroll 96). As Caroll notes, "using the bodies of murdered African Americans to stir up opposition to lynching also perpetuated lynching's dehumanization. These photographs reduce the victims' bodies to symbols; showing only their corpses implies that the important fact about these people's lives is how they ended" (98). However, my reading of "The Ghetto" presses on Carroll's claims of dehumanization, since many of the entries found in this column name victims, explain their

instance, the August 1915 issue featured two short reports detailing failures in adjudicating members of the lynch mob and oversights in indicting purported criminals. The first report read: "Cases which grew out of the murder of Negroes by a mob in Palestine, Texas, some years ago, have been thrown out of court" ("The Ghetto" 168). Following this submission, another report from Oklahoma noted: "A story comes from Oklahoma of the death-bed confession of Robert Lawson, a white man, who says he killed and robbed M.J. Scott, a wealthy resident of Kingston, De Soto Parish, La., thirty four years ago. At the time a Negro, Wash Allen, was quickly lynched for the crime" ("The Ghetto" 168). While the coverage of library and public school development in The *Woman's Era* served to construct an image of public participation and inhabitation that re-negotiated the borders delimiting the public sphere of representation, *Crisis's* column aimed to deconstruct the psychology underpinning such boundaries. "The Ghetto" offers a surgical analysis of the socio-cultural, legal, psychic, and economic conditions that allowed for the ghetto to exist.

The notion of pillaging—what writer Ta-Nehisi Coates refers to as American "kleptocracy"—was common in many of the reports detailed in "The Ghetto."[24] Coverage of African American professionals terminated from their jobs for the purposes of securing white

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circumstances, and endeavored to show the structural conditions leading to such violence—and the structural conditions such violence perpetuated.

[24] In "The Case for Reparations," published in the June 2014 edition of *The Atlantic Monthly*, Ta-Nehisi Coates argues that American slavery, legal segregation, and de facto segregation were systems of exploitation and racial plunder that were fundamental to American capitalism and exceptionalism. Coates describes de jure segregation as a "kleptocracy" in which "the majority of the people in the state were perpetually robbed of the vote—a hijacking engineered through the trickery of the poll tax and the muscle of the lynch mob" ("A Case" np). Observing that "plunder in the past made plunder in the present efficient," Coates cites Jacob S. Rugh and Douglas S. Massey's study of the recent foreclosure crisis, noting "black home buyers—even after controlling for factors like creditworthiness—were still more likely than white home buyers to be steered toward subprime loans" ("A Case" np). Coates writes, "decades of racist housing policies by the American government, along with decades of racist housing practices by American businesses, had conspired to concentrate African Americans in the same neighborhoods" ("A Case" np). I cite Coates here because his work draws from a long lineage of African American periodical writing that made visible these connections between white supremacy and American exceptionalism. Furthermore, racial plunder as a driving force of American capitalism was a primary theme in *Crisis's* "The Ghetto."

positions, the stripping of property owned by African Americans, and the accumulation of unjustified fines and debts by the city against African American institutions such as churches, schools, and social spaces were regularly featured. There were also reports that detailed more explicit acts of stealing: "Betty Hicks, who was left $80,000 by her white employer, who was also the father of her children, has been declared insane by a jury in Tennessee" ("The Ghetto" 220). The same issue detailed a report on E.B. Wallace, a student of Virginia Union University, who was "arrested and fined eleven dollars because he was sitting in a park in the white residential section of the city" ("Ghetto" 220). The report also noted that Wallace was "accused of being disorderly, but the accusation was found to be without merit" ("The Ghetto" 220). In addition to this type of coverage, the column also reported on institutions that overcame these structural and/or social hurdles. For instance, the January 1912 installment of "The Ghetto" featured the following story on the Warren Church in Pittsburgh:

> The Warren colored church at Pittsburgh purchased a plot of ground on Center
> Avenue costing $10,250. On this they built an unusually beautiful church. This
> and the adjoining plot were under a mortgage. The real estate company, in order
> to get rid of the colored people, let the interest on the adjoining plot of land,
> which they still held, remain unpaid. The mortgage thereupon lapsed, and the
> colored church was asked to raise $6,000 in thirty days or lose the property. They
> raised the money ("The Ghetto" 99).

As we can see here, this column served to initiate a communally-sustained consciousness about public space and access to resources—access to material, legal, social, and psychic resources. Expounding on W.E.B. Du Bois's groundbreaking study on Philadelphia slums a decade earlier in which the young scholar living and reporting on the 7th Ward between 1895 and 1897

observed an "atmosphere of dirt, drunkenness, poverty and crime," "The Ghetto" column shifted its focus to how "the ghetto" operated as anti-public space of racial alienage—a territory confirmed by legal precedent, racial plunder, and a psychology of terror that justified violence and aggression against African American bodies.[25] Operating less like a scholarly analysis of one district over a period of two years, and more like a montage of everyday instances of social and legal discrimination—instances that worked to confirm the material conditions of ghettoized spaces throughout the country—this column offered its readers a daily survey of racial discrimination and spatial dislocation. While the construction of public institutions, such as libraries, hospitals, and public schools worked to promote African American particularity and locality by reclaiming material space for the purposes of making it "more public" (i.e. more widely accessible to the citizens who reside within and are taxed on behalf of this space), the proliferation of ghettoized spaces worked to erode African American particularity through the erasure of African American local space. Intending to make visible the struggles and successes of African American activist initiatives to expand, refine, and re-define the boundary-lines delimiting public space—spaces that preserved and reproduced racist social structures—*The Crisis Magazine* aimed to fill in the gaps, erasures, and appropriations that characterized legal segregation.

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[25] W.E.B. Du Bois described the urban setting surrounding his room on 700 Lombard Street in Philadelphia's Seventh Ward as an atmosphere of "dirt, drunkenness, poverty, and crime," adding: "Murder sat at our doorsteps, police were our government, and philanthropy dropped with periodic advice" (Du Bois 16). These observations were published in Du Bois's *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study in 1899* by the University of Pennsylvania Press. Distinguishing himself among scholars and public figures interested in urban reform in this period, Du Bois's *Philadelphia Negro* rejected popular notions of inherent racial difference and argued that Philadelphia's Seventh Ward was an incisive reflection of a history of economic disinvestment, social marginalization, and racial oppression. Citing census reports on African American occupational and familial structures, interviews with African American workers and employers, and providing historical insights about the arrangement of the city, Du Bois's study analyzed the historical and structural conditions that informed the development and maintenance of ghettoized areas. "The Ghetto" can be viewed as an extension of this project for a broader reading audience.

2.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter explored the relationship between blackness and public space through the lens of periodical publicity, privileging what Nicole Fleetwood refers to as "non-iconic" narratives of blackness. Citing Charles Harris's documentary photography as an example of non-iconic narratives of blackness, Fleetwood notes that Harris's work showcases "localized, everyday scenes and moments of the mundane..." (Fleetwood 34). According to Fleetwood, Harris's work "does not create blackness as a singular totalizing narrative, but entertains the notion of play, incompleteness, and resistance to the archive as the primary source for tapping into historical evidence of black everyday experience" (Fleetwood 60). Approaching African American periodical history through this vantage point allows us to move away from relying on iconic figures to speak for and embody African American cultural significance, and to renegotiate African American experience through local and temporal frameworks. Fleetwood's conception of non-iconicity is also helpful in recognizing the political import of everyday speech, writing, and public experiences.

Just as blackness is not a totalizing racial category, the public sphere is not an essential or totalizing sphere of influence. The public writing featured in *The Woman's Era* and *Crisis* aimed to both renegotiate the borders separating "white" and "black" space and reformulate how blackness was seen within these environs (also as a non-totalizing subject formation). Although

black periodicals in this period did celebrate African American expert voices, national leaders, and intellectual prodigies, the periodicals that I focus on in this chapter—*The Woman's Era* and *Crisis*—also captured the local contexts that defined the public sphere, treating the "public" as both a local, material site as well as a discursive and conceptual sphere where individuals could theorize the borders and boundaries of participatory democracy. To say that black periodicals were instrumental in not only constructing a black public sphere, but also in opposing and counternarrating discriminatory practices within mainstream public spheres of representation does not imply that a.) the black public sphere is internally coherent and b.) that these counterpublic spaces operated outside of—and cannot be incorporated within— mainstream historical, cultural, or political contexts. As Todd Vogel notes in *The Black Press: New Literary and Historical Essays*, "the [black] press gives us the chance to see writers forming and reforming ideologies, creating and recreating the public sphere, and staging and restaging race itself" (3).

What this chapter has aimed to demonstrate how African American periodical production has advanced discourses about the politics of space and place-based needs, discourses that are very much grounded today in ecocomposition, green rhetorics, and ecological literacies. My contention is that such fields of inquiry can be bolstered by a better understanding of the ways in which minority activists and periodicals have historically used an engagement with space to expose ongoing systematic oppression and institutional racism. In the following chapter, I reflect on less material incarnations of what constitutes "place-based needs" by considering the role of history and biography in the public sphere. Moreover, I extend my discussion of public space to include cultural spaces, exploring how *the Colored American Magazine* treats historical visibility as an access point into public culture. Thus, I view access as not only the acquisition of material

resources and entry into physical spaces, such as public schools, hospitals, and libraries, but also admittance into the public record and public history. In Chapter Three, I maintain that visibility within a public sphere of representation requires accommodation within both physical and "psychic" public environments, which includes recapturing a history of African American accomplishments and public works.

3.0 GETTING BEYOND MATERIAL ACCESS IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE: CHARTING AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN'S HISTORIES AND BIOGRAPHIES IN PAULINE HOPKINS'S THE COLORED AMERICAN MAGAZINE

In Chapter Two, I detailed efforts made by *The Woman's Era* and *The Crisis Magazine* to transgress the borders delimiting public space and access to public resources. By championing efforts to build public institutions such as public schools, libraries and reading rooms (as well as social spaces like YMCAs and WYMCAs), the editors of *The Woman's Era* attempted to expand access to such facilities vis-a-vis periodical publicity. By introducing the term "the ghetto" into common parlance—a term that wasn't regularly used in American vernacular at the turn of the century and more familiar to Eastern European and Jewish circles, as I noted in the previous chapter—the editors of *The Crisis Magazine* critiqued segregationist policies that limited or inhibited access to public resources, arguing that "the ghetto" was a byproduct of racial apartheid. Although these initiatives aren't necessarily surprising on their own, what is unique is how each of these interventions treat "the public" and "the public sphere" as an anchoring principle. That is to say, each of these periodicals redefine the "the public" not as a neutral, transparent sphere of relations—or as an accessible physical space that members of the body politic *easily* move into and out of—but as a contested, socially delineated, and racially articulated sphere of influence.

The Woman's Era and *The Crisis Magazine*, I argue, present a grammar of publicness that aimed to re-negotiate the standards on which we constitute a public and legislate who the beneficiaries of publicness are, specifically by foregrounding concepts such as public space, access, and representation. Although both of these magazines were attached to larger organizations—as *The Woman's Era* was affiliated with and edited by members of the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) and *The Crisis Magazine* was considered the publicity organ for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)—*The Woman's Era* and *The Crisis Magazine* represent two different ends of this approach, which is why I positioned them alongside of one another in the previous chapter. Whereas the editors of *The Woman's Era* were influenced by the NACW's uplift doctrine, "Lifting as We Climb," which endeavored to "lift" the race through intellectual refinement and the creation of model citizens who would make and develop safe public spaces for African Americans to ascend to, *The Crisis Magazine* cast the public sphere as representative arena—an arena in which African American bodies and experiences could become visible and impact political and social policy. In short, *The Woman's Era* covered efforts to make space for marginal and minority communities in mainstream public culture, and *The Crisis Magazine* contested and attempted to re-present public spaces and subjects within these same arenas.[26] Yet between these two approaches—and within the thirteen-year period separating *The Woman's Era* (1894-7) and *The Crisis Magazine*

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[26] Here, I am gesturing toward Benedict Anderson's concept of "re-presentation" and nation building. According to Anderson, the nation is a socially-constructed community that can be reconstructed or "re-presented" through media discourse. In *Imagined Communities*, Anderson writes that the newspaper provided "the technical means for 're-presenting' the kind of imagined community that is the nation" (Anderson 25). Building from Anderson's concept of media re-presentation, I argue that *CAM*, *Crisis*, and *The Woman's Era* use media discourses to re-present or "re present" African Americans as public subjects.

(1910)—the *Colored American Magazine* established itself as a popular culture and lifestyle magazine, detached from any organizational bias or activist group.[27]

Extending my analysis to include biographic forms of periodical activism, this chapter explores how *The Colored American Magazine* engages concepts such as space, access, and representation through the historical and embodied experiences of African American women. While Chapter Two chronicled how the editors of *The Woman's Era* and *The Crisis Magazine* covered activist initiatives to develop public institutions that African Americans could safely occupy and inhabit, intending to expand the ways in which blackness became visible within these institutions and thusly within a larger public sphere of representation, this chapter extends my discussion of public visibility by detailing the unique position of African American women in negotiating public presence, service, and activism. Although one area for further discussion and research might be to offer a comparative analysis of how *The Woman's Era* and *The Colored American Magazine (CAM)* addressed feminist concerns regarding "women's place" in the public sphere, this chapter's touchstone for investigation is *The Colored American Magazine* and its documentation of African American women's histories and biographies. I've chosen to singularly focus on *The Colored American Magazine* for two reasons: 1.) Inheriting the practice of publicizing women's collective biographies and accolades as a method of teaching women's

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[27] Although the Colored American Magazine is the only periodical I've researched in this dissertation that is not associated with a larger, national organization, Pauline Hopkins (who edited and contributed to CAM since its founding) was marginally involved with the National Association of Colored Women. As a Boston essayist and fiction writer, Hopkins was active in the The Woman's Era Club of Boston (before it became folded into the NACW). As Hannah Wallinger notes, "there is evidence that Hopkins gave one or more readings of her novel Contending Forces at the The Woman's Era Club" (98). Additionally, in Forgotten Readers, Elizabeth McHenry references Hopkins's involvement with the NACW and the The Woman's Era Club, detailing a report running in the April 1900 edition of National Association Notes in which Hopkins is listed as Secretary of the The Woman's Era Club. The report read: "an entertaining and interesting afternoon was spent at a Japanese Tea, given to Miss Pauline Hopkins, to aid her in the publication of her novel, Contending Forces, portions of which she read" (McHenry 370). Additionally, Hopkins's herself regularly authored reports on clubwork for the Colored American Magazine. For a more thorough chronicling of Hopkins's involvement with the NACW, see Hazel Carby's Reconstructing Womanhood, Hannah Wallinger's Pauline E. Hopkins: A Literary Biography, Deborah White's "The Cost of Club Worth, the Price of Black Feminism" from Visible Women: New Essays on American Activism, and Alisha Knight's Pauline Hopkins and the American Dream.

history and elocution from mid- to late-nineteenth century readers, journals, and club papers (including *The Woman's Era)*, *CAM* broadened this tradition to a more "mainstream" and potentially diverse audience, which later influenced how W.E.B. Du Bois chronicled women's activism in *The Crisis Magazine* and; 2.) *CAM's* presentation of African American women's biographies not only expanded who had access to such information, but also revised the public record to account for and make visible African American women's identities and experiences.[28][29]

This chapter foregrounds epideictic rhetoric as a key feature of *CAM's* intersectional journalism. Far from simply praising or blaming individual actors, modern interpretations of epideictic—like those of Celeste Michelle Condit, Gerard A. Hauser, and Perelman and

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[28] When I refer to CAM's more "mainstream" audience, I am pointing out that CAM wasn't only written by and for African American women (like The Woman's Era), but rather for a more diverse audience. As Penelope Bullock notes in The Afro-American Periodical Press 1838-1909, CAM "was the most widely distributed Afro-American periodical before 1909" (118). Moreover, in their introduction to Blue Pencils and Hidden Hands, Sharon M. Harris and Ellen Gruber Garvey characterize CAM's audience as "middle- to upper-class readers" and "primarily African Americans who were advancing in education and economic status" (Harris and Gruber xxv; xxxii). This later changed after CAM had come under secret control by Booker T. Washington, who hoped to target a more "mixed" readership, both in terms of racial makeup and socioeconomic status. Although I briefly refer to these changes in management and how this impacted the mission of The Colored American Magazine later in this chapter, Hannah Wallinger's Pauline Hopkins: A Literary Biography much more thoroughly maps this history. My goal for this chapter is not to re-summarize this history, but rather to consider how the Colored American Magazine, in its founding years, made African American women's biographies and activist initiatives visible to an audience beyond clubwomen.

[29] Including collective biographies of exemplary citizens such as heads of state, military leaders, religious leaders, etc., was a common practice in nineteenth century periodicals. However, this chapter examines how *CAM* extends this tradition, accounting for the women and minorities left out of these histories. Although this chapter is dedicated to the histories and biographies found in *The Colored American*, this is not to say that *CAM* was the first to publish such work. Pauline Hopkins most likely borrowed this practice from The Woman's Era, which often included short biographies about African American writers, activists, and educators. Biographic writing can also be found in nineteenth century readers, which made use of epideictic in order to teach children civic discourse and community/national values. Jessica Enoch's *Refiguring Rhetorical Education: Women Teaching African American, Native American, and Chicano/a Student (1865-1911)* very thoroughly chronicles how these discourses and values are translated to marginal and minority students. Moreover, Enoch's examination of Lydia Marie Child's *Freedman's Book* shows how biography can "makes space for other 'teachers' to educate their readers" (54). By other "teachers," Enoch here is referencing African American historical figures, including religious leaders and activists such as the Reverend Peter Williams and Frederick Douglas. Therefore, it's not Child herself who is "teaching" students about these histories, but rather the historical figures who instruct readers about appropriate speech, civic action, and religious commitment. Enoch sees the incorporation of biography as a method in which white instructors learn alongside of their students, ceding authority to the historical figures referenced in the readers. In similar fashion, Hopkins's biographies teach CAM audiences the appropriate methods of public engagement and activism.

Olbrechts-Tyteca—focus on epideictic rhetoric's potential for community organization and action. According to each of these formulations, a core feature of epideictic is education and instruction for the purposes of shaping community identity and stimulating civic participation. My analysis elucidates this conception of epideictic as a teaching tool, examining how the publishing of African American women's biographies served to teach readers the appropriate methods for public engagement and racial activism. Moreover, I will consider how these biographies illuminate African American women's public service, remaining attuned to the intersectional hurdles associated with such work. Concentrating on two different columns in the magazine, including Pauline Hopkins's "Famous Women of the Negro Race" series, which ran between November 1901 and January 1903, and a four-part culture and lifestyle series published between October 1901 and February 1902 entitled "The Smoky City," which detailed African American industry, clubwork, and educational initiatives in the city of Pittsburgh, this chapter explores how *CAM* undertook the work of inventing new cultural and physical spaces for African American women. In doing so, I hope to demonstrate how the publishing of African American women's biographies worked to reshape public knowledge, specifically in terms of teaching readers the histories of African American activists, performers, and educators. In publicizing these biographies, *CAM* played a vital role in reinforcing a communitarian value system that privileged collective action and racial uplift.

Ultimately, this chapter argues that *CAM's* treatment of women's stories serves to reinterpret the public-private divide by making African American women's histories part of the public record. Therefore, this analysis offers a new interpretive lens through which to understand how African American periodicals approached the concept of access—as access to public resources not only denotes the acquisition of material resources and admittance to physical

public spaces, such as schools, libraries, and reading rooms, but also admittance into the public record and public history. By accessing and revising the public record to account for African American women's histories and biographies, the pages of *CAM* made African American women's experiences "of concern to everyone"—a gesture that not only treated African American women's issues as part of public concern, but also reimagined who "everyone" implied when referring to members of the public, affirming the status of African American women as citizens of the public.[30] In order to clarify how I am conceptualizing the educational potential of epideictic rhetoric, and specifically how the women's biographies featured in "Famous Women" and "Smoky City" elucidate this educational function, I would like to first briefly discuss the role of epideictic rhetoric in public texts, situating *CAM* within this tradition of using media discourse as a mode of instruction and cultural training.

3.1   EPIDEICTIC RHETORIC AND PUBLIC TEXTS

Deliberations about which bodies, subjectivities, and experiences can derive visibility within a public sphere of influence and representation has required chronic vigilance and negotiation among African American feminist activists, as access to public space and resources—and

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[30] Here, I am referencing Jurgen Habermas's claims about the public-private divide. In *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, Habermas argues that the public can be generally understood as that which is "of concern to everyone" (70). Habermas defines the ideal bourgeoisie public sphere as an arena in which citizens freely discuss and deliberate matters of common concern through rational-critical discourse, offering a critical check on the overarching and conglomerate power of the state. Habermas suggests isolating or neutralizing social difference in order to protect the free flow of rational-critical discourse from the adulterating influence of private interest. However, as scholars such as Nancy Fraser have pointed out, marginal and minority communities have been historically prevented from naming what is "of common concern" or "of concern to everyone," as women's issues have traditionally been aligned with the private, domestic sphere. In this chapter, I suggest that *CAM* challenges this tradition by making women's stories center stage in its coverage.

protections within these arenas—were historically denied to African American women. Additionally, as more modern interpretations of the public sphere came into view at the turn of the twentieth century, questions concerning who constitutes and can garner representation within a public sphere that was both expanding and more readily "in contact" with another became increasingly more precarious for African American women who had to balance the social mores of femininity with their minority status. Thus African American women instrumentalized the periodical press to speak to this unique social positioning, employing epideictic rhetoric to teach a mixed and intersectional readership their shared community values, as we see in efforts made by the NACW's *The Woman's Era* (Chapter Two).

Drawing on the work of Dale L. Sullivan, Henrietta Rix Wood explains that epideictic is "determined by a constellation of purposes, including education, preservation, and celebration" (Wood 58). These functions serve to identify a fundamental value system that connects members of a community. Therefore, the chief purpose of epideictic is community action and organization. In "Presenting Communion in Chaim Perelman's New Rhetoric," Richard Graff and Wendy Winn define epideictic as "argumentation that seeks to reaffirm agreements on values, its chief outcomes being the strengthening of community bonds, and by extension, the laying of grounds for future appeals to action" (Graff and Winn 51). Accordingly, community action requires first articulating the shared community values presupposing and inspiring such actions. Thusly, "epideictic serves an educational function in the sense that its practice occasions the enacted display and observation of virtue" (Adams 295). Moreover, such displays of value work to forge community affiliation and identity, renewing the humanity of community members. As John C. Adams writes:

The excellence exhibited in the humanity of those praised not only is revealed for

acknowledgement, but it becomes a common point of identification, which, at

minimum, enables recognition that one of 'us' exemplifies virtue. The recognition

may induce pride in one's community and inspire auditors with a sense of their

potential to also act virtuously (Adams 296).

In this formulation, the work of epideictic rhetoric is twofold, as it not only identifies and

acknowledges the central value system connecting members of a community, but also displays

how such a value system can inform future community actions and identification. More

specifically, epideictic is instructive insofar as it "displays" values that unite members of a

community and presents arguments about how these values might operate in future contexts.

While epideictic has traditionally been considered an oratorical genre, this analysis

demonstrates how epideictic rhetoric can be delivered in print discourses for the purposes of

instruction and display. As I've suggested, such instruction had the potential to unite members of

a community around a common cause or value proposition, and monthly magazines became a

useful tool for delivering this instruction. Consequently, monthly presses were integral in

contesting gender and racial oppression, as the public nature of these materials allowed marginal

and minority communities to access, reconstruct, and intervene in public political life and

discourse.[31] As Jacqueline Jones Royster explains in *Traces of A Stream*, "periodical

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[31] As I have mentioned in my Introduction, the growing popularity of monthlies instilled an appetite for social justice, reform, and the restructuring of social hierarchies among readers. Enlisting Wendy Griswold's term "cultural diamond" (see below), which describes the interface between the cultural object, its creator, the receiver, and the social world, Matthew Schneirov suggests that popular magazines operated as cultural diamonds, redirecting our mass cultural predilections away from genteel or aristocratic traditions. This cultural shift was characterized by "dreams" of "abundance, social control, and social justice," which "tried to balance the 'selfish individualism' of middle-class consumers and capitalists with a new social ethic, a 'civic consciousness'" (Schneirov 245; 260). Preoccupied with the notion that the "unplanned economic growth of the competitive system of 'Gilded Age' America was both irrational and dangerous," a new group of journalists (muckrackers) endeavored to satisfy and shape this new cultural predilection for social justice, rationality, and economic balance (Schneirov 260). In *Cultures and Societies in a Changing World*, Wendy Griswold introduces

publications have served as a constant forum for the voices of African Americans to be heard. They have constituted a counterforce to the more dominant 'official' voices that define the public agenda in a manner that usually excluded African American interests" (Royster 219). The correlation these magazines forged between space and representational discourses has maintained particular currency within feminist circles throughout the twentieth century, as modern feminisms have aimed to expand how marginal and minority identities acquire—*and have historically acquired*—legibility within and across personal, professional, and public landscapes. In "Constructing Difference in Public Spaces: Race, Class, and Gender as Interlocking Systems," Susan Ruddick refines the relationship between public space and social identity, arguing that "public spaces can disturb our conventional hierarchical notions of scale," specifically geographic scale, "becoming at once local and national spaces for the construction, mediation, and regulation of social identities" (Ruddick 142). Ruddick posits that media is a "critical tool in instructing the public" how to imagine and evaluate these identities, including intersections among race, class, and gender categories. Ruddick's analysis places into focus the instructive quality of public writing and media activism, particularly with regards to marginal and minority identity construction and racial resignification. Moving forward, I'd like to contextualize Royster and Ruddick's claims about feminist media activism by turning to *the Colored American Magazine* as an exemplar of intersectional journalism. I suggest that *CAM*

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the term "cultural diamond" in order to call attention to the varying relations a given cultural object has to the social world. Griswold is firm to point out that this language does not suggest that these relations are mutually informing; rather, she notes that her cultural diamond simply accounts for the degree to which the cultural object, social world, receivers, and producers stand in relation to one another. Griswold's cultural diamond includes four points and six links. Griswold notes, "we need to identify the characteristics of the object and how it is like some other objects in the culture and unlike others. […] We need to think about the various linkages; for example, on the social world/creator link, how in this society do some types of people get to create this type of cultural object and others do not" (17). This framework is particularly useful to my research insofar as it offers a heuristic for considering the varying linkages connecting black periodical work to other cultural forces.

instructed readers how to imagine African American women's identities through biographic writing.

Founded by Walter W. Wallace, Jesse W. Watkins, Harper S. Fortune, and Walter Alexander Johnson, the *Colored American Magazine* saw its first issue in May 1900, announcing its mission to "develop and intensify the bonds of that racial brotherhood, which alone can enable a people, to assert their racial rights as men, and demand their privileges as citizens" ("Announcement" 60). Fundamental to this mission was the chronicling of African American history: "A vast and almost unexplored treasury of biography, history, adventure, tradition, folklore poetry and song, the accumulations of centuries of such experiences as have never befallen any other people lies open to us and to you" ("Editorial" 60). Expressing the importance of featuring stories by and about African American race activists (as opposed to the more widely canonized white leaders and figures who graced the columns of mainstream newspapers and journals), *The Colored American Magazine* regularly ran articles canonizing African American historical figures and community activists. Particularly noteworthy in the years I will be covering (1900-1904) was the attention placed on discovering women's stories and experiences. Such attention, I contend, was a result of Pauline Hopkins's editorial oversight, which aimed to position women and women's issues in the public sphere.

Writing about Pauline Hopkins's career for the *Colored American Magazine*, C.K. Doreski observes: "Throughout her tenure at the Colored American (1900-4), Hopkins acknowledged her obligation not simply to cultivate but to create an audience for her revisionist race history" (Doreski 4). Under the editorship of Hopkins, *CAM* constructed a textual sphere where readers unaccustomed to African American history and biography could nevertheless learn about racial uplift and activism. As is noted in a January 1901 article detailing the

magazine's management team and editors, Hopkins's work is described as "enlisting the sympathy of all classes of citizens, in this way reaching those who have never read history or biography" ("The Story of Our Magazine" 44). In order to recruit "all classes of citizens" to subscribe to *CAM,* the magazine bridged education and entertainment, offering a mixed-media layout, visual display, and inducements for purchasing subscriptions, which included engravings, watches, photographic art, and copies of Hopkins's *Contending Forces.* As Doreski observes, history and biography were thusly treated as "marketable commodities" in order to earn the attention of readers accustomed to turn-of-the-century commodity culture (Doreski 4). Doreski posits:

> Visually sharing qualities associated with weekly newspapers in advertisements
> for products ranging from Frederick Douglass watches to cosmetics, the Colored
> American offered a product-intense, textual world in which even biography and
> history might become marketable commodities. Thoroughly attuned to the
> intertextual power of the emulative matrix of the press, Hopkins knew that her
> historical portraits could gain power when read through the animated and often
> competing texts of each issue (Doreski 4).

I am suggesting here that the turn of the century initiated a period of mass marketing and commodity culture very much assisted by mass-circulated magazines, which impacted reader expectations. According to print culture scholar Richard Ohmann, "the bourgeoisie developed and used the media, more and more through the second half of the nineteenth century, as adjuncts to its system of commodity production and distribution, as vehicles for information that it needed in this project, and especially as instruments of marketing" (45). Advances in technology at the end of the nineteenth century and early 20th century led to increased leisure

time for middle-class Americans, which in turn increased the popularity of monthly magazines. This is borne out in Ohmann's figures:

> At the end of Civil War the total circulation of monthlies seems to have been at most 4 million. It was about 18 million in 1890, and 64 million in 1905. To bring these figures down to scale, in 1865 there may have been one copy of a magazine each month to every ten people in the country. By 1905 there were three copies for every four people, or about four to every household. [...] Monthly circulation more than tripled between 1890 and 1905" (Ohmann 29).

These mass-circulated monthly periodicals, which included magazines such as *McClure's*, *Munsey's, Cosmopolitan,* and *Lady's Home Journal,* worked to promote capitalist consumption through cultural habituation, further solidifying gendered, classed, and racialized hierarchies. However, the emergence of a "mass cultural" appetite complemented by periodical production also offered a context for discussing social justice issues and hypothesizing different approaches to social hierarchies.

Costing fifteen cents for one copy and $1.50 for a year's subscription, *CAM's* most successful period boasted a circulation of one hundred thousand per year (and a circulation between 15 and 16 thousand per month). Arguably the first mainstream African American press committed to publishing women's stories, experiences, and activism that wasn't a women's journal, *CAM* not only used historical recovery as a means for re-inscribing African American experiences into our historical canons, but also as a mode of recontextualizing African American women's public presence in mainstream media. Reasoning with audiences that it was in part their responsibility to perpetuate and preserve African American history and biography, a publisher's announcement running in *CAM's* inaugural issue appealed to readers "separately and collectively

to lend [their] assistance toward the perpetuation of a history of the negro race" ("Announcement" 60). The Announcement goes on to note: "We have Theologians, Artists, Scientists, but for a lack of natural outlet their teachings and their theories have to a certain degree grown dormant...The introduction of a monthly magazine of merit...shall be a credit to the present and future generations" ("Announcement" 60). Here, the editors of *CAM* seem to suggest that the work of history is not a specialized practice—one that necessitates the legitimacy of institutional affiliation and accredited scholarship—but rather a public initiative that involves the outreach and oversight of artists, theologians, and scientists. Such outreach required a public platform, which CAM provided. By democratizing who had access to "specialized" knowledge, and by implicating a more generalized reading public into the process of discussing specialized issues, turn-of-the-century periodicals like *The Colored American Magazine* resisted what Jurgen Habermas defines as a process of differentiation that manifested as a byproduct of Western modernity. In "Modernity: An Unfinished Project," Jurgen Habermas narrates a process of differentiation, which in turn works to establish distance between expert and general knowledge (this is particularly visible in turn of the century culture). According to Habermas, modern societies are defined by differentiation, which establishes separate spheres for science, artistic production, and morality and law. In classical formulations, these fields were blended together. Although differentiation is not problematic on its own, the differentiation that characterizes our modern period was arranged unevenly. As a consequence, the progress that we've seen in fields of science and technology has not been realized in art, criticism, and law and the development of humane social institutions. Such an uneven development also leads to a stark separation between expert and general knowledge. Habermas writes, "the distance between expert cultures and the general public has increased. What the cultural sphere gains through specialized treatment and

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reflection does not automatically come into the possession of everyday practice without more ado" (Habermas 45). I argue that turn-of-the-century African American periodicals are in part interdisciplinary texts that avoid this process of differentiation, as they integrate both expert and general knowledge. The merging of "expert" and "general" knowledge, I maintain, serves a pedagogical function insofar as it attempts to educate a readership unaccustomed to these disciplines.

In order to gain the support of readers who were less "schooled" in African American history, Hopkins sought to make African American historical recovery a more tangible practice, one that could be managed intertextually by arranging genres such as history, biography, and serial fiction alongside of and in dialogue with one another. The biographies I cover in the following sections were therefore complimented by Pauline Hopkins's serial fiction, which dealt with themes including genealogy, recovery, and caste.[32] Consequently, while *CAM* did retain some elements of mass magazining, maintaining a fidelity to evangelical piety and middle-class pragmatism, it more closely resembled (and modeled itself after) literary journals such as The Atlantic Monthly, especially under Hopkins's editorial guidance. In *Reading for Realism*, Nancy Glazener expounds upon the relationship between the *Colored American Magazine* and The Atlantic Monthly, noting that "few if any of the contributors to the *Colored American Magazine* (1900-1909) also published work in the Atlantic group, yet the magazine manifested a commitment to literature commensurate with the Atlantic's" (Glazener 8). The braiding of history, biography, and fiction offered readers multiple valances through which to make sense of what C.K. Doreski refers to as *CAM's* "historical revisionism," retaining a somewhat instructive

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[32] *The Colored American Magazine* published seven of Hopkins's stories and three of her serial novels. The serial novels published in the magazine included *Hagar's Daughter: A Story of Southern Caste Prejudice* (1901-1902), *Winona: A Tale of Negro Life in the South and Southwest* (1902), and *Of One Blood* (1902-1903).

quality (see above). Doreski writes, "Conflating discourses of history, biography, fiction narrative, race, and gender...[Hopkins] advances the cultural and racial history of slavery into present-tense instruction (Doreski 5-6). *CAM's* intertextual layout not only featured literary and biographical sketches, but also photographic images. Serving as a visual testament to the lives being chronicled, collective portraits of African American historical figures, activists, and educators were displayed throughout the magazine. Thus, *CAM's* blurring of history and biography, its balancing of fiction and nonfiction historical accounts, and its conflation of word and image created a multimodal reading experience that helped to accommodate a range of reading and interpretive strategies.

Relying on the pedagogical potential of epideictic to teach its readers African American history, the editors of the *Colored American* aimed to revise the public record to account for African American experiences, suffering, and activism. Teaching its audience which characteristics, values, and beliefs to model by highlighting and praising specific characteristics, values, and beliefs in the individual being referenced, epideictic is activist in its capacity to transform public deliberation through memory claims. As Bradford Vivian argues, "whether in somber elegies or celebratory tributes, epideictic organizes the terms of public remembrance in order to shape perceptions of shared values and commitments serviceable to future deliberative agendas" (Vivian 2). Much of the work included in *CAM* under Pauline Hopkins's editorship functioned to redefine the terms of public memory. *CAM's* editors saw history as a public medium—one that could not only recoup the lost stories and memory claims of African Americans, but also one that generated new possibilities for public engagement, participation, and identification. Through periodical publicity, the *Colored American Magazine* was able to contest the abnegation of African American histories. Such work employed epideictic rhetoric to

acknowledge and praise African American historical figures and public activists, instructing readers how to resist racism and systemic oppression.

3.2   HOMETOWN HEROES AND LOCAL ACTIVISTS: CHARTING A PUBLIC PROFILE OF AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN

In the March 1901 issue of the *Colored American Magazine*, Pauline Hopkins chronicled the life of Edwin Garrison Walker as part of her "Famous Men of the Negro Race" series. As a preface to her article, Hopkins penned a poem in dedication to Walker's work as an early abolitionist and activist. In the poem's final lines, Hopkins wrote, "He is gone who seemed so great/Gone; but nothing can bereave him/of the force he made his own. [...] And he wears a truer crown than any can weave him" ("Famous" 358). Although the project of recovery, of "weaving crowns" to honor the dead, cannot fully grasp or articulate the "force" of the life lived, Hopkins's poem argued that it, nevertheless, was the necessary work of those dedicated to the "education and advancement of ages yet unborn, as well as the benefit of the present generation" ("Famous" 358). Endeavoring to make publicly visible to the "ages yet unborn" and "present generation" the invisible or unrecognizable history of black experience in America, Hopkins provided her readers with not only an historical literacy missing from mainstream media outlets, but also a visual context for complicating dominant portrayals of black identity (as many of her biographical sketches included illustrations and/or photographs of her featured men and women). Aiming to make black subjectivity intelligible within mainstream media, Hopkins's work offered a new interpretive frame for reading and recognizing black identity within dominant discursive and visual regimes.

Chronicling the lives of Sojourner Truth, Frederick Douglas, Harriet Tubman, and William Wells Brown, these portraits established a public presence that was historically rooted and intellectually refined. By focusing on the public profile of African Americans, *CAM* underlined the importance of citizenship and civic engagement. Hopkins also brought slavery and segregation to the foreground of her articles, noting in her biography of Leonard Andrew Grimes, "the modern colored citizen is afflicted by segregation even as the old-timers were by slavery-ostracism and its attendant evils, the humiliating knowledge that, in general, the public on the highway, in assemblies and employment shrink from us as from contaminating lepers" ("Famous" 99). Hopkins's writing modified the temporal and spatial borders differentiating white and black space, as her biographical sketches insinuated black experience into our collective histories about success, innovation, and moral fortitude. Hopkins's articles also called attention to the publicness of particular spaces (as we see above) so as to more critically investigate issues of access (which bodies do and don't have access to public space and the resources therein), visibility (how blackness becomes visible within these spaces), and historical negation (the extent to which black experience has been negated from our historical canons in such a way that imbues public space with a tradition/legacy of oppression). Entry into the public sphere—along with equal treatment within such spaces—was Hopkins's primary motive for writing.

While both columns adjusted the lens through which we acknowledge, cite, and reference public actors and their contributions to society, Hopkins's treatment of famous African American women offered a more collective portrait of public subjects, relying less on individual contributions to race history (as was typical for her Famous Men sketches). In an advertisement for the forthcoming inaugural installment of what would become a 12-part series, African American women were grouped into five categories, including abolitionists, educators, vocalists,

instrumentalists, elocutionists, and artists. The advertisement notes that the "position occupied by the negro woman in this country is peculiar; she is constantly called upon to combat not only caste, but disbelief, among the whites, in her morality, and in her possession of any of the gentler virtues of womanhood" ("Announcements" np). Arguing that there was "no denying the overwhelming social and civil influence of women," the advertisement stresses that such women were central to the progress of the race writ large: "without these women, the education of the men and the wonderful changes wrought by emancipation would go for nothing" ("Announcement" np). Accordingly, African American women's work was exemplary especially insofar as it contributed to the public good through public education and outreach.

The first installment of "Famous Women" chronicled "phenomenal vocalists," including sketches of Elizabeth Taylor Greenfield (1824-1876), Madame Annie Pauline Pidnell (1834-1901), and Anna Madah (1855-1929) and Emma Louise (1857-1901), also known as the Hyers Sisters. Arguing that "negro song...[was] the only original music of America," Hopkins positioned each woman's story within the larger canon of musical art and tradition ("Phenomenal" 46). Referencing early Egyptian, Grecian, and Roman musical traditions, Hopkins regarded the unacknowledged African American artists who "labored in the rice swamps of the South" as the forebears of the American musical canon:

> The genius of music, supposed to be the gift of only the most refined and
> intellectual of the human family, sprang into active life among the lowly tillers of
> the soil and laborers in the rice swamps of the South. The distinguishing feature
> of Negro song is its pathos and trueness to nature. It is the only original music of
> America, and since emancipation has become a part of the classical music of the
> century ("Phenomenal" 46).

Hopkins suggests that African American music was distinguished by its closeness to land and nature. Accordingly, such proximity to land and landed cultures translated into a closeness to the history of such lands and a connection to the African American women's stories implied into these spaces. Moreover, Hopkins treated such a connection to land and landed histories as features of nativity, which she used to legitimate African American citizenship claims. As Doreski notes, "borrowing rhetoric freely from a host of 'methods of Americanization' texts (targeted at the foreign born) [black journalists] located their American-ness in their nativity; they were native sons born into the language," and I would add the *land* (Doreski xix). Operating within this rhetorical tradition, Hopkins's biographical texts not only charted the history of African American participation in nation building and cultural production, thereby legitimating African American claims to citizenship rights, but also insinuated women's experiences as public actors into this American tapestry, which challenged more conservative-leaning perspectives that considered excessive public participation immodest and lacking virtue. Furthermore, Hopkins framed her analysis as a correction to the American historical canon, which "maligned" and "misunderstood" African American women and women's experiences: "Maligned and misunderstood, the Afro American woman is falsely judged by other races" ("Phenomenal" 46). An insistence on historical revisionism for the purposes of reclaiming African American women's biographies, especially as such biographies attested to African American women's public profile and activism, was evinced throughout the series.

Choosing to recognize vocalists who were former slaves (Elizabeth Taylor Greenfield) and victims of systematic racism (Madame Annie Pauline Pidnell), Hopkins's inaugural installment praised such women not only for their vocal talent, but also for their fidelity to African American uplift. The Hyers sisters were especially committed to civil rights, using their

mainstream popularity to raise awareness about racism and oppression by pursuing more risky musicals and foregoing promising careers within the elite world of opera. Like other turn-of-the-century African American female journalists, Hopkins underlined the linked and dialectic nature of racism and sexism, suffusing each story with a larger reflection on the unique cultural positioning of African American women. In her "Phenomenal Vocalists" installment, Hopkins recognized the representational force of each woman's accomplishments in light of their debased racial positioning, suggesting that such women exposed the fallaciousness of mainstream racial stereotypes. Noting that it was "a popular fad to regard the Negro as hopelessly incompetent and immoral, doomed to years of self-abasement and apprenticeship," Hopkins wrote "it is profitable...for us to appreciate the fact that the women of the race have always kept pace with every advance made," concluding that "the work accomplished by these artists was more sacred than the exquisite subtleness of their art […] for to them it was given to help create a manhood for their despised race" ("Phenomenal" 46). While a shallow reading might interpret such sketches as simple amplifications on bourgeoisie culture and taste (a tradition popularized by mainstream monthly magazines), a more robust analysis shows that such texts are instead a testament to and an advancement of the activist work of African American women, as such women "mark an era in the progress of the race" ("Phenomenal" 46).

In distinguishing African American women's contributions from their male contemporaries, Hopkins's sketches position African American women in a distinctly unique sphere of activism, noting the additional labor associated with challenging race and gender discrimination. For example, as Hopkins asserts in the introduction of "Literary Workers," which profiled Phillis Wheatley, Francis Grimke, and Ida B. Wells: "The colored woman holds a unique position in the economy of the world's advancement" ("Literary Workers" 277).

Criticizing the "gag law" imposed upon women who do not remain "silent," namely club workers and writers, Hopkins notes that it is "unique to see its enforcement attempted by intelligence in the race" ("Literary Workers" 277). Hopkins continues: "We know that it is not 'popular' for a woman to speak or write in plain terms against political brutalities, that a woman should confine her efforts to woman's work in the home and church" ("Literary Workers" 277). By profiling women who challenged this gender precept, Hopkins undercuts the validity of limiting the women's sphere to the private domains of home and church. Hopkins grants Ida B. Wells the most space in her column, referencing Wells's cross-Atlantic anti-lynching speaking tour. Describing Wells as an "acknowledged power upon the public platform," Hopkins focuses her analysis on Wells's reception as a public speaker, chronicling her work for the *Free Speech* paper in Memphis Tennessee where Wells's press office was raided and destroyed as a result of her full-throated critique of lynching and her indictment of white women in both sexualizing and criminalizing black men ("Literary Workers" 279). Hopkins's prose is infused with geographic and spatial references, as she traces Wells's movements from Memphis to New York to her cross-Atlantic enterprises, citing testimonials from Wells's international travels.

> Miss Ida B. Wells, an American colored lady from Tennessee, pleaded the cause of her race on Tuesday evening last, in the Friends' Meeting house, Glasgow...After lecturing successfully in Edinburgh and Glasgow, she passed onto the chief English provincial towns, and then to London...Nothing more harrowing has been for years related from a Glasgow platform than the narrative she gave of the cruelties and outrages perpetrated upon her people.—The Scottish Pulpit ("Literary Workers" 280).

Hopkins treats the physical distance that Wells has traveled from her humble beginnings in Memphis as a credit to her success as a public speaker. However, as Hopkins emphasizes, the distances that Wells has traveled from her hometown does not minimize her connection to such spaces. Rather, Wells's public works have broadcasted the racial discrimination characterizing such places. In telling *her* story, Wells not only reinterprets these spaces of the past, but also (through her activism) intervenes in how such spaces are managed and governed. Hopkins's views this reinvestment in homespace as a notably feminine quality: "Upon the Negro woman lies a great responsibility,—the broadening and deepening of her race, the teaching of youth to grasp present opportunities, and, greater than all, to help clear the moral atmosphere by inculcating a clearer appreciation of the Holy Word and its application to everyday living" ("Literary Workers" 277). It's this application to "everyday living" and the spaces housing such practices that differentiate women's work from their male counterparts. Such a formulation does not restrict women's work to the domestic sphere, but rather extends women's work into the public sphere, as long as such outreach reinvested in the local, everyday, and domestic spaces so familiar to women in this period.

By including testimonials from British newspapers, Hopkins sketch highlights the stark contrasts between Wells's reception by the American public and its British counterparts. Citing an "Aberdeen journalist," Hopkins ends her column with a stern repudiation of racial discrimination.

> After hearing Miss Wells an Aberdeen journalist wrote: "That the habit of treating
> persons with Negro blood in their veins with social contempt: bringing against the
> race monstrous accusations without evidence, and carrying reckless vengeance the
> length of wrecking property and destroying human life by the process of lynching

is a disgrace to America, is clear. The only wise and safe way to remove a foul

blot from the suction of the greatest republic on earth is for Americans, from the

most prominent statesman to the meanest citizen, to give practical...recognition of

the fact...that all citizens of that republic are on one and an equal footing in

respect of social rights and protection of the law..." ("Literary Workers" 280)

Using intertextual references from British newspapers, Hopkins leveraged her most scathing

critiques of American culture. Given that such indictments were not her own words, Hopkins

could insulate herself from the accusation of partisanship. Rhetorically, the intertextual nature of

Hopkins's journalistic prose served to court two distinct readerships—a conservative-leaning

mixed readership that saw accommodation as the best method for overturning racism and more

radical race activists who advocated for structural reform by critiquing dominant systems of

power. Although reviewers of Hopkins's periodical writing have called attention to what they

perceive as "unashamed sycophancy" (Carby), contemporary scholars such as Hannah Wallinger

and C.K. Doreski point to Hopkins's use of intertextual material, which allowed her to double-

speak in such a way that resonated with both "accommodationists" and "militant race-and-

culture readers," as evidence to the contrary (Doreski 22).[33] Like the slave narratives of her

forebears, Hopkins's biographies balanced epideictic rhetoric—which praised the collective work

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[33] In *Reconstructing Womanhood*, Hazel Carby points to an essay Hopkins wrote for *CAM* about black women educators. In her essay, Hopkins writes optimistically about New England as a space where radical political agitation could happen. Carby sees Hopkins's praise of Northern states and particularly her "beloved Boston" as a "blatant dismissal of racism" in the North (130). Although Carby acknowledges that Hopkins was critical of the treatment of blacks throughout the country, she charges Hopkins's writing with "vacillating between severe critiques of the position of blacks in the North and moments of unashamed sycophancy" (130). Additionally, Gwendolyn Brooks famously accused Hopkins in her afterward of *Contending Forces* of having "assimilationist urges" (qtd. in Marcus 118). Brooks writes, "often doth the brainwashed slave revere the modes and idolatries of the master. And Pauline Hopkins consistently proves herself a continuing slave, despite little bursts of righteous heat" (Marcus 117-118). Although Brooks and Carby offer insight into some of Hopkins's more conservative-leaning rhetoric, I'm interested in the ways in which Hopkins employs a double-voicedness that allows her to speak through multiple registers and audiences, braiding radical commentary and critique with more assimilating gestures.

of race activists and leaders—with intertextual critiques of American governing structures, which allowed her the necessary critical distance to continue to publish, remaining a prominent voice on issues of racial discrimination and violence.

Intertextual references also come through in the visual material included in Hopkins's column. Momentarily interrupting Hopkins's sketches are portraits of African American community activists, including teachers, artists, politicians, and librarians, referenced in earlier columns. For example, in the June 1902 installment of "Famous Women: Educators" a portrait of Madame Nellie Carey Reynolds appears on the center of the page. Although the portrait is positioned in the middle of Hopkins's profile on educators, it is accredited to the column directly following the "Famous Women" series, entitled "Here and There," in which Reynolds is mentioned in association with other prominent African American figures whose portraits are also visible. "Here and There" reported on local news events, usually publicizing "local" material about African Americans (news that was often disregarded by white presses). Many of the stories published in "Here and There" offer brief profiles of community activists and artists prevalent in their local communities. In her short profile, Reynolds is described as "New England's favorite contralto," and is noted for her regular appearances in "nearly every church of color" in Hartford Connecticut ("Here and There" 133). Again, Hopkins highlights the importance of local activism and community organization, retaining a kind of fidelity to the local, physical spaces underpinning everyday events and resistance practices, such as those that were witnessed in African American churches, libraries, and club meetings. What is important to note in Reynolds's example is the extent to which much of the visual paraphernalia included through these intertextual references are of local—and not national—figures. This gesture to make visible local

"hometown heroes," if you will, offers a counterbalance to the apolitical black "icons" and caricatures often alluded to in white presses.

Although Hopkins's sketches of famous women privileged collectivism, as most of her columns profiled multiple subjects, the portraits punctuating her text are usually of individual subjects. Alongside of Hopkins's historical accounts, these photographs offer a visual record of the lives and humanity of African American citizens. Portraiture, in particular, is a photographic genre emphasizing public display and visibility. Subjects are posed, usually in their finest clothes, to a viewing public. Self-presentation being the goal of portrait photography, the incorporation of such photographs in Hopkins's column challenged many of the racial caricatures, as noted above, deriving currency at the turn of the century—namely those that portrayed African Americans as Sambos, Uncle Toms, Mammys, and Jezebels. By incorporating this visual material, Hopkins aimed to control both the visual and verbal "narrative" of African American citizenry, success, and public activism.

In the July 1902 "Famous Women" column, which ran the eighth installment of Hopkins's profile on educators, Hopkins chronicled the lives, notoriety, and achievements of the Howard family, including individual portraits of Edwin Frederick Howard and Joan Louise Turpin, along with their three children: Adelaine Turpin, Dr. Edwin Clarence, and Joan Imogan. Hopkins begins her narrative by noting, "A half-century or more ago among the earnest workers of the great city of Boston, counted with those of prominence and refinement...was the family of the Howards" ("Educators VIII" 206). After documenting Edwin Clarence Howard's promising career as a physician in Philadelphia, Hopkins quickly transitions to the Howard daughters, who remain the focus of Hopkins's profile. Describing Adelaine Turpin's career as an instructor, and later principal of the Wormley Building in West Washington D.C., Hopkins focuses on the

different locales Turpin resided in: "In Virginia, that State of whose historic name every white American is proud; in Maryland's remote country hamlets; and in far away Louisiana along the banks of the Red River, unselfishly, with patience...she labored for years" ("Educators VIII" 207). While Adelaine Turpin ended up in Washington D.C., her sister Joan Imogan Howard, graduating with a "Master in Pedagogy" from New York University remained in New York State, and later became a member of The Board of Women Managers of the State of New York for the Columbian Exposition. According to Hopkins, Joan Howard was "the only Negro so honored by any other State" ("Educators VIII" 211). Yet Joan Howard's work transcended state borders, as she pushed to get the literary work of Lydia Maria Child included in libraries and special collections exhibits. As Hopkins explains:

> The literary works of Lydia Marie Child—almost a martyr in the cause of abolition—were gathered nearly in their entirety. These became a valued part of the rare collection of books in the artistic library of the Woman's Building in the dreamily beautiful 'White City' at Chicago...Now, they and an exhaustive account of the 'Distinguished Work of the Colored Women of America' are among the treasures in the 'many-millioned-dollared' capitol at Albany ("Educators VIII" 208).

Hopkins here offers a verbal and visual mapping of the Howard sisters' activism, foregrounding where they themselves were educated and the educational spaces they shaped. Additionally, Hopkins sketches a genealogical tree, connecting the sisters to the homespaces and family figures who supported and cultivated their success. Although genealogy was a theme in much of Hopkins's literary work (see "Hagar's Daughter," "Contending Forces," and "Of one Blood"), "Famous Women: Educators VIII" treats family bonds not as a way of theorizing concerns about

racial heritage or even as a mode of filling in a black historiography, but rather as vehicle for discerning the Howard sisters' connection to space and community. Throughout Hopkins's "Famous Women" profiles there is a noticeable sensitivity to the public spaces staging the activism of black women. Moreover, Hopkins's epideictic rhetoric is marked by its negotiation with public space. Representing Lawrence Rosenfield's views on epideictic, Margaret LaWare writes, "epideictic brings together a community to witness the present, illuminating the community's inherent reality—its humanity and its relationship to a particular place, making visible the previously invisible...[and] replacing the urgency for action with an urgency for recognition" (LaWare 140). In terms of understanding epideictic and its relationship to public space, especially in regards to the *Colored American Magazine's* chronicling of women's stories, histories, and activism, it is clear that Hopkins highlights both the spatial and temporal connections elucidating African American presence in the public sphere, offering a verbal and visual mapping of women's collective struggles to garner recognition in this sphere of influence. It is therefore this negotiation with public space—above and beyond monetary gain, career prominence, or the fulfillment of love and marriage—that Hopkins's series underlines as praiseworthy.

3.3   PUBLIC WOMEN AND PRIVATE MEN IN THE SMOKY CITY

The four-part series entitled "The Smoky City," which covered Pittsburgh's African American community is another example of this emphasis on women's place in the public sphere. Running from October 1901 to February 1902, the series focused on business, industry, leisure and club

activities. In an advertisement running in May 1901, Oliver Waters, author of two of the four installments, notes:

> the series...will be the finest ever undertaken by any colored publication in the world. It will tell of the colored men among the iron and steel workers in the great manufacturing center. It will be a vivid portrayal of the life and industry in Pittsburgh in general, among our people. It will give a very, comprehensive view of 'our' businessmen, government, and municipal clerks, and both club and social life. The series will be profusely illustrated with many photographs taken specially for these articles ("Announcement" 83).

The fact that *CAM* chose to focus on Pittsburgh is notable, as it's the only city that *CAM* covered in such detail during this period. As Patricia Pugh Mitchell explains in her analysis of the series, "close scrutiny reveals there was no other urban center during this period receiving such concentrated and extended focus, not even Boston, the magazine's host city" (Mitchell 35). One of the nation's most industrialized cities at the turn of the century, Pittsburgh held the sixth largest African American population of any industrial city. While the first installment of the series offered an in-depth glimpse of Pittsburgh's steel industry, complete with 22 photographs of the city and its steelworkers—including aerial shots marking changes to the city's landscape from 1817 to 1901—the second, third, and fourth installments of "Smoky City" chronicled the many opportunities the city held for African Americans in business, education, and social life. Although the series included biographies and portraits of African American men and women, the "new negro" woman and her contribution to racial uplift was a central staple of each essay.

In "Part II: Glimpses of Social Life," which ran in the November 1901 issue of *CAM*, the women forming the Narcissus Literary and Musical Club of Pittsburgh are recognized as a

testament to city's progressivism both in regards to race and gender: "It is to be hoped that young women of the race, all over the country, may speedily fall in line, and organize themselves into bodies having for their object the cultivation of higher faculties. By so doing they will not only lift themselves, but mankind with them..." ("Glimpses of Social Life" 18). Running a full-page group portrait of the club's fifteen participants, the column presents the Narcissus clubwomen as models for other literary and social groups around the country. The essay also includes an individual portrait of Pauline Writt, the club's president. Daughter of the city's more prominent caterers, John T. Writt, Pauline Writt graduated from "Pittsburgh High School" and was a "most promising social leader" ("Glimpses of Social Life" 18). This pattern of tracing women's stories back to the public schools and facilities that trained them is also noticed in Hopkins's Famous Women sketches (as noted above), and one that persists in the third and fourth installments of the Smoky City.

In the December 1901 edition of Smoky City, entitled "Social and Business Life," more portrait images of Pittsburgh women appear, each captioned with their hometowns. However, unique to this installment (which covered social and business life in the city) are the long descriptions of male Pittsburgh residents and their homes, for example those of Capt. C. W. Posey of Homestead, PA, and John T. Writt of Pittsburgh, PA. Offering a first-person impression of Captain Poesey's home in Homestead, PA, Thomas S. Eweli (the author of the series) writes:

> I went where the man directed me, and, standing back in a beautiful lot, on one of
>
> the most prominent streets, was a mansion which, from appearance, might have
>
> been the home of a prince. I was ushered into a tastefully furnished room, where
>
> my attention was first attracted by an unusual number of current periodicals on the
>
> center table. I then noticed the elegantly bound volumes of general literature in

other parts of the room—all of which portrayed the home of culture...Captain

Posey's home...is what the home of a successful man should be. His parlors are

tastefully, but not extravagantly, furnished. Upon the walls one's eye is attracted

by some very lovely paintings...In the dining-room there is an elaborate display of

fine china...The skillful arrangement of everything, from the largest piece of

furniture to the smallest ornamental shows the presence of a cultivated taste and

discerning eye ("Social and Business Life" 135).

Although Eweli's portrait offers a standard vision of middle-class existence, its focus on the

private homes of Posey and Writt poses an alternative view of blackness in relation to property.

That is, blackness in this context is not objectified as a form of property to be sold, owned, and

regulated, but rather is represented as an embodied identity, free to own and inhabit property. As

scholars such as Cheryl Harris suggest, racial categorization has historically been delineated

through the allocation of resources, foremost of these being property. Harris argues that space

informs the discourses we use to create and understand new forms of social representation—and

space itself is influenced by discourses of property. In this view, whiteness retains the capacity to

exclude other social groups and cleavages for the purposes of profit—for the purposes of

monopolizing resources (specifically space as a material resource) and allocating interest and

value to certain spaces (while depreciating the value of other material spaces). While Harris

asserts that whiteness and property "share a common premise," which she identifies as a "right to

exclude," Eweli's series resignifies blackness in relation to property (Harris 1714). Such attention

to Posey and Writt's tasteful furnishings, "fine china," and "lovely paintings" serve to reestablish

the relationship between blackness and property, as Writt and Posey are not only cast as property

owners themselves, but also members of the professional middle class. Interestingly, though,

African American women are not prevalent among these sketches of private men, even as doting wives or nurturing mothers.

Unlike the treatment given to Captain Posey and John T. Witt, who appear in individual portraits on separate pages along with their homes, the women of the Aurora Club and the Tuesday Evening Study Club—which is the focus of the second-half of the article—are mentioned only in terms of their clubwork and public activism. In a sense, these women seem more given over to the city than their male counterparts, as their photographs appear collectively (see Figure 4 and Figure 5). Instead of evaluating such women based on their domestic performance in the private sphere, it is each clubwoman's public activism that warrants the most attention from Eweli, offering a subtle reversal of how men and women were typically cast in mainstream media. Although this approach could also be viewed as symptomatic of gender norms that privileged male individuality and female sociality, the effect seems to work against an essentialist notion of identity, providing a ecological account of African American communities and their environs. That is, I am not suggesting that Eweli's analysis is free of gender bias or is itself radically progressive; rather, I argue that what is particularly noteworthy about the Smoky City series is its offering of an alternative view of what constituted "women's place" in society, and more specifically the public sphere. As Jacqueline Jones Royster notes in her analysis of women's literacy practices in the long nineteenth century, "women were not public speakers; men were. Women's domain was not politics or public discourse; it was the home" (Royster 164). Although African American women inhabited a precarious position in the public sphere, given that many African American women needed to work in order to support their own families (and were therefore more visible in public sectors), they were expected to accept this view of feminine propriety. Royster writes, "despite the many ways that African American women's

working lives were not spent in their own homes, this view of woman's sphere still constrained how they were permitted to participate in their words" (Royster 164). However, Eweli's series works to normalize an opposite view of African American men and women, one that countervails not only gendered notions of "women's place" in society, but also racial tropes casting African American men as subservient, criminal, and without property. Again, the magazine's editors make this intervention through an appeal to place and landedness, as it is the various spaces that African American subjects are cast in and move through that expands and enhances the various opportunities available to African American citizens.

One clue that Eweli's series was an outgrowth of Pauline Hopkins's editorial oversight was its focus on clubwomen. In the third installment of the series, Eweli introduces his profile of the Aurora Club by noting the lack of coverage given to clubwomen in mainstream media: "It is surprising how few people really know of the advancement made in recent years by colored women" ("Social and Business Life" 140). Although he contends that there are "those individuals who have become conspicuous through the developing of some natural talent...[and] regarded as rather phenomenal," Eweli notes that the majority of African American women "are still looked upon as objects of experiment" ("Social and Business Life" 140). Eweli then challenges such thinking: "...the truth is, the experimental age with the negro race is past. Their advancement along all lines of progress has been sufficient to warrant them a place in history. And, like all other races, their progress is largely due to their noble women" ("Social and Business Life" 140). Eweli here treats the public activism of African American women as not only warranting commemoration in the present, but also confirming African American historical relevance. Eweli's epideictic rhetoric both praises African American women for their contributions to progress and teaches its readers the cultural values associated with clubwork.

These values privileged public outreach and the expansion of public space and resources to marginal and minority communities.

For example, while the bulk of Eweli's profile on the Aurora Club focuses on the clubwomen's public activism, including their outreach to The Aged Women's Home of Pittsburgh and their contribution to ongoing public debates on "whether colored women should join the State federations of Pennsylvania," his treatment of the Tuesday Evening Study Club emphasizes the critical role of public space as a site for organization, education, and protest ("Social and Business Life" 142). As scholars such as Elizabeth McHenry have noted, the primary locale for such organization were libraries. Eweli's series doesn't stray from this rule, as the Wylie Avenue Branch of Carnegie Library is referenced as a place "frequented more by colored people than any other of the libraries" ("Social" 145). The article credits librarian Ellen Summers Wilson, referred to as Miss Wilson, as a leader in making Wylie a hub for literary activities. Wilson organized the Tuesday Evening Study Club, a thirteen-member study group for African American women. According to Eweli's sketch, by March 1900 the group "immediately laid out plans for work, and started upon a course of study, beginning with historical novels, followed by current topics for the first year, and in the second taking up famous cities of the world" ("Social" 145). Eweli's sketch also includes photographs of club members, with short biographies explaining each members' level of education, their position in the club, and general literary and social interests. The series also credits Pittsburgh's public schools in advancing racial progress, as the fourth and final installment of the Smoky City column takes as its focus "Public Schools: Business and Professional Life." Introducing the article with a clarion call emphasizing forward advancement—"each time we take a step it must be forward: we can never go back to the place from whence we started, 'forward' is the command of the time—Eweli remarks that

"the same spirit which has made Pittsburgh king over iron and steel has entered her public school system and lifted it to a plain of which its citizens may well be justly proud" ("Public Schools" 172). As is noticed in previous supplements, Part IV of the Smoky City column frames its biographical sketches of public school teachers and professionals within the field of education with an illustration of the history underpinning racial advancement: "The public school system is as old as the town and city...Away back in the 'sixties' while the colored people were paying taxes to support the public schools their children were denied the right to attend those schools" ("Public Schools" 173). In each of Eweli's sketches, racial oppression is time and again measured through a lack of access to public institutions, while racial progress is viewed as an intervention into such spaces:

> When the subject was broached, to admit colored pupils into the public schools, the directors said there was no more room. 'But,' argued the colored men, 'if you cannot get room, put another story on top of your present buildings.' There was, of course, strong opposition to this arrangement: but it finally became a part of history: and the Negro youth has ever since been permitted to enter all the public schools of Pittsburgh ("Public Schools" 173).

Here, the erection of additional "stories" to "present buildings" and the expansion of public space to African American citizens signify racial progress. This focus on the physical locales where public deliberation, engagement, and education happens can be viewed as not only a reaction to and referendum on segregationist legislation, which inhered into law limits on access to public space for African American citizens, but also as a critical component of African American feminist activism, given the unique and precarious position African American women of this period were placed into as private-public subjects—specifically as women who were more

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readily present in public sectors than their white counterparts due to the legacy of slavery and the need to seek employment outside of their homes. African American feminist activism at the century's turn, therefore, enabled a nuanced engagement with space and the public sphere. Through epideictic rhetoric, the magazine instructed its readers how to navigate and recalibrate the borders and boundaries distinguishing a public sphere of influence, foregrounding access to and visibility within public space as a primary tenet of activist mobilization. What is unique about this mode of feminist intervention in the *Colored American Magazine*, which can be credited to Pauline Hopkins's editorial stewardship, is its use of history and historical references for the purposes of establishing and invigorating an African American community identity. Tracing the histories of local activists and community leaders, the *Colored American Magazine* not only provided a record of historical documentation, but also drew connections between the past and present, teaching its readership the values and characteristics of famous women. Such a value system promotes community outreach, local development, and racial uplift. Furthermore, the *Colored American Magazine* under Pauline Hopkins was able to publish stories celebrating African American women who challenged patriarchal delineations constituting women's place as inextricably linked to the private sphere.

3.4   CONCLUSION

In Spring 1903, the *Colored American Magazine* was sold to William Dupree, a race writer and Civil War veteran. After soliciting John C. Freund, a New York publisher and music critic to assist in the magazine's transition to New York, Dupree—who was also secretly seeking Booker T. Washington's financial support—placed into motion a series of changes to the magazine,

diminishing Hopkins's editorial influence. In efforts to secure additional monetary backing by courting a white readership, Dupree, Freund, and Washington emphasized self-reliance and bootstraps pragmatism, criticizing Hopkins's focus on the legacy of slavery and systematic oppression. The strained relationship between Hopkins and upper management is well-documented in a series of correspondences between Freund, Dupree, and Hopkins, which are detailed in Hannah Wallinger's *Literary Biography*. In one letter, Freund writes: "Either

Miss Hopkins will follow our suggestion in this matter and put live matter into the magazine, eliminating anything which may create offense; stop talking about wrongs and a proscribed race, or you must count me out absolutely from this day fourth (qtd. in Wallinger 83). Shortly after this correspondence, Hopkins attended a dinner at the Revere House in Boston where Freund gave a speech further detailing his thoughts about the magazine, which Hopkins later chronicled in an article entitled, "How a New York Newspaper Man Entertained a Number of Colored Ladies and Gentlemen at Dinner in the Revere House, Boston, and How the Colored American League was Started":

> I notice, in one of the articles written by your worthy, and most talented and self-sacrificing editress, Miss Hopkins, a tendency to refer to her people as a 'proscribed race.' You must cease to speak of yourselves as a proscribed people. You must cease to dwell upon your wrongs in the past, however bitter, however cruel. How shall the barriers that hold you in be broken down, if you insist upon living behind them? Your duty is to forget the past, at least, to put it behind you and to advance bravely, with your faces to the dawn and the light (qtd. in Wallinger 85).

A particular grievance Freund and Washington had with Hopkins's editorship was her attention to history. After Hopkins's resignation from the magazine, *CAM* shifted its attention from historical recovery and intersectional politics to an emphasis on white patronage and support. An article entitled "In the Editor's Sanctum," published March 1904, offers some insight into the magazine's altered tone:

> We implore the white men of the North and the white men of the South to deal
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> with the Negro question soberly, tenderly, discerningly; and throw their strong
>
> arms about the Negro, and protect and counsel him, and be his elder brother, and
>
> help him get education, and pour soothing oil into his wounds, and work hand in
>
> hand with him, and employ him, and put him on his feet, and teach him that he is
>
> a man ("Editor's Sanctum" 383).

This treatment of white men as benefactors for African American advancement was a pointed departure from Hopkins's epideictic rhetoric, which valued and made visible local stories of African American progress, positioning women's experiences, achievements, and activism in an expanding public sphere of representation and influence. Hopkins's editorial activism represented a break from the white paternalism so entrenched in mainstream media at the turn of the century.

While the "Hopkins's Years" marked a relatively short period of time, they were a refreshing intervention into these patriarchal practices. Moreover, the biographical sketches that ran in not only Hopkins's "Famous Men and Women of the Negro Race" series, but also in the culture and lifestyle pieces she edited helped to recuperate a history of African American activism for the masses. As C.K. Doreski writes, "Hopkins transcended the journal's arts context by writing for those who never read history or biography" (Doreski 4). The didacticism implicit in this genre of writing allowed readers to see themselves as part of a larger public sphere of

actors, which transformed individual readers into a community of activists. This investment in community building and civic engagement through instruction and education corresponds with the epideictic genre. Known for its "pedagogical" orientation, epideictic rhetoric prepares readers for direct action by defining core community values and ideals, which at the century's turn served to mobilize a movement of marginal and minority activists. Yet, access to this underrepresented community depended on technologies of literacy, which activist magazines such as the *Colored American* filled.

Under Pauline Hopkins's editorship, *CAM* offered new and expanded avenues for marginal and minority activists to reach a more intersectional group of readers and writers. Although her work with the *Colored American* was cut short, Hopkins's editorial contributions— along with her later work for *Voice of the Negro* and *New Era Magazine*—initiated an investment in and concern for public visibility, especially in terms of creating public spaces for African American citizens and drawing connections between the legacy of slavery and contemporary manifestations of institutionalized racism. Such work can be witnessed in current activist initiatives to reassert the value of Black lives in order to combat systemic racism and oppression. Such value propositions share a connection with Pauline Hopkins's commitment to making legible the trials, experiences, and accolades of African American citizens through media attention and activism. This analysis has intended to historicize such ventures, using the *Colored American Magazine* as an interpretive lens for uncovering the role of activist media in renegotiating the territory of the public for women and people of color.

4.0 PUBLIC PEDAGOGIES: ENGAGING QUESTIONS OF REPRESENTATION IN THE DECEMBER 1912 ISSUE OF THE CRISIS MAGAZINE

In Chapter Three, I explored how Pauline Hopkins employed epideictic rhetoric to teach readers the history of African American activism, drawing attention to local service and collective accomplishments. This chapter refines my discussion about teaching, analyzing how we can use African American activist media to theorize the role of pedagogy in the public sphere. Focusing on how stories of racial passing expose the limiting (and often tropic) binaries through which racial identity is deciphered, this analysis further highlights the extent to which these binary constructions of identity are learned through media narration and characterization. Using the December 1912 issue of W.E.B. Du Bois's *The Crisis Magazine* as my primary object of examination, I consider how pedagogy is taken up as both a theme and project in the magazine. Since this chapter emphasizes the pedagogy of public magazines, it is useful to clarify how I am defining the pedagogical project in relation to not only *Crisis* but also the previous magazines I have explored. I argue that *CAM*, *Woman's Era*, and *Crisis* are pedagogical texts. That is, they are texts that critique structures of power and offer alternative pathways for democratic engagement by introducing and inculcating new habits of mind. *CAM*, *Woman's Era*, and *Crisis* challenged the distribution of cultural capital through the formulation of counterdiscourses that questioned who had access to knowledge-based resources (including access to the relevant

means of literary production and consumption) and created avenues for knowledge acquisition through cultural refinement, self-education, and political activism. Additionally, such periodicals offered a roadmap for identifying what public media made visible with respect to different forms of social representation, citizenship, and as I've noted in the previous chapter, history and biography. Examining the degree to which *Crisis* counternarrates the demeaning and derogatory portrayals of African American identity in mainstream media, this chapter suggests that Du Bois's magazine not only indicts dominant visual systems of seeing and evaluating African American identity, but also reveals the ways in which such systems of seeing and interpreting blackness are learned and can be remediated through media intervention. The ultimate aim of this chapter is to understand pedagogy as not simply a method for inscribing pre-existent dominant norms, but rather as a mode for intervening, questioning, and challenging dominant systems of representation and public articulation. Moreover, this analysis chronicles how activist media can reveal the hidden pedagogies within our dominant cultural paraphernalia for the purposes of challenging and transforming the tropes and archetypes applied to marginal and minority communities.

One caveat to this approach to pedagogy is that given my method and material constraints, this analysis does not offer much reflection on how audiences were "receiving" or "learning" these lessons, as questions of audience are particularly difficult to handle when working with historical literary documents. When researching historical documents, scholars often rely on circulation numbers, letters to the editor, and how editors themselves describe their readership in order to get a baseline sense of how these texts were commonly received. However, none of these barometers accurately depicts who the audiences of these texts were, especially since African American periodicals were often read in communal settings, such as churches, club

meetings, barber shops, reading rooms, and libraries. Given the communal environments in which these texts were read, it becomes clear that subscription numbers do not tell the full tale of audience. Furthermore, letters to the editor sections operate as vehicles for projecting an ideal readership, as opposed to functioning as an objective reflection or cross-section of actual readership or reading practices. Finally, editors themselves weren't always clear on who their audiences were, as W.E.B. Du Bois famously noted that *Crisis* was written for a working class population, whereas most print scholars argue that *Crisis* was likely read by a more professionalized, middle-class readership. Therefore, this analysis uses historical literary texts in order to engage questions surrounding space, access, and community identities in the teaching or theorizing of public writing and minority media activism. Instead of paying close attention to how specific audiences were receiving these texts, this analysis offers an historical case study of African American media activism—one that aims to better understand how a community makes itself visible through public writing and media activism.

I chose to focus on one single early issue of the magazine for two reasons. First, heeding Anne Carroll's observation that the editors of *Crisis* make meaning through juxtaposition, and Anne Ardis's method of charting "dynamic conjunctions of purely textual elements" in print culture artifacts, I locate moments of juxtaposition and intertextual dialogue among three texts, Jessie Redmon Fauset's "Emmy," and two articles without bylines, "The Black Mother" and "Sackcloth and Ashes" (Ardis 26). Second, in placing these texts into dialogue, I foreground how each interpret the stakes and consequences associated with racial passing. While Chapters Two and Three integrated textual materials from multiple issues of each magazine between a two- to five- year span—*The Woman's Era (1894-7), CAM (1900-1904, the "Hopkins Years")*—this chapter provides a different methodological approach, one that privileges close textual

analysis and intertextual references. Thus, by paying attention to how different textual genres make arguments via juxtapositions, I attempt to read these texts in "situ." That is, in such a way that underscores how each text makes meaning across generic boundaries. Anne Ardis lends further credence to this approach to reading activist texts like *The Crisis Magazine*:

> Reading *The Crisis's* short stories and poetry in situ, as part and parcel of its mixed media protests and affirmations, requires a critical methodology...It entails not simply paying careful attention to the material circumstances of literary production and consumption...but thinking in non-modernist terms about literariness, aesthetic value, consumer culture, and the visual and alphabetic literacies of the modern citizen-subject...For aesthetics are never simply a matter of 'taste' or formal experimentalism in the *Crisis*. The magazine's commitment to the instrumentality of art in the formation of modern black identity licenses its presentation of a stylistically diverse array of literary materials (Ardis 35-6).

As Ardis suggests, the visual and textual topography of *Crisis* was not simply experimental; rather, *Crisis's* visual and textual elements were tailored to teach and propose to its readers new categories and possibilities for racial articulation. In pursuance of this project, however, the magazine also underlined how the racial categories identified by mainstream media and public culture served to foreclose these new possibilities for self expression. For the purposes of exploring how deeply entrenched this notion of racial categorization is in public culture, I would like to briefly turn to a contemporary media example.

In a *New York Times Magazine* article chronicling the public shaming of Rachel Dolezal, the former head of the Spokane Washington chapter of the N.A.A.C.P who came under fire for allegedly "misrepresenting" herself as African American, author Daniel J. Sharfstein writes:

...Dolezal's exposure comes at a time when racial categories have never seemed more salient. The same social media that is shaming Dolezal has also aggregated the distressingly numerous killings of African Americans by the police into a singular statement on racism and inequality. In this moment, when blackness means something very specific—asserting that black lives matter—it follows for many people that categorical clarity has to matter, too (Sharfstein np).

Asserting that Dolezal's story isn't as anomalous as mainstream media outlets have claimed, Sharfstein's article, entitled "Rachel Dolezal's 'Passing' Isn't So Unusual," frames Dolezal's case among countless historical incidents of passing.[34] Citing genealogist Paul Heinegg, Sharfstein traces the phenomenon of passing to a 17th-century Virginia law that assigned racial classification based on the status of the mother. According to Heinegg, passing was initially a matter of deciphering the identity of mixed race individuals. In order for mixed race families to access the resources associated with whiteness, which included being kept out of bondage, white mothers were compelled to prove their whiteness through legal means. However, as racial categories and tensions became more stringent, passing garnered greater cultural attention in magazines and newspapers and came to be understood as a phenomenon in which individuals misrepresent their purported racial, ethnic, or gender identity for cultural, intellectual, material or personal advancement. Yet what is especially noteworthy about Sharfstein's genealogy of racial passing is his case for "categorical clarity," which I suggest is symptomatic of a larger gesture by

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[34] Sharfstein's article primarily focuses on reverse passing cases, such as those of Rachel Dolezal, Dan Burros, the Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan whose family identified as Jewish and who was considered a "star bar mitzvah student," and Forest Carter, also a member of the Ku Klux Klan and speechwriter for George Wallace who authored a Native American "memoir" under the penname Asa Earl Carter (Sharstein np). Although Burros and Carter's cases derived some media attention, the purpose of this article is to unpack how the phenomenon of passing exposes larger cultural assumptions about racial identity, particularly the extent to which we rely on aesthetic or phenotypic markers as a means for interpreting racial identity.

mainstream presses to evaluate and interpret blackness (and not whiteness) as an intuitive and fixed racial category.

We can see this trend in many of the headlines announcing and exposing Dolezal's reverse passing. News about Dolezal treated the activist as either a punching bag, punchline, or both, placing an inordinate amount of attention on Dolezal's physical appearance by focusing on her hair, nose, and lips. *Gawker* even published an article entitled, "Rachel Dolezal Identifies as Medium Spray," which poked fun of Dolezal's spray tanning habits. Other media outlets focused on the existential requirements of racial identification, as the *Daily Mail* ran an article entitled, "Race Faker Rachel Dolezal Talks Racial Identity on Chat Show and Says She Ticks Both the Black AND White Box on Forms." Less vitriolic media coverage tended to define authentic blackness through the lens of cultural and institutional marginalization and historical discrimination, experiences that Dolezal's biography was ostensibly lacking (see *The Guardian's* "I Became a Black Woman in Spokane. But Rachel Dolezal, I Was a Black Girl First" by Alicia Walters; *Salon's* "What We Can't Afford to Forget About Rachel Dolezal: A Master Class in White Victimology" by Chauncey Devega and; the *New York Times's* "The Delusions of Rachel Dolezal" by Charles Blow).

The goal of this chapter, however, is not to answer these concerns about racial identity with a definitive framework through which to understand blackness and whiteness as either authentic or constructed subject positions. Instead, I frame this analysis with Dolezal's example because it exposes the central role that mainstream media plays in teaching citizens what constitutes appropriate or "authentic" racial identity. While I might take issue with Sharfstein's assumptions about the necessity to solidify racial boundaries, I will build upon his genealogy of passing by considering how the phenomenon of passing is taken up by activist media for the

purposes of challenging the institutional bodies that have traditionally defined racial performance. Grounding my analysis at the turn of the century—a moment in which categorical clarity retained particular import in determining who could inhabit certain public spaces—I suggest that popular media outlets provide a consequential pedagogical arena for learning, interpreting, and evaluating race identity. Concentrating on three texts written for the December 1912 issue of Crisis, I argue that our stories of passing (which become visible through our media outlets) intuitively teach readers how to inhabit and perform racial identity, assigning what Sharfstein defines as "categorical clarity" to these purportedly different identity formations.

It is important to note that this analysis is not offering a comparative view of white versus black passing. Rather, I aim to address the role of activist media in calling attention to reductive characterizations of race identity and in revising how blackness comes into view within our public forums. The first section of this chapter, entitled "Public Culture, Public Pedagogies, and Media as an Object of Analysis," will build upon Henry Giroux's theory of pedagogy as it is outlined in "Cultural Studies, Public Pedagogy, and the Responsibility of Intellectuals." This section will unpack the relationship between mass media and pedagogy, particularly as it relates to how we learn, mark, and evaluate public identities. The second section, entitled "Passing, A Pedagogy: Artificial versus Embodied Passing," will historicize the role of activist media in fleshing out and challenging the pedagogical structures informing normalized racial categories. This section will consider the role of pedagogy in teaching and learning race identity.

4.1   PUBLIC CULTURE, PUBLIC PEDAGOGIES, AND MEDIA AS AN OBJECT OF

ANALYSIS

Mainstream public culture, viewed through the lens of magazines, newspapers, and social networking sites, not only offers an arena for understanding how race identity comes into view (or is made viewable) through dominant systems of representation and articulation, but also acts as an alternative pedagogical forum—one that grants access to the means of literary production and consumption outside of traditionally academic venues. Therefore, magazines and newspapers can be seen as pedagogical or "teaching" texts; that is, texts that either critique or instantiate structures of power by introducing and inculcating new, popular, or alternative habits of mind. Using Henry Giroux's "Cultural Studies, Public Pedagogy, and the Responsibility of Intellectuals" as a touchstone for unpacking the latent pedagogical functioning of public culture, this section maintains that activist periodicals both expose and reinscribe the pedagogical imperative of cultural paraphernalia through the production of counterdiscourses. These counterdiscourses help to construct new pathways for accessing educational resources beyond dominant and hegemonic institutions of knowledge.[35]

According to Giroux, public culture is a fluid and dynamic arena for understanding the performative dimensions of identity and agency, rendering visible the political forces influencing identity construction. In other words, public culture is a space for mediating, accommodating, and contesting dominant social hierarchies by highlighting the material relations informing and

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[35] My use of the term "counterdiscourse" borrows from Nancy Fraser's "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy." "Subaltern counterpublics," according to Fraser, are "parallel discursive arenas where members of subordinated social groups invent and circulate counterdiscourses to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs" (Fraser 67). In this context, counterdiscourses are simply discourses that offer "oppositional interpretations of marginal identity, interests, and needs." Seeing as turn-of-the-century African American periodicals offered alternative portrayals of blackness that countered the often derogatory stereotypes found within mainstream media in this period, I argue that these periodicals are counterdiscursive.

constructing a politics of representation. Framing this politics of representation through a discourse of pedagogy, Giroux's "Cultural Studies" points to the hyper-fabricated nature of subject formation and, more specifically, citizen subjectivity. As Giroux notes, "the primacy of culture and power should be organized through an understanding of how the political becomes pedagogical" (Giroux 62). Thus, political agency necessitates a process of learning whereby individuals come to understand themselves in relation to cultural artifacts and institutions.[36] Consequently, Giroux's formulation attaches pedagogical significance to this process of subject formation.[37] More pointedly for Giroux, the pedagogical encounter reveals the political forces influencing how individuals come to articulate themselves within cultural institutions by underlining the degree to which these systems of power are artificial and ideologically driven. Making explicit connections among public culture, pedagogy, and subject formation, such work highlights the centrality of pedagogy in understanding and revising systems of power.

Recognizing the pedagogical imperative underlying the circulation of print media allows print culture scholars to better account for the ideological function of such material, especially as such material engages in the work of narrating which bodies can and cannot retain and garner visibility within a public sphere of representation. In other words, paying attention to the ways in

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[36] Without veering too far from my central argument, we can see the stakes inherent in Giroux's ideas in our current socio-political climate. That is to say, concerns over immigration and what constitutes American assimilation reveals the ways in which popular media (from all ends of the political spectrum) have a direct hand in shaping the types of identities that are visible or are not visible within a social sphere by teaching a media-consuming public normalized identity formations. For example, viewing an immigrant as either a foreign other to be feared, maligned, and banned from American participatory democracy or a "raw material" to be shaped and molded into a model for American exceptionalism or progressivism are archetypes that derive consistent media currency in our contemporary moment.

[37] In this article, I am suggesting that subject formation is tied to one's capacity to become visible within a public sphere of representation. Here, I am gesturing toward the work of Jeffery Nealon and Susan Giroux. In The Theory Toolbox: Critical Concepts for the Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences, Nealon and Giroux define subjectivity as a collection of discursive and physical actions that allow for individualized identities to develop and become culturally visible. Subjectivity happens at the intersection of individual agency and larger cultural values. The larger cultural values that help dictate and discern racial subjectivities, for instance, are explicitly tied to political forces. Therefore, political agency is the medium through which new racial subjects can emerge, develop, and become visible within mainstream culture and within wider public spheres of influence and representation.

which print culture teaches its readers how to *be in the world*—particularly in terms of how to differentiate oneself from gendered, racialized, and ideological others—is a fundamental aspect of acquiring and advancing a progressive approach to media or public literacy. Primary, however, to these questions regarding identity formation, pedagogy, and public culture is how the asymmetrical deployment of political, cultural, and social power shapes the pedagogical encounter. Revealing this asymmetry and chronicling how activist campaigns offer alternative forums for enunciating identity formation and political agency is thus fundamental to countering dominant systems of power.

As I have mentioned in previous chapters, turn-of-the-Century African American periodicals are especially useful sites for exposing asymmetrical deployments of cultural and political power, **as** such periodicals interrogated the deep racial divides buttressing public and social norms. A landscape in which news, advertisements, opinion pieces, political commentary, personal letters, and literary critique sat alongside and in conversation with one another, African American print media offers a particularly unique staging ground for historicizing and contextualizing the multi-voiced and intertextual nature of modern mass media. As Anne Ardis posits in "Making Middle-Brow Culture," turn-of-the-century African American magazines like W.E.B. Du Bois's *Crisis* exemplify "the complex relationships between printed artifacts, the dazzlingly, distractingly visual cultures of modernity, and the world of things for purchase commercially in a modern consumer culture..." (Ardis 21). Similarly, Anne Carroll's "Protest and Affirmation: Composite Texts in *Crisis*" suggests that *Crisis's* "large cultural presence in the early twentieth century was due, in part, to its multimedia format and layout, which has drawn scant scholarly attention" (Carroll 89). This "multimedia format" characterized by the intermingling of news, photographs, advertisements, and critical and opinion commentary (and

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which is akin to contemporary media layouts both online and in print) provided a forum for readers to experience and engage with different genres of writing. For example, the Table of Contents for the December 1912 issue of *The Crisis Magazine* lists the following four titles under its "Articles" section: "Emmy" (a short story by Jessie Redmon Fauset), "Sackcloth and Ashes" (an editorial detailing the trauma of lynching and mob violence), "The Club Movement in California" (featuring biographical sketches of members of the National Association of Colored Women's California chapters), and "The Christmas Sermon" (a poem by Robert J. Laurence), in addition to its featured departments, including "Along the Color Line," "Men of the Month," "Opinion," "Editorial," and "National Association for the Advancement of Colored People." Such offerings represent a range of critical, literary, and journalistic prose, from poetry and short stories to investigative journalism and political commentary.

Readers of magazines like *Crisis* were therefore presented with various textual genres and images that required a multimodal literacy, one that took into consideration how the structural and design features of these periodicals coalesced to make meaning. Even print advertisements, which were reflective of a growing consumer culture, cultivated a style of reading and interpretation that compelled audiences to deduce meaning from an economy of words and images. This multimodal reading experience was shaped by the various linkages and relationships one might find between different media paraphernalia, as such relationships could be found between images and copy, or copy and advertisements, or advertisements and opinion commentary. Editors also made arguments by internally staging news items next to one another or by juxtaposing competing media paraphernalia.[38] However, this is not to say that *Crisis's*

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[38]   In "Beauty Along the Color Line: Lynching, Aesthetics and the 'Crisis,'" Russ Castronovo argues that Crisis's multimedia format was used deliberately by editors to build connections between politics and aesthetics. Castronovo's work focuses specifically on how the internal staging of lynching photographs alongside of literary

layout mirrored the "jigsaw formatting of the modern newspaper" nor did it employ the "fragmentary reading technique" characteristic of the modernist little magazine (Ardis; Bennett 31). Rather, the magazine was designed for cover-to-cover reading, as information was laid out sequentially. As Ardis observes: "*Crisis* at this point in its history always presented materials in a simple sequence, never interrupting one feature article to capture readers' interest in another story, never even tagging each page with a header emphasizing the timeliness of the publication" (Ardis 31). It's obvious that this was a calculated decision made by the editors to give the magazine a more book-like character. Indeed, the magazine regularly featured letters from readers praising its design features. For example, the September 1912 "Letter Box" includes submissions by William Stevenson in Cincinnati Ohio, who "reads The Crisis cover-to-cover and eagerly looks for it each month," and J.W. Barco from Richmond Virginia, who notes that "This month's edition of The Crisis is a 'gem.' I read with inspiration and profit every word of it last night" ("Letter Box" 250). The book-like design of *Crisis* also further illuminated the magazine's instructive or pedagogical qualities, as readers could use *Crisis* to supplement their academic interests. As subscriber Harry H. Jones from Oberlin Ohio notes in a letter included in the April 1913 edition, "Crisis bearing fruit; one of most eagerly sought for of our magazines in the college library" ("Letter Box" 301). These letters give us a very brief snapshot of real-world reading habits, as well as offer evidence into the specific reading practices the editorial staff hoped to cultivate. That is to say, in publishing letters that emphasized "cover-to-cover" reading, the editors of *Crisis* telegraph their own rationale behind their design decisions, insinuating ever so slightly that *Crisis* should be read with more attention than one might give a miscellany or newspaper. In short, *Crisis's* format privileged intertextual dialogue, exposing the internal

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articles worked to renegotiate both the standards on which art was evaluated and the conditions on which bodies came into and out of view (and the extent to which these bodies were considered beautiful).

juxtapositions informing how we making meaning from a range of cultural and media artifacts. Such a format advanced a quasi-linear reading sequence, whereby recurrent or cascading themes and ideas could be understood through these juxtaposing and intertextual references, which was somewhat distinct from the bricolage or networked reading techniques associated with modernist magazines.

Therefore, turn-of-the-century African American periodicals like *Crisis* can provide a useful lens through which to understand the pedagogical affordances of mixed-media platforms, especially insofar as they generate a multimodal process of reading, one that requires readers to be sensitive to the connective tissue holding different textual genres together. Furthermore, the historical insight drawn from such media is not only key to contextualizing the pedagogical affordances of contemporary media outlets (specifically those that challenge dominant systems of power), but are also relevant to contemporary discussions of racial identity and the performance of blackness as a public identity. I reference Henry Giroux's work because it lays bare the pedagogical stakes undergirding our public literacies, specifically with regards to how we narrate blackness within our media ecosystems. Thus, Giroux's work provides a frame for understanding the interrelation between the epistemological aims of pedagogy and its fundamental connection to mass media and public literacies. The next section of this chapter will examine how the pedagogical project is taken up in association with race and racial performance in W.E.B. Du Bois's *The Crisis Magazine.* This section will employ literary analysis to unpack the various textual genres featured in the magazine. Such writing, I argue, presents a critical pedagogy that critiqued hegemonic systems and challenged asymmetrical deployments of cultural capital.

4.2   PASSING, A PEDAGOGY: ARTIFICIAL VERSUS EMBODIED PASSING

One of the more insightful observations made about the media flurry surrounding Rachel Dolezal's public outing was by a columnist for *The Guardian.* In an article entitled "Rachel Dolezal Exposes our Delusional Constructions and Perceptions of Race," Steven W. Thrasher suggests that Dolezal's failed passing reveals the artificiality of binary constructions of whiteness and blackness. Thrasher notes that what makes Dolezal's case so "fascinating" is its exposure of the "disquieting way that our race is performance — that, despite the stark differences in how our races are perceived and privileged (or not) by others, they are all predicated on a myth that the differences are intrinsic and intrinsically perceptible" (Thrasher np). Thrasher's article presents two premises. First, Thrasher suggests that the ostensible intuitiveness with which we perceive racial characterization is learned. Second, Thrasher notes that we can learn to see and *unsee* these visual markers given our cultural and social training. In other words, although our racial constructs are arbitrary (as Thrasher points out), the features and categories that we associate with such constructs are learned and serve an ideological purpose, as such constructs are policed through legal legacy (Plessy v. Ferguson), social doctrine (de facto segregation), and institutional forums.

Moving forward, I consider the historic role *The Crisis Magazine* has played in narrating the linkages between artificial and embodied passing, recognizing the pedagogical significance of articulating and deliberating these connections through intertextual dialogue. My core aim is to better understand how narratives of passing unveil the hidden pedagogies of dominant cultural paraphernalia. I contend that the editors of *Crisis* made revealing these "hidden pedagogies" a fundamental project of the magazine—a project that is productively illustrated in Jessie Redmon Fauset's "Emmy."

Arranged around two instances of passing—(1) Emmy, the protagonist, becoming "passable" as a black body within the protopublic sphere of the classroom and; (2) Archie, Emmy's love interest, passing as someone of "Spanish decent" in order to excel in the field of engineering—Fauset's story is largely a mediation on the role of public institutional settings in defining and standardizing blackness.[39] Making visible the discriminatory and derogatory lens through which black identity was visualized in turn-of-the-century American culture, "Emmy" endeavors to "mend" these dominant and problematic ways of discerning black identity by calling attention to the arbitrary nature of such identity markers, foregrounding the role of pedagogy in inculcating these dominant modes of evaluation and interpretation. Thus, pedagogy is viewed as a political project, namely because it is invested in the acquisition of agency, either in terms of teaching citizens how to be public actors or reformulating which public subjects derive visibility within a larger public sphere of representation. From this vantage point, pedagogy can serve to mend, suture, and overcome the dominance hierarchies implicit within public culture, which was *Crisis's* main intervention. Passing is treated as a pedagogical practice—one that requires African American subjects to perform arbitrary racial markers for the purposes of attaining legibility within our public forums. Yet passing is cast from two differing vantage points, what I am calling artificial and embodied passing. A comparative example between artificial and embodied passing, as each are noticed through Fauset's Emmy and Archie, will serve to clarify how Fauset, and in a larger sense the editors of *The Crisis Magazine* as a whole, undertake the work of redefining passing as not simply a process of misrepresenting one's

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[39]   I borrow this term from Rosa E. Eberly. Eberly refers to school spaces as protopublic spheres where students can practice participatory democracy within a low-stakes learning environment. Eberly notes that these "protopublic spaces...[allow] students to form and enter literary public spheres and choose whether to join wider public spheres" (162). For a more detailed account of the relationship between classroom spaces and public spaces, see Christian Weisser's Moving Beyond Academic Discourse: Composition Studies and the Public Sphere.

race identity. Rather, passing in this context is defined as a cultural procedure in which black Americans acquire legibility within a larger public sphere of representation by performing "acceptable" racial characteristics (as defined and delimited by dominant visual and discursive systems).

Consumed with the stakes and consequences associated with disguising his racial identity, Archie's narrative follows many of the tropes and themes associated with a traditional passing story, what I am referring to as "artificial passing." Posing as a white man in order to ascend the ranks in the field of engineering, Archie is plagued with interior deliberations about whether or not he wants to marry Emmy and "out" himself as an African American, thereby limiting his chances of professional fulfillment and wealth. It is not until Archie is met with the prospect of professional advancement at the expense of his romance with Emmy that he realizes success cannot be achieved without self-acceptance and race pride. Archie accomplishes these forms of acceptance when he exposes his "true" identity and *comes out* to his superiors, risking his career as an engineer for the interior reward of self-actualization.

Although Archie's narrative aligns with standard passing stories, Emmy's storyline extends the notion of passing to account for the process in which racialized bodies are taught and expected to disguise specific identity markers in order to *pass through* public space, even if they do not intend to pass as white. Thus, Emmy's narrative explores passing-as-learned-identity as opposed to passing-as-deception. In drawing Emmy's narrative, Fauset is perhaps more concerned with and critical of the white gazing subjects that delimit and authorize how racialized bodies can be seen or come into view within our public spaces. Emmy's story therefore serves to illuminate what I refer to as "embodied passing," which is the primary focus of this chapter insofar as it underscores the material and cultural forces influencing subject formation.

I use the term "embodied passing" to denote the physical experience of passing into and out of different public arenas as a racialized body. I adopt this term to underline the extent to which mainstream culture places specific conditions on how blackness can be seen and received within our public spheres of representation. Black bodily presence is therefore mediated through certain assumptions about blackness—these assumptions dictate and discern how blackness can be performed in public space. Although embodied passing does not necessitate disguising one's racial identity for the purposes of seeking professional or social advancement (a la artificial passing), it does suggest that in order to "pass" through different public venues *unscathed* (that is, without the chronic fear of bodily harm and harassment), racialized bodies must contend with and acquiesce to dominant visual systems for seeing and evaluating blackness. Such dominant and problematic systems of representation are made explicit in the story's initial scenes, which are staged within the schoolhouse and revolve around the pedagogical relationship between teacher and student. I will briefly summarize this scene, which I consider reflective of the story's larger project of exposing the role of pedagogy in the learning of racial categories. However, the goal of this analysis is not to offer a close reading of Fauset's story; rather, I am interested in drawing intratextual linkages between "Emmy" and the editorials preceding and succeeding her work, which are concerned with how blackness "passes" through public space. I use the theme of "passing" in public space as a way to connect Fauset's fictional narrative of passing to conversations about memorializing black identity, as I argue that our public memorials display for the nation the appropriate actions/characteristics associated with citizenship.

In an assignment for class, Emmy is asked to name the world's "five races" (Fauset 79). After naming the "white or Caucasian, the yellow or Mongolian, the red or Indian, the brown or Malay, and the black or Negro," Emmy's instructor, Mrs. Wenzel, demands that Emmy identify

the race to which she belongs (Fauset 79). This question, however, is harder for Emmy to navigate, "not because hers was the only dark face in the crowded schoolroom, but because she was visualizing the pictures with which the geography had illustrated its information" (Fauset 79). Emmy deliberates that "she was not white, she knew that—nor had she almond eyes like the Chinese, nor the feathers which the Indian wore in his hair and which of course, were to Emmy a racial characteristic" (Fauset 79). Finally, Emmy concludes that she "belongs to the black or Negro race," much to her teachers "relief" (Fauset 79). Emmy too is relieved, as "the Hottentot, chosen with careful nicety to represent the entire Negro race, had," as Emmy notes, "on the whole a better appearance" (Fauset 79).[40]

Visualizing iconic representations of racialized bodies, Emmy undertakes a process of logical deduction, reading her race identity in relation to these other representative identities. Although none of these iconic race representations adequately articulate her experience as a racialized body, Emmy chooses the least problematic minority appearance as her own. Emmy's participation and legibility within the public institutional sphere of the classroom is predicated on these representative icons (for example, the Venus Hottentot). Thus, Emmy becomes intelligible and "passable" only when she complies with these racial representations. Moreover, passing within this context holds a double significance, since Emmy is both receiving a passing grade for Mrs. Wenzel's assignment, as well as *passable* as a black body within a public institutional sphere. By introducing her story with a schoolhouse "lesson," Fauset underlines the extent to

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[40]   The Hottentot Venus was the stage name assigned to Saartjie Baartmann (also referred to as Sara Baartman), a South African slave who was sold to a Scottish doctor named Alexander Dunlop. Dunlop compelled Baartman to perform in carnival slideshows throughout Europe. Considered a major "attraction" in Britain and France between 1810 and 1815, Baartman would draw large crowds interested in her "exotic" anatomy. Baartman was also used as an object of scientific examination both during her life and after her death by Georges Cuvier, a professor of anatomy at the Museum of Natural History in Paris. After Baartman's death in 1815, Cuvier dissected her body and displayed her remains, including her brain, skeleton, and genitalia in Paris's Museum of Man. Fauset uses the legacy of Baartman in order to highlight the extent to which blackness was treated as an object of public scrutiny and scientific examination, and to further elucidate the degree to which black public presence was marked by an erasure of subjective identity.

which dominant visual systems are learned and artificial. Pedagogy therefore acts a medium through which dominant visual systems are articulated and enacted, as educators are the primary interlocutors for policing racial categories.

Throughout "Emmy," Fauset is concerned with how racially marked bodies come to know, see, and value themselves within and in relation to dominant visual systems, as the story reaches its climax when Emmy and Archie learn to reject the racial hierarchies and stereotypes that define blackness in order to realize and fully recuperate their love for one another. Each character undergoes a process of becoming intelligible both within and against these dominant characterizations of blackness. One reviewer, Claire Oberon Garcia, describes the story as "permeated by problematic tropes of recognition in the verbal and visual arts" (Garcia 101). This chronic and consistent squaring of embodied identity with dominant standards for seeing blackness is further explicated in the illustration of a young African American women gazing at her reflection in a vanity mirror, which momentarily interrupts Fauset's text and works to create a collage effect in the layout of the page. This juxtaposition of image and text underlines the visual qualities implicit within the process of imagining identity: identity, through this discursive and visual vantage point, is contingent upon and pivots from the image. In other words, the visual field through which bodies become viewable works to determine one's access to and acceptance within public culture. As a consequence, racial icons such as the Venus Hottentot—a public identity singularly circumscribed by the visual field—set certain and specific limitations on how blackness could be seen, received, and responded to within mainstream culture and its publics. In Fauset's fictional account of passing, the image works to police, circumscribe, and substantiate racial identity. Race is treated as an aestheticized object of public consumption, interpretation, and analysis, and racial articulation is mediated by public figures, specifically educators.

Furthermore, racial iconicization in "Emmy" works to reify binary constructions of race, asserting categorical clarity through the visual field—through artificial enactments and visual presentations of race.

The primacy of the image in discerning racial identity finds further elucidation in an editorial preceding Fauset's "Emmy," entitled "The Black Mother" (TBM). Reporting on legislation to erect a mammy monument in the National Mall, "TBM" complicates the legacy of the mammy figure, which at the turn of the century derived particular cultural currency as a happy and benign relic of the "Old South."[41] Noting that such iconography "existed under a false social system that deprived [real black mothers] of husband and child," "TBM" suggests that such caricatures dehumanize and negate the subjective experience of Black mothers—as the mammy figure signifies a moment in African American history when Black women were deprived of interiority and barred from cultivating a private life outside of white supremacist systems of servitude and surveillance ("TBM" 78).

"TBM" also points to the degree to which our public memorials are spaces of learning, as public memorials both instruct citizens what our nation's values are and which citizens (and civic actions) are valuable. Erecting a mammy statue in the National Mall would therefore teach African American women that their value as citizens stems from their capacity to identify with and live into these demeaning tropes of representation. In both "Emmy" and "TBM" dominant pedagogies (such as those that happen in the schoolhouse and those that are derived through public memorialization) are associated with submission. That is, Emmy must submit to her

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[41] This notion of the "Old South" is firmly connected to Lost Cause Mythology, a nostalgic misreading of plantation life prior to the Civil War. In the half century after the Civil War, Lost Cause sentiment grew in popularity. Rooted in plantation literature (including The Leopard's Spots in 1902, The Clansman in 1905, and The Traitor in 1907), Lost Cause mythology romanticized Southern paternalism, uplifting the plantation as a utopian space in which racial binaries were fixed and natural. The mammy figure played a central role in clarifying such binaries.

teacher's reading of race in order to pass through and become legible within the classroom space. Likewise, public memorialization of Mammy works to instruct white and black citizen subjects how to read and evaluate African American identity through the lens of submission, as the legacy of the mammy is one of servitude and submission. However, the editors of *Crisis* challenge these dominant pedagogical practices by teaching readers how to recognize and depart from these systems of seeing and evaluating blackness.

Critiquing the extent to which Black bodies were encouraged, expected, and to some degree even required to identify with and through these iconic and hypervisible racial caricatures, the editorial describes the mammy figure as a "perversion of motherhood" and compels "present-day mammies [to] suckle their own children...walk in the sunshine with their own toddling boys and girls and put their own sleepy little brothers and sisters to bed" ("TBM" 78). Compelling African American women to contest the cultural legacy of these hyperbolic and problematic tropes of representation, "TBM" asserts that the mammy caricature (probably one of the more iconic and visually pointed images of Black iconography) works to abstract and erase the embodied and felt experiences of Black women.

Particularly noteworthy is the article's positioning. Directly preceding Fauset's story about passing, "TBM" contextualizes the drama of "Emmy" with real-world prefatory material, drawing connections between passing and racial caricatures. By juxtaposing Fauset's fictive story of passing (which emphasizes the primacy of the image in objectifying and aestheticizing racial identity) with a critique of the hypervisible legacy of the mammy figure, the December 1912 layout of *Crisis* links the phenomenon of passing to an oversimplification and caricaturization of racial subjectivity. Passing is therefore associated not with the breakdown of racial categories,

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but with the solidification of racial boundary lines—lines that, regardless of the racial identity performing the passing, associate racial identification with phenotypic categorization.

Scholar Baz Dreisinger, who has written prolifically on the phenomenon of passing, suggests that passing privileges and reiterates the presence of the white gazing subject. In an interview for The Atlantic Monthly, Dreisinger suggests that the phenomenon of passing underlines the white gazing subject's "long legacy of fetishizing blackness" (Dreisinger np). Such fetishistic imagery is "based upon caricatures, and not characters.... on idealized or cartoonish notions of what blackness is" (Dreisinger np). These cartoonish portrayals of blackness work to obfuscate the interiority of racialized subjects. Although traditional stories of passing tend to emphasize the psychological consequences of performing whiteness (notably the pain associated with breaking familial ties for the purposes of social or professional advancement), both "Emmy" and "TBM" highlight the extent to which *passing as black* within a white public sphere of representation is equally risky. In other words, passing takes on a dual context—passing is treated as both a phenomenon in which individuals transition from one race identity to another and a process through which African Americans learn how to see, identify, and contend with dominant visual systems. Consequently, the editors of *Crisis* sought to redefine passing as a social and psychological process of erasing embodied experience and aestheticizing racial identity.

The metaphoric erasure of subjectivity that becomes visible through the fetishizing imagery of the mammy figure is made literal and explicit in the article directly succeeding "Emmy," which chronicles the lynching of Zackaria Walker. Walker's identity, as well as his purported crime, are not specified in the report. Instead, the article, entitled "Sackcloth and Ashes," vaguely notes: "On August 18, 1911, a black man was burned to death by a mob in

Coatesville, Pa" ("Sackcloth" 87). From here, the editorial details a speech by John Jay Chapman to a prayer gathering in Coatesville. In his speech, Chapman interprets a newspaper account of Walker's death:

> ...I read in the newspapers of August 14...about the burning alive of a human being—and of how a few desperate fiend-minded men had been permitted to torture a man chained to an iron bedstead, burning alive, thrust back by pitchforks when he struggled out of it, which around about stood hundreds of well-dressed American citizens, both from the vicinity and from afar, coming on foot and in wagons, assembling on telephone calls...hundreds of persons watching this awful sight and making no attempt to stay the wickedness ("Sackcloth" 87).

Making many references to sight and seeing, Chapman describes his personal reaction to the violent scene reported in the paper: "I seemed to get a *glimpse* into the unconscious soul of this country. I *saw* a seldom *revealed picture* of the American heart and of the American nature. I seemed to be *looking* into the heart of the criminal […] What I have *seen* is not an *illusion*. It is the truth" ("Sackcloth" 87). The "truth" that Chapman gleans from this tableau is the commonness of racial violence in American public culture. For Chapman, the black body comes into view publicly through the frame of the lynching spectacle. Signifying the erasure of black bodily presence, the lynching spectacle (circulated through lynching photographs and media depictions) works to further abstract black subjective experience. Like "Emmy" and "TBM," "Sackcloth and Ashes" examines the role of dominant visual systems in narrating and filling in black identity. "Sackcloth and Ashes" does not describe the lynching spectacle firsthand; rather, the lynching spectacle comes into view through media narration and visual language.

By appropriating how lynching was narrated and depicted in popular media, the editors of *Crisis* perhaps hoped to disrupt popular depictions of lynching as either a "just" response to black criminality or a benign enactment of popular sovereignty. Furthermore, lynching reporting and imagery within mainstream presses was implicitly pedagogical—that is, such coverage acted as a grotesque and deeply problematic mode of teaching white and black readerships the risks associated with black public visibility. The circulation of lynching imagery in Southern States made explicit the consequences of questioning or challenging segregationist policies. However, in *Crisis*, the circulation of lynching stories (and photographs) inverted this pedagogical initiative.

Drawing connections between artificial representations of racial performance (vis-a-vis passing and racial iconography) and the erasure of black subjectivity, *The Crisis Magazine* (as we notice through its intratextual linkages) brings to light the extent to which our modes of seeing, understanding, and evaluating blackness is learned. Furthermore, the aestheticization of racial identity (as is noticed in our passing narratives, as well as in our racial caricatures) directly informs—and is in dialogue with—the most extreme examples of black erasure. That is, the erasure of black subjective identity exemplified in the popularity of iconic caricatures such as the Venus Hottentot ("Emmy") and mammy ("TBM") finds its most disgusting manifestation in the wholesale erasure of black subjectivity in the lynching spectacle. Thus, the lynching spectacle, as Chapman notes, offers a harrowing insight into the political and social pulse of the country.

4.3   CONCLUSION

I have touched on the relationship between passing and pedagogy by discussing the central role popular media plays in the construction of public identities. Considering how binary constructions of race rely on and privilege phenotypic identification, this chapter historicizes the ways in which the phenomenon of passing is interpreted and re-defined by activist media. By highlighting intratextual linkages, I have suggested that W.E.B. Du Bois's *The Crisis Magazine* takes up the pedagogical incentive to teach readers our own cultural biases and assumptions regarding racial identity, underscoring the extent to which such biases and assumptions are learned and *can be re-learned* for the purposes of pursuing a more progressive agenda towards race, racial performance, and racial legislation. What "Emmy," "The Black Mother," and "Sackcloth and Ashes" clarify is the primacy of the image in envisioning and legislating identity. Of course, my brief analysis of Fauset's story and the two editorials bordering her work cannot fully articulate the extent to which questions of citizenship are built into this collective imagining of how to see and receive blackness within our public institutional spaces. However, this analysis begins to identify the ways in which black citizenship comes into view both within and against these dominant visual systems. I have suggested that these dominant visual systems are taught and learned through popular media in our stories of passing, which expose the artificial boundaries defining and circumscribing who and how we see. Each of the articles that I reference endeavor the work of both chronicling the contours of these systems of seeing black identity, while at the same time aiming to respond back to the white gazing subject through whom these depictions are authored and authorized.

What turn-of-the-century activist periodicals can teach—or at least model—for us today is the pedagogical nature of these media representations. Periodicals such as *Crisis* call attention

to the pedagogical imperative to write and legislate identity. Mainstream pedagogies of representation *can* work to foreclose the potential for new citizen subjects and subjectivities to emerge. Yet, the texts that I reference in this chapter offer an historical framework for understanding how media invention and intervention by marginal and minority communities works to re-shape the borders and boundary lines characterizing our dominant discursive and visual fields of representation.

Although this chapter focused on historical accounts of periodical activism, such work opens up new avenues for discussing media or public literacy, which I define as identifying, critiquing, and even modifying the pedagogical dimensions underpinning popular culture, as well as engaging key questions surrounding access and representation within our public or media spaces. By considering what our media landscapes make visible (or not visible) in terms of racial subjectivity, gender expression, and citizenship, such work uses a discourse of pedagogy as a lens for understanding the various popular forums where teaching happens. Making racial passing stories a focal point, this chapter suggested that such narratives expose the many ways in which different forms of social representation are learned through public culture and public media—and the extent to which our media landscapes "teach" us normalized identity categories. Such categories have the potential to influence not only how we visualize blackness, but the ways in which blackness is legislated in our public spaces, as our stories of passing tend to derive specific cultural currency in moments of social and cultural upheaval (moments in which the policing of racial identities in public space is particularly incisive).

While it's important to be sensitive to the cultural particularities and nuances surrounding the policing of black bodies today, we can trace the antecedents of such skepticism towards "foreignness" and "otherness" within our public forums to segregationist legislation and deeply-

rooted anxieties about modernity at the century's turn. Furthermore, we can connect these anxieties to current fears surrounding globalization and immigration, which have manifested in the rise of nativist populist rhetoric. Thus, it's no surprise that questions of "categorical clarity" with respect to racial identity were re-introduced alongside of nativist concerns about "shoring up our borders" and surveilling foreign others. Conversations about the pedagogy and politics of racial passing are therefore not divorced from more modern concerns regarding how we narrate difference in popular media and which counternarratives derive media currency.

In closing, this chapter proposes the following three questions for further research seeking to use a discourse of pedagogy for the purposes of better understanding the critical and cultural relevance of examining popular media and media activism: Firstly, how can a discourse of pedagogy that doesn't singularly privilege traditional classroom settings and practices further highlight the political dimensions associated with reading and interpreting media texts—texts that explicitly and implicitly teach us the degrees of visibility available to marginal and minority communities in the face of dominant or hegemonic structures? Secondly, how might this expanded view of pedagogy allow us to balance political concerns with an aesthetic and literary experience of Otherness and passing? Thirdly, how might we use different forms of media expression as a means for intervening in this process of visibility—or changing and counternarrating dominant media tropes? In Chapter Five, I begin to unpack some of these questions by focusing on the public and professional writing classroom as a space where students can reflect on their own cultural, personal, and institutional positioning within and across home, professional, and public environments.

5.0   PUBLIC AND PROFESSIONAL LITERACIES IN THE COMPOSITION CLASSROOM

In Chapter One, I posed a set of questions in an attempt to frame and guide my investigation of African American activist media, which included the following:

- How do African American discourses of place shape consequential questions concerning who has access to "the public" and the resources therein, how marginality is represented within our public spaces, and whether we can reconstitute space by changing our representations of marginality or by accounting for marginal experience within our public venues?

- What are the stakes and consequences of making oneself, one's suffering, one's experiences visible through public writing? What are the consequences of visibility for marginal and minority communities in our physical and/or cultural environs?

- How might we account for an expanded definition of public literacy and public exigency in contemporary writing contexts? What types of assignments might elicit a deeper engagement with public space as a function of writing, rather than as simply an arena for writing?

Following this outline, chapters two, three, and four attempted to unpack the first two bullet points, focusing on how African American periodicals have historically engaged concerns about who has access to the public sphere and its resources, how blackness is cast within this sphere of

influence, and the role of media publicity in resignifying blackness as a public subjectivity. Throughout this dissertation, I've argued that what's particularly noteworthy and prescient about *The Woman's Era*, *the Colored American Magazine*, and *The Crisis Magazine* was the recasting of racism and systemic oppression as a public exigency, which served to expand our notions of what constitutes a public crisis by exposing and challenging the racial hierarchies inflecting our public landscapes. Drawing insight and inspiration from this intervention into how we activate discussions about and within the public sphere, this chapter considers current approaches to writing for the public, namely how we teach and attend to the critical and ethical stakes implicit in writing into and on behalf of this sphere of relations. While in previous chapters I've analyzed specific writing practices that theorize and refine the relationship between public space and different forms of social representation through activist media, chapter five will consider how we might further attend to connections among public space, public texts, and public subjects in public and professional writing pedagogy, taking up my final bullet point—How might we account for an expanded definition of public literacy and public exigency in contemporary writing contexts? Furthermore, this dissertation has maintained that the activist periodicals I've researched not only highlight the nested and interanimating relationship between public space and different forms of social representation, but also emphasize the need to protect bodies in space (as opposed to simply preserving space at the expense of bodies). Applying this rubric to the composition classroom, we must facilitate discussions and assignments that allow student writers to not only reflect on the material and embodied nature of the public sphere, but also their own personal experiences inhabiting and participating within this sphere of relations.[42]

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[42] Having student writers position themselves within and across personal, professional/academic, and public environs allows students to critically engage with not only the different genre conventions associated with these locales, but also the various forms of representation and/or social identities available in these spaces. Moreover, such work places into focus the embodied and contingent nature of space. In the "Occupation of Composition,"

Although first-year writing courses can be productive spaces for eliciting connections among personal, academic, and public and professional arenas, this chapter looks at the public and professional writing classroom as a productive and potentially more sophisticated site for refining these engagements. This is in part due to the intermediate and specialized nature of these courses. Viewing public and professional writing as an extension of—and not separate from—composition and rhetorical scholarship, this chapter unpacks the ways in which public and professional writing propels the learning objectives associated with advanced composition. Such an approach is informed by the work of Jean Grace, who is the founding director of the University of Pittsburgh's public and professional writing program. In her dissertation, "Working Knowledge: Composition and the Teaching of Professional Writing," Grace argues for professional writing to be reimagined as "advanced composition." Grace suggests that these courses are typically cast by departments and interpreted by students as strictly "service oriented" and anomalous to a traditional academic regime. Grace writes, "students are invested in seeing professional writing courses as directly relevant to their futures in ways that many of their general education classes are not" (23). Moreover, students see professional writing courses as "practical, as providing experiences, knowledge, and credentials that will be helpful for them in a variety of dimensions," oftentimes in spaces beyond the academy (24). While practical application to workforce and community interests could be viewed as a principle benefit of

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Sidney Dobrin explains that the field of composition should invest itself in the reading and negotiation of space, "becoming attuned not to spatial metaphors as a method for speaking *about* its work, but rather to the very dynamics of the production and occupation of spaces" (Dobrin 29). Although Dobrin is particularly concerned with how and where we position the work of composition institutionally and academically, his notion of the "spatiality of composition" is a useful touchstone for engaging more tangible questions about space, resources, and access: "Understanding the spatiality of composition then allows for not only productions of new places and new ways to occupy these places...but also the very politics of those places and boundaries, recognizing the hegemonies that mark those territories and the counterhegemonies that...question and resist those hegemonies" (Dobrin 29). While African American periodicals are an exemplar of how to question and resist hegemonic systems of power through public writing and activist media, this chapter will explore how we discuss and negotiate terms such as space, access, and representation in our teaching practices

listing these courses as part of a traditional English department's program of study, Grace's research shows that professional writing regularly exists at "the edges of departments' interests and investments" (27). According to Grace, only 28 out of 62 Association of American Universities member institutions "offer classes in professional writing in their English department, [and] of these only 10 offer a major, certificate, or minor in some kind of professional writing" (27). Although there has been some variance in this data in the past eight years, as I found 35 out of 63 programs that now offer courses and majors/minors in professional writing, only a little more than half of Association of American Universities member institutions incorporate these courses.[43] Surmising that professional writing maintains this marginal position within English study precisely because of its association with practical application, Grace's work extends the scope through which "the practical" is evaluated and interpreted. Moving beyond simply teaching "skills and drills" or rote memorization and learning practices, practical application in the composition classroom allows students to refine and revise writing strategies and concepts in ways that anticipate multiple writing contexts, contexts that both inform and exceed the immediate space of the classroom.

Drawing from the work of Jean Ferguson Carr, Stephen Carr, and Lucille Schultz in *Archives of Instruction: Nineteenth Century Rhetorics, Readers, and Composition Books in the*

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[43]   In order to account for any changes to this data in the past eight years, I researched the Association of American Universities member institutions to see if new programs and offerings have been created, and organized a table similar to Grace's (see Appendix A, Table 1). The only additional information I accounted for was how public writing was categorized, and whether it was included alongside of professional and technical courses or labeled separately. I found 35 out of 63 Association of American Universities offering courses in professional writing taught within or crosslisted with the English department and of these 18 which offered major, minor, or certificate programs. New major/minor programs that have been developed in the past 8 years include the following: Georgia Tech (technical communication minor); Indiana (major in public and professional writing); Stony Brook (professional writing minor); Ohio State (professional writing minor); Pennsylvania State (BA in professional writing); Texas A&M (minor in professional writing); UC Davis (minor in professional writing); UC Santa Barbara (professional writing minor); University of Maryland (professional writing minor). It was particularly difficult to list the number of programs that incorporate public writing, as these courses tend to be labeled differently and are often envisioned as journalism courses. Of the 35 professional writing listings, 26 incorporate some kind of public component—either vis-a-vis journalism/news writing, for profit writing, or community or place-based writing courses.

United States, Grace argues for professional writing curricula to mirror 19th century learning practices that, as Carr, Carr, and Schultz note, "promote knowledge and skills that would assist students in their lives and work" (9). That is, what makes professional writing curricula somewhat unique are the connections they forge between personal, professional, and academic arenas. Prioritizing these connections allows students to not only familiarize themselves with the communicative strategies associated with professional arenas, but also negotiate interactions between and among academic and non-academic, professional spaces. Grace's work also provides a roadmap for thinking about professional writing as "advanced composition," as writing courses that invigorate nuanced conversations about authorial agency, audience, intertextuality, interpretive communities, and the stakes associated with professional writing and professionalization. Furthermore, Grace defines the types of intellectual engagements characteristic of advanced compositional training. These include the following:

> respect for student writing, the discussion of which is seen as central to work in classrooms; space for students to do real intellectual work rather than scaled back or atomized versions of the work; engagement with other voices; relevance of writing for the writer; writing and revision as ways of creating knowledge, not just transmitting it [and]; an interest in the power circulating through language (125).

It is Grace's casting of the professional writing classroom as an integral space for advancing these principles that I find particularly noteworthy and valuable to my project. Focusing primarily on two key values, "engagement with other voices" and an "interest in the power circulating through language," this chapter will extend Grace's analysis of professional writing by considering the role of public service and public arenas in professional writing curricula.

Drawing from my own experiences teaching Writing for the Public and Written Professional Communication—courses that satisfy the University of Pittsburgh's public and professional writing certificate—this chapter examines first, how we might apply Grace's rubric for advanced composition to public and professional writing courses by foregrounding concerns about space, access, and representation; and second, what are the affordances of engaging voices and communities beyond the academy, specifically voices and communities that serve public or professional interests. Moreover, this chapter will explore how courses designed for public writing and engagement advance some of the values Grace outlines above. That is, a large portion of this analysis is devoted to thinking through some of the ways in which public writing fits into the larger constellation of professional writing curricula, as these courses aren't always represented within professional and technical writing programs. This chapter argues that public and professional writing courses are methodologically aligned, as each are invested in discussing different strategies for "persuading a particular audience to take a particular action" (128). As Grace notes, "offering instruction in writing that serves all sectors of American life—for-profit, nonprofit, and government—suggests to students we all move among all of the sectors all of the time in various aspects of our lives" (130). In other words, public and professional writing instruction is most impactful when it offers students opportunities to incorporate their own lived experiences and localized identities into the composition classroom, as well as research and possibly challenge the boundaries that classify and divide personal, academic, and public and professional sectors.

I've grouped this chapter into two sections in order to ground my analysis in public and professional writing scholarship before shifting to the course materials. Section One will offer a brief overview of critical inroads within public and professional writing, examining how public

and professional writing scholarship has shifted from emphasizing transferable skills to a larger focus on reading and interpretation(Brent), rhetorical transferability (Read and Michaud), and activism and ethics (Weisser and Surma). Section Two of this analysis will review my teaching materials for Writing for the Public and Written Professional Communication—courses I taught at the University of Pittsburgh. My reason for incorporating these materials, which include assignment breakdowns and student examples, is twofold: 1.) Such materials demonstrate how public and professional writing courses can satisfy the learning objectives associated with advanced composition, namely "engaging with other voices" and exploring how "power circulates through language" (see above) and 2.) Such materials offer a working example of how public and professional writing can serve to enhance these learning objectives by attending to concepts such as "access," "representation," and "public service." My goal for this chapter is to explore the ways in which public and professional writing curricula can provide a context for interpreting and refining what constitutes public literacy and public exigency, both by accenting the community and professional spaces where writing circulates and imagining an audience beyond students, professors, and scholars. While in Chapter Four I emphasized more metaphoric claims about the pedagogy of public magazines, this chapter turns to specific acts of teaching. That is to say, although this dissertation has focused on how African American public writing offers a roadmap for discussing what mainstream media outlets make visible with respect to citizen agency and authority, this chapter seeks to understand how we can practically apply these discussions about visibility to the public and professional writing classroom, asking students to consider how we can use media or public writing in order to intervene in the process of visibility or change and counternarrate media tropes. In other words, the public and professional writing classroom can offer students an intuitional space for calibrating the affordances and

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complications of representing a community, be it public or professional, through writing and media engagement.

5.1 CRITICAL INROADS IN PUBLIC AND PROFESSIONAL WRITING SCHOLARSHIP

Public and professional writing has traditionally approached the concept of "work" by foregrounding transferable skills and technical proficiency within professional or occupational scenarios.[44] Although emphasizing the transferability of writing practices can be a productive point of access for mapping progress in the writing classroom, new developments in public and professional writing consider the political, ethical, and social stakes surrounding information sharing, the production and conditioning of public and professional subjectivities, and the role of public and professional discourses in knowledge creation. For example, in the 2011 edited collection entitled *Writing in Knowledge Societies*, public and professional writing is viewed as

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[44] Again, I am leaning on Jean Grace's work on the history of professional writing within four-year universities. Grace suggests that much of the literature on professional writing comes from business and communications journals, such as the *Journal of Business and Technical Communication, Journal of Technical Writing and Communication*, *Technical Communication Quarterly,* and *the Journal of Business Communication*. To a far lesser degree do we find articles about professional writing in composition journals, such as *JAC, College English,* and *College Composition and Communication.* Although the tide has turned a bit in recent years, as renewed interest in public and professional writing classes have excavated new territories within public and professional writing that better aligns with traditional composition study, such as writing across the curriculum, place-based scholarship, and digital composing in public and corporate settings, the legacy of teaching "transferable" skills—skills that can be applied to any writing context—has defined the bulk of how professional writing has been taught and discussed in the academy. I should note that I draw from both business/technical journals as well as composition journals throughout this analysis in order to highlight useful moments of overlap in how professional writing is discussed in these texts. Moreover, much of the weight placed on transferable skills is due to what Grace refers to as a "problem with expertise"—that is, the gap between expertise in writing as a discipline versus expertise in the discipline being written about, for example engineering, biology, etc. Although this chapter doesn't specifically discuss strategies for overcoming this gap, I do believe that leaving assignments open/flexible enough for students to apply their own expertise within a disciplinary field to the work that they are doing in public and professional writing can be one strategy for reconciling disciplinary divides.

an "epistemic" practice whereby practitioners not only write within public and professional forums, but also construct and rearrange how specific knowledge and information is deployed and to whom. Diana Wegner's "The Evolution of an Environmentalist Group Toward Public Participation: Civic Knowledge Construction and Transgressive Identities" and Philippa Spoel and Chantal Barriault's "Risk Challenge and Risk Communication: The Rhetorical Challenge of Public Dialogue" consider the work of public and professional writing through the lens of activism and public deliberation, as each examine how different forms of public communication create new opportunities for identity formation, specifically with regards to public voices and subjectivities.

While the editors of *Writing in Knowledge Societies* explore public and professional contexts beyond the academy, much of the current scholarship invested in public and professional writing revolves around the teaching of writing in the multimajor composition classroom[45]. A fundamental concern in PPW curricular development is how to teach across disciplines and occupational fields, as courses such as Writing for the Public, Written Professional Communication, Research Writing, and Corporate Uses of New Media (to name only a few) serve a broad strata of students—oftentimes students whom would rather avoid the traditional English classroom. Discussions surrounding the transferability of writing skills and how to teach "generalizable" rhetorical strategies therefore garner particular currency. Consequently, PPW scholars and instructors prioritize teaching practices that incorporate critical genre analysis and audience awareness. Foremost of these approaches include Doug Brent's "Transfer, Transformation, and Rhetorical Knowledge: Insights for Transfer Theory," published in *The Journal of Business and Technical Communication*, and "Crossing Boundaries Co-Op

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[45] Multimajor writing classes can be loosely defined as intermediate or upper-division elective courses in writing and composition, which draw in students from multiple majors or majors not traditionally associated with the humanities, such as the STEM fields (Read and Michaud).

Students Relearning to Write," which ran in *College Composition and Communication*. Both articles foreground terms such as "transfer" and "learning transformation," suggesting a departure from "classical" arguments for skill transfer, which are less flexible and not easily applied to a multiplicity of disciplinary and occupational writing contexts, and a movement towards "learning transformation." Learning transformation, in Brent's view, involves rhetorical training, offering students strategies for reading and analyzing a variety of public and professional genres. By shifting our focus from prescribing strict and explicit guidelines for writing within a given field of study or occupation to reading a range of genre styles, analyzing how various disciplines favor different forms of knowledge and communicative strategies, Brent argues that students can more easily adapt to a variety of communicative contexts.

More recently, Brent's formulation has been taken up by Sarah Read and Michael Michaud in their 2015 article "Writing About Writing and the Multimajor Professional Writing Course (MMPW)," which ran in *College Composition and Communication*. Read and Michaud use Brent's work as a springboard for investigating learning transformation across disciplinary and workfield contexts through a method they term WAW-PW, writing about writing in professional writing settings. Read and Michaud "propose a reorientation of the pedagogy for the MMPW course-from that of teaching professional writing as a baggy set of genres and rhetorical skills to teaching professional writing as an area of inquiry and a problem-solving activity" (Read and Michaud 429). Furthermore, Read and Michaud view the pedagogical practice of writing about writing as a way to move past static conversations about "how to write professionally," identifying that what translates to students taking public and professional writing courses "is less a set of explicitly transferable skills and more a generalized rhetorical capacity that enables them to successfully adapt to new rhetorical situations" (Read and Michaud 428).

Part of adapting to new rhetorical situations also necessitates an awareness of the specific spaces in which such writing circulates. Therefore, Read and Michaud advocate for both a genre and client-based approach to public and professional writing curricula, involving community outreach and service-based learning initiatives. In building client and community relationships with local businesses and organizations, Read and Michaud suggest that students learn to read not only the genre conventions associated with a given disciplinary field or workspace but also the sociocultural habits of such environs.

Treating sociocultural behaviors as "texts" that students can learn to "read," Michaud and Read argue "diminishes the gap between the classroom and workplace," placing into focus the real-world conditions underpinning the rhetorical strategies practiced in the classroom (Read and Michaud 435). Such work not only reflects the quickly evolving field of public and professional writing, but also marks a disciplinary turn in composition studies privileging writing that has currency outside of the traditional English classroom. Approaching writing through both cross-disciplinary and non-academic public and professional settings, I argue, further pronounces the relevance of spatially-informed theories of literacy. Writing in "situ" or "situating" students within and across personal, public, and academic/professional environs serves to texture the stakes and consequences associated with public and/or professional communication and outreach. Moreover, situated writing allows students to take on public literacies that are more contextual and contingent. Although Brent, Read and Michaud refine our ways of thinking about transfer and learning transformation, earlier scholarship by Christian Weisser and Anne Surma identifies the social and ethical implications of public and professional writing pedagogy. Moreover, Weiser and Surma's work compliments Read and Michaud's notion of reading sociocultural habits as "texts" by underscoring master terms such as "space" and "action,"

providing a foundation for engaging the public and professional writing classroom as an activist forum—a forum where students can identify and intervene in local public exigencies (which I explore in the following section). Weisser and Surma therefore account for a spatial literacy that recognizes the physical landscapes undergirding our public and professional writing practices, attempting to reify the imaginative, ethical, and discursive formations that influence and characterize our spatial structures.

In *Moving Beyond Academic Discourse: Composition Studies and the Public Sphere,* Weisser suggests that public and professional writing "consists of written discourse that attempt to engage an audience of local, regional, or national groups or individuals in order to bring about progressive societal change" (Weisser 90). This view of writing and writing instruction suggests that we as compositionists "believe that power is entrenched in discourse and that language is an instrumental tool in shaping knowledge and reality" (Weisser 43). In short, public and professional writing practices offer students an access point for learning and negotiating the different discourses associated with institutions of power, which in this case are public or professional communities. As Weisser notes, "when a student's writing generates further public discussion or leads to some societal change, he or she comes to see how discourse is deeply implicated in the structures of power in a society" (92). In other words, it's through the public and professional writing classroom that students learn to identify and negotiate abstract concepts such as power, discourse, and different forms of social representation. I draw on Weisser here because he views the public and professional writing classroom as a singular space where students can see how the work they do in a traditional composition classroom has tangible and consequential transfer and practical application beyond academic borders in professional and public arenas. In each of the PPW courses I teach, I emphasize the following two questions: 1.)

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How might public and professional writing allow us to reflect on the various public, professional, community, and/or personal environments that we are positioned within and across? 2.) To what extent can we use public and professional writing curricula to enhance our connections to surrounding community and corporate environments and needs? This heuristic implies a somewhat expanded definition of what constitutes professional writing in the academy—as I frame professional and public writing as any writing practice that is moving beyond academic discourse and the territory of the academy. Such an approach is very much inspired by Weisser's clarion call to writing instructors, which asks us to "theorize pedagogies that move beyond the college or university classroom—and that allow student writing to have real political, professional, and social ramifications" (Weisser 57).

Weisser's intervention is grounded in public sphere and spatial theory. As someone who spearheaded ecocompositional scholarship by underscoring the physical environments and contexts influencing acts of literacy, Weisser's approach to public and professional writing is very much grounded in the physical and material spaces where writing happens. Therefore, using Weisser's framework, I suggest that public and professional writing courses helps students position themselves within and across personal, professional, and academic environments, offering students the flexibility to write in a forum that tangibly circulates in "real world contexts." While Weisser underlines "discourse," "power," and "space" as concepts to be bridged and theorized in a public and professional writing curriculum, Anne Surma offers a language of "imagination" that I find a valuable counterweight to Weisser's privileging of material space and physical localities.

In *Public and Professional Writing: Ethics, Imagination, and Rhetoric*, Anne Surma suggests that professional writing requires:

imagining the social, cultural, and economic place of the reading others, since it

involves a considered evaluation of the range of potential readers' interpretations

and responses to a given text. In other words, professional writing involves

writers negotiating a socially valid correspondence between their communicative

objectives as represented by texts, and the readers' real scope for purposeful

action or response in their interpretations of those texts (Surma 18).

Surma's framework accounts for the rhetorical elements involved in public and professional

writing and outreach, interpreting place less as a physical manifestation where discourses

circulate and create hierarchical relations of power that are distinctly manifested in corporate and

public institutional structures, but rather as a virtual and somewhat roving negotiation between

reader and writer. That is, it is the task of the professional writer in this context to account for

and anticipate the social, cultural, and institutional "place" of their readers. Imagination is

therefore a crucial component of rhetoric, as it allows the public and professional writer to

anticipate their readers' "scope for purposeful action or response" (Surma 18). Thus, in order to

write in a public or professional forum, one must not only imagine who their readers are and how

they will interpret the writing, but also what purposeful or deliberate actions such writing

compels. It is this imagining of what readers will *do* with our writing—what actions such writing

will mobilize—that Surma finds one of the more valuable critical processes associated with

public and professional communication.

For Surma, writing is not simply a communicative bridge that we build with other

communities, but rather an action-oriented process that has the potential to fundamentally shape

and impact the contours and boundaries of public and institutional spaces, as Surma suggests that

"to imagine when we write in a professional capacity is to attempt to make present (in the

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planning and formulating of our texts) the actually or apparently immaterial..." (Surma 30). To imagine is "to summon the image of communion with others who are often faceless, transient, or anonymous" (Surma 30). This reading of professional writing inverts what students come into a public and professional writing class expecting, as students often assume that a public and professional writing curriculum only involves making themselves, their voices, their resumes and corporate materials visible and present in a given public and professional space. Although this is part of the work of public and professional writing, there is a second movement which requires a deeply complicated and craggy ethical responsibility to speak for—or on behalf of—silent or invisible constituencies. This often includes corporate or institutional conglomerates, but it can also incorporate the voices and constituencies which have been historically underrepresented, suppressed, and silenced.

Viewing imagination as a tool for acknowledging and anticipating difference, Surma notes, "we need to imagine the discursive collectivities that are essential to individual and social life in a way that requires participants to acknowledge the distinctiveness and the differences of others, and to commit nonetheless to the transformative work of cooperation and connection" (Surma 31). Surma's latest work, *Imagining the Cosmopolitan in Public and Professional Writing*, extends her concept of imaginative writing in "an era of globalisation," noting that now more than ever a cosmopolitan application of global interconnectedness is needed as a counterbalance to nativist populist rhetoric and the isolationism of nationalistic politics and policies. Accordingly, the cosmopolitan orientation "appreciates the social, political, economic and cultural ambivalences, obstacles, inequities and competing interests involved in the normative obligation to write responsibly to an in relation to locally and globally situated others, in public and professional contexts" (Surma 18). Moreover, Surma's *Imagining the Cosmopolitan*

draws from Hannah Arendt's ethical formulations in order to eschew managerialist rhetoric, which prioritizes terms such as "efficiency" and "streamlining." Arguing that such discourse leads to self-interested corporate protectionism, Surma proposes a feminist "ethics of care" to be applied to public and professional writing and outreach—one that seeks to anticipate, understand, and negotiate difference and global otherness, remaining sensitive to the bodies that occupy and are directly impacted by our public and professional spheres of influence.

While Weisser highlights the physical and material spaces that make writing tangible and consequential, Surma underlines the importance of imagination in seeking out difference in our public and professional communities, and drawing on these differences as moments where new actions and interventions can come to fruition. The coursework I will review in the following section adds to this arrangement by incorporating a grammar of the public, which asks students to think critically and creatively about the public and professional spaces they move into and out of, the different discourses associated with these spaces and institutions, and how to diagnose localized public exigencies through progressive (and potentially socially-empowering) action-oriented writing.

5.2   PUBLIC LITERACIES AND PUBLIC EXIGENCIES IN THE PUBLIC WRITING CLASSROOM

This section incorporates my own teaching materials, including passages from my course descriptions, unit breakdowns, assignments, and student examples. I've included these materials because they offer a vertical slice—a cross-section, if you will—of how I begin to account for the learning objectives associated with advanced composition. Although scholars such as Jean

Grace, Christian Weisser, and Anne Surma (to name just a few) have already made the case for viewing public and professional writing as advanced composition, my purpose is to further unpack how PPW courses can enhance these learning objectives by emphasizing themes such as space, access, and representation. As I've outlined in my introduction, I will focus on two primary objectives: 1.) having students engage and interpret "other voices" by reading critical texts (such as public sphere theory, ecocomposition scholarship, and place-based approaches to writing) and interviewing community members and; 2.) considering how power circulates through language by exploring the relationship between public space and social representation, namely how discourse impacts the ways we organize public space and the people residing within these spaces. I isolate these two objectives not only because of my own interest and research in public literacy and media activism, specifically the ways in which we can use writing to reflect on and potentially reconstitute the spaces around us, but also because of the unique affordances of public and professional writing curricula. That is, I argue that what makes public and professional writing curricula particularly tailored to these conversations about space, access, and representation is its envisioning of and engagement with spaces and subjects beyond the academy. Although there are certainly other places where these engagements can and do happen in the academy, I believe that it's PPW's association with "the practical," particularly students' expectations that they will be undertaking "practical" work, that situates the PPW classroom in a useful dialogue with non- or beyond-academic contexts. This is not to say that student expectations regarding what constitutes "practical" work doesn't pose a few hurdles, which I unpack later. However, I do contend that it's this alignment with the practical and consequential that offers a productive staging ground for drawing connections between personal, academic, and public and professional arenas.

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Furthermore, my reasoning behind including my own course materials, as opposed to offering a buffet of public and professional writing assignments, rubrics, and syllabi by teachers and scholars who are possibly more entrenched in the field, is to avoid offering a universal heuristic for teaching these courses. By using my own materials, I hope to instead offer a pointed and localized example of specific teaching practices that are mindful of the contexts and contingencies influencing student/teacher/text/space engagements.[46] With this in mind, this section takes on some of the generic conventions associated with autoethnography, as each of the observations I make about the students who take public and professional writing, their expectations, and struggles with assignments are based on my first-person experiences teaching Writing for the Public and Written Professional Communication at the University of Pittsburgh. Collectively, I've taught five sections of public and professional writing, including three sections of Writing for the Public and two sections of Written Professional Communication. I introduce each of these courses by offering background information about the general student population, including the different majors and minors drawn to these courses, student expectations, and professional goals. I offer this information in order to highlight general observable trends that

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[46] There are echoes of Bruce Horner's *Terms of Work for Composition: A Materialist Critique* in my explanation for including my own class materials. Inherent in my argument for this chapter is the suggestion that applying the historical practices of African American activist media examined in previous chapters to current curricular questions surrounding how we teach and learn public and professional writing can serve to contest the "dematerialization of the classroom as a specific site both located in and acting on the social" (Horner 115). Because these historical practices manifest in the treatment of the public sphere as a kind of grammar that makes certain bodies visible and particular resources accessible, the public literacies we teach and interpret through writing are implicitly connected to forms of representation and social articulation. As Horner notes, "a failure to locate the classroom in relation to other social spheres; and second, the failure to recognize the classroom as itself producing, rather than just reflecting, specific social relations...have led to the succession of attempts to either thin of the classroom as identical to the outside world, or else as entirely discrete from it" (Horner 115). By including my own course materials, I hope to bypass making universal claims about the teaching of public and professional writing, treating my materials instead as "specific material sites, at which a range of work— hegemonic, counter hegemonic, alternative—might occur" (Horner 116). The field of composition has always been interested in institutionality, and in order to live into this lineage we must be sensitive to our unique institutional positioning. The course materials I reference in this chapter are therefore reflective of this positioning, as well as an attempt to offer a working example of how the public and professional writing classroom can serve as a space where students reflect on the material conditions underpinning their engagements with and in between personal, academic, and public or professional arenas.

I've witnessed as a teacher. I do believe that offering such insight can serve to contextualize the type of work my students have undertaken, and some of their struggles with these materials. Due to constraints in space, I much rather look at a small handful of student examples to demonstrate potentially new avenues for expanding how public and professional writing can be taught and the affordances of these teaching practices, as opposed to offering an aggregate analysis that attempts to quantify and justify the impact of these teaching practices in a route cause and effect relationship. However, one caveat for this approach is that the materials I do reference can only offer a small snapshot of these teaching experiences.

Each of the courses I will discuss satisfy the University of Pittsburgh's newly-forming Public and Professional Writing major. These courses were formerly part of the Public and Professional Writing certificate program, which students had to apply to by submitting a writing sample, resume, and letter of intent. In my own experience, I've found that students who seek PPW courses tend to have clear academic plans in terms of what kinds of writing skills and strategies they'd like to learn and practice and how my courses will satisfy their professional, academic, or extracurricular goals—whether it be applying for internships, graduate school or research conferences, or any public outreach or service learning projects they're interested in. These goals change based on the course offering. That is, while Writing for the Public (WFP) students are very much invested in community-based writing projects, Written Professional Communication (WPC) students are more often interested in composing materials for applying to internships. Consequently, I'll find myself having to anticipate and negotiate (and many times even expand) student expectations with respect to the writing projects we're undertaking in these courses.

Students who take WFP are predominantly sophomores and juniors. Although some seniors register for these courses (on average 3-4 in a class of 22), very rarely do I have any freshman (since they tend to be taking Seminar in Composition, which is the University of Pittsburgh's first-year, required writing course). Many of my WFP students have already declared majors (or well-established academic emphases), and these are (generally speaking) majors in the humanities and social sciences, such as journalism, creative writing, public relations, communications, women's studies, sociology and political science. WFP students, more than any of my other students, are typically extremely invested in finding outlets for their work—either in terms of publishing their work in the student newspaper, applying for conferences, or in terms of proposing a fundraising or activist initiatives. Additionally, I've found that WFP students pursue the PPW certificate in greater quantities than students in other professional writing courses.

In order to satisfy the range of interests students bring into WFP, my course readings and assignments treat public writing thematically, underlining critical questions surrounding who constitutes "the public" and what specific generic or stylistic elements are associated with writing for non-academic audiences or within non-academic spaces. The leading paragraph in my course description poses a series of framing questions that I use as a guide for our course investigations. It reads as follows:

This course invites you to examine, produce, and debate public texts, including (but not limited to) periodicals, nonprofit and governmental policy statements, and journalistic and academic articles. Throughout our semester together, we will consider writing as a site of public exchange, activism, and ethics. Our readings and assignments will offer a critical framework for outlining the features,

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confines, and contours of publicness—and what is assumed when we use this terminology. To whom are we referring when we use the term "the public"? What bodies get to (and don't get to) inhabit public venues? How best can we communicate our message to a range of readers? These are just some of the questions we will take up in our readings and class discussions (WFP syllabus).

Introducing my class with these guiding questions serves two purposes. It works to stimulate student reflection, compelling student writers to not only consider the audiences they will be writing for, but also the extent to which our generic standards are porous and flexible, requiring writers to update such conventions based on the changing and mutable subject positions of the reader. The process of identifying who constitutes a public subject and how they came to be associated with this grouping serves as a prompting mechanism for students to draw connections between space and different forms of social representation. More pointedly, such work propels students to recognize the literal, physical spaces constituting the public sphere, as the term "public" is both a spatial and social delineation.

The above course description encourages students to view the public as a generic category—one that is arranged around certain and particular discursive styles and strategies. As Michael Warner notes in *Publics and Counterpublics*, "a public is the social space created by the reflexive circulation of discourse" (Warner 90). The public sphere is a "fiction" that derives legitimacy from assuming social coherence through "genres of language...and feeling" (Warner 27). The point here is to disturb students' preconceptions of "the public" as an already excavated and identified space, and to consider the role of discourse in making, challenging, and rewriting the boundaries characterizing publicness, public subjects, and public space. While in Written Professional Communication courses students will be expected to identify and practice the

different discourses associated with a professional community, WFP students are undertaking similar work insofar as identifying and practicing the specific genres of language associated with a given public space or organization for the purposes of reflecting on these genres and conventions, and potentially shaping and impacting these conventions through the art and act of writing. Maintaining this generic and thematic approach to the "public sphere," I've organized my syllabus around the following six topics: Where does the public reside? What is public writing? Writing oneself into a public; Constructing and delivering an argument for the public; Academic writing and public intellectualism and; Citizen Journalism. Each of these topics emphasize the varying contexts and spaces where public writing happens, and the different standards we use to judge and evaluate such writing.

For our first unit, students read ecocompositional scholarship and explore the various community literacies they bring into the academy. I have also incorporated critical texts, including Foucault's "Panopticism" and bell hooks's "Black Vernacular: Architecture as Cultural Practice" as ways of unpacking how public infrastructure, such as schools, hospitals, and prisons organize bodies for the sake of policing, surveillance, evaluation and standardization. Additionally, we consider the concept of "the border" and bordering as a method of social stratification and identification, as I've assigned excerpts from Gloria Anzaldua's *Borderlands*. Throughout this unit, students are tasked with writing short reading responses and reflection exercises that investigate the "territories" of the public sphere, and the racial and social hierarchies underlying public space. Although unit one can be difficult for students, given its heavy emphasis on critical texts, I've found that maintaining a student-authored vocabulary bank of terms introduced by the readings not only demystifies some of the critical discourse used in these texts, but also acquaints students with useful critical formulations and terminology that

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they can apply to later units and assignments. Moreover, the central aim of this unit is to unsettle student conceptions of the public sphere as a static and neutral space that citizens easily move into and out of, offering students a critical landscape for understanding contested spaces and territories. Such work primes students for undertaking the productive—and more sophisticated work—of positioning (and potentially repositioning) themselves within and across these spatial landscapes, and eases students into the next two units, which examine the role of public writing in questioning and challenging who has access to public spaces and resources. These units ask students to research the personal, professional, and public spaces that influence how they identify as citizens, academics, community members, etc. I assign William Burns's "'PublicandPrivate': Trialectics of Public Writing on the Street, On Campus, and in Third Space" as a way of preparing students for engaging with and theorizing connections among space, social identity, and access. Students answer the following discussion questions in conjunction with this reading:

- In *Trialectics*, Burns is specifically interested in understanding the connection between space and public writing. Burns suggests, even, that "writers and audiences reciprocally take and make spaces through acts that are simultaneously verbal and physical" (29). Can you give me an example of how public writers can begin the work of "making space" through acts that are simultaneously verbal and physical? What do you think Burns means when he suggests that public writers "make" space? Where and how does this process of making happen?

- On page 30, Burns outlines a heuristic (set of questions). He writes, "What exactly denotes 'common concern'? Can a public space be a neutral vicinity divorced from and devoid of power? Is access to public space totally free and open to all in a democratic society? Is public space beyond state and private control?" (Burns 30). Unpacking this

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heuristic piecemeal, please first endeavor to answer each question, explaining your reasoning. Then, I want you to offer an example of a current event/phenomena (local or national) that either supports the notion of public space as "totally free and open to all in a democratic society" or complicates this idea.

- Describe "streetwork" according to Burns. Do you think that this is a productive way of engaging differences between public and private spaces? What are some risks or potential hurdles one must account for when conducting "streetwork"?

- On page 37, Burns mentions digital spaces, suggesting that "the transparency of technology has erased spatial and physical repercussions of presence and occupation, construing spaces of spectacle rather than ones that encourage intervention into everyday life" (Burns 37). Do you agree with Burns's characterization of digital environs as "disembodied spaces of spectacle" (37). If so, then can you offer a tangible example of how digital/virtual environs fall short of making interventions into everyday life? If not, then can you offer a tangible example of how digital/virtual environs have made real interventions into everyday life?

As evinced in these questions, Burns's "Trialectics" provides a framework for researching the collective and individual practices that structure how we organize, represent, and navigate public and private space. Burns's emphasis on streetwork, a project created by cultural geographers Jacquelin Burgess and Peter Jackson to promote qualitative research and subjective fieldwork such as "observations, informal interviews, maps, recordings, diagrams, material artifacts, body rhetorics and sensory experiences," serves to "position students in publicandprivate zones...analyzing and deconstructing public and private binaries as well as notions of insider and outsider and spatial and social identities" (Burns 35-36). Burns's "Trialectics" grounds public

writing and "streetwork" in the everyday material practices of students. According to Burns, public writing assignments that incorporate some aspect of streetwork highlight "how writers can use material conditions and body positioning, movement and inhabitation that occur in public spaces to produce accessible public forums that would reach the most inhabitants and dwellers in a given public space" (Burns 36). Moreover, I use Burns's "Trialectics" to further discuss how acts of literacy can help students not only navigate space, but also "make" space for themselves within and across public and professional arenas.

The second half of the course, which includes the last three units, foregrounds how public writing gets circulated and among whom. While units four and five cover debates among public intellectuals in popular newspapers and magazines, unit six emphasizes digital arenas as spaces for citizen journalism and global activism. Therefore, the second half of the class marks a shift from considering critical questions concerning public space, access, and representation to more contemporary examples of public writing and citizen activism. I assign the public debate between *New York Times* columnist Johnathan Chait and *The Atlantic Monthly's* Ta-Nehisi Coates, which explored questions of "cultural pathology" and inner-city poverty. Throughout this unit we reflected on what constitutes a public debate, different conventions associated with having a debate in writing, specifically magazine editorials, and the role of public intellectuals in representing a body of knowledge or field of study. Below are a few guiding questions I pose to students:

- Summarize each viewpoint in the Chait/Coates debate. In other words in 3-5 sentences explain what the argument is, what evidence the writers are providing to support that argument, and what argumentative strategies the writers are using to connect this evidence under a common idea or goal.

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- Identify the blindspots or assumptions of each argument (**hint:** remember one article may be entirely dedicated to identifying the blindspots of the other, which is fine).

- After considering the various arguments and blindspots of each viewpoint, ask yourself the following question: Who stands to be advantaged or disadvantaged by this position? Another way to think about blindspots is to consider what is excluded from this argument (this can the exclusion of a particular type of information, an exclusion of a particular demographic or personal experience, or the exclusion of certain argumentative strategies).

- Finally, which writer are you more persuaded by and why?

In our final unit, students weigh the affordances of digital technologies for public writers and how these technologies blur "local" and "national" news by providing a virtual and "immediate" source for information exchange. We also consider the role of social media as a globalizing and mobilizing force, as well as discuss standards for discerning "real" from "fake" news within digital arenas.

Each unit in my syllabus circles around and feeds into the two major assignments students work on throughout the semester, which include a group Public Debate project and a Public Crisis assignment. Both assignments task students with identifying and defining how a discourse of the public, publicness, public good, or public interest imply certain standards of representation that are drawn from and rely on spatial signification. That is, the object of these writing assignments is to have students stage their writing or discourse analysis in a physical/material, virtual, or imagined space—one that is representative of and makes certain assumptions about "the public sphere." Borrowing from John Ackerman's concept of establishing "residency within a discourse community," these writing projects require that

students not only research, theorize, and hypothesize how we arrive at the concept of the public as a spatial and social designation, but also position themselves within these spaces as a means of creating and channeling rhetorical authority (Ackerman 123). As Ackerman maintains, "residency within the location of a text, embroiled in place, and vice versa, is an available means of persuasion for all entering students and can be a bridging authority in relation to the authority of universities and other social institutions" (Ackerman 124). Since public and professional writing courses anticipate alternative, outside, or extra-academic audiences, writing projects within these classes should assist students in practicing how to establish agency and authority within these non- or beyond-academic spaces. Because public and professional writing classrooms are the few spaces within the academy and within traditional humanities departments where students can write into locations beyond a community of academics, professors, and peer groups, such courses necessitate a reimagining of the rhetorical situation through the frame of "georhetorical methodology." According to Ackerman, "we are used to thinking that the rhetorical situation is comprised of audience, constraint, and exigence, which conspire in a logocentric universe, but with a georhetorical method...the exigence may productively emerge from the synapse of an embodied, material, and historical location" (Ackerman 124). Using a georhetorical method, therefore, allows students to become much more invested in the genre conventions associated with space. More specifically, reifying the spatial landscapes underlying how we produce, understand, and receive "public" and "professional" writing serves to draw students' awareness to the nested and interanimating relationship among body, space, and text.

It is within this context, method, and intent that I assign the Public Crisis writing project, which students complete in stages. The Public Crisis assignment asks students to explore a "public crisis" that has particular import in their personal, academic, or professional lives. This is

a semester-long assignment that is broken into sections, beginning with a proposal, a research and data-collection summary, and a first draft, peer reviewed draft, and polished draft of the final paper. The first graded document that students produce is a project proposal in which they outline the historical trajectory of their public issue, including the constituencies most affected by this issue, what spawned the issue (how it was introduced to the public), and the specific aspects of the issue they would like to address. The second installment of the assignment asks students to either conduct an interview with a person directly or formerly affected by their issue, compose a literature survey detailing the relevant written material on the topic, or construct a data entry that provides some form of quantitative or qualitative evidence with respect to the crisis. This can come in the form of questionnaires, surveys, tables or graphs. Lastly, students draft a final entry in which they extend such work by detailing the relevance of their issue to our contemporary moment, both by explaining the issue's currency in our political, institutional, or public spaces and by analyzing the issue's currency in their own lives.

It's often this second move—*asking students to apply these larger concepts to their own personal/professional experiences*—that is most difficult for students. In my experience teaching this assignment, student writers were rather adept at summarizing or articulating a problem or crisis from afar, but less fluent in making connections back to their everyday practices and felt experiences. This assignment also stimulates discussions about genre conventions in the public sphere, particularly with respect to how we define a public crisis, which crises garner more public attention/interest than others, and how our policy solutions are often reflective of these generic standards that tend to be class-based or racially inflected. The purpose of using a discourse of "crisis" rather than "exigency," which retains a more overtly rhetorical connotation, is to emphasize and heighten politics, political agency, and policy, as well as the representative

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qualities underpinning political action. A discourse of crisis brings with it an immediate call to action that involves local outreach and activism. Additionally, a language of crisis derives particular currency within the public sphere, and it is often the dominant form of public address within political circles and public culture. Most importantly, a discourse of crisis—moreso than exigency—serves to implicate students in the process of writing, underlining the degree to which local or national problems can affect student interactions with place, including public and professional arenas. For example, past assignments have focused on crises that have directly impacted local communities in the city of Pittsburgh, including food insecurity in the town of Homewood (a historically black community that was negatively affected by discriminatory housing practices and zoning policies), access to women's health-care services in the gentrified neighborhood of East Liberty, and student-housing concerns in Oakland (where our main campus is located). All of these projects foreground the sites that students move into, out of, and in between as Pittsburgh residents, exploring how different spaces influence the ways in which we produce texts and activate public conversations, as well as the deep impact such discourse has on the bodies inhabiting these arenas.

One instance of a student investigating the influence public discourse has over resource allocation came from Ally, a food studies major at the University of Pittsburgh. Ally drafted a proposal that outlined the history of food insecurity in the city of Pittsburgh and made policy recommendations for stemming this issue in the neighborhood of Homewood. The proposal began:

> The USDA defines food deserts as "urban neighborhoods and rural towns without
> ready access to fresh, healthy, and affordable food. Instead of grocery stores these
> communities may have no food access or are served only by fast food restaurants

and convenience stores, which do not offer healthy or affordable meals" (USDA 2009). Residents in these neighborhoods often fall below the poverty line and as a result are more likely to experience food insecurities in general. Another multi-state study done by the USDA shows that only about 8 percent of African American in urban areas live in a tract with a super market as compared to 31 percent of Caucasians. (Dutko 2012). Though there are a large handful of neighborhoods in Pittsburgh that fall into this category, my specific research and experience has been in the neighborhood of Homewood. Residents in Homewood have to travel two or more miles to the nearest grocery store in order to be afforded healthy food options...This proposal is directed at the Community Development Board for the city of Pittsburgh as well as the Environmental Planning Review. I hope to write this proposal from the perspective and support of Grow Pittsburgh, the nonprofit for which I currently work. Grow Pittsburgh is engaged in allocating grants to those wishing to start a community garden but I hope to supersede the nonprofit level and engage the local government to acknowledge this as a problem and to assist Grow Pittsburgh with available plots zoned to be community gardens. Because Grow Pittsburgh is a nonprofit it too relies on grants to continue community work and as a result I hope to generate funding on behalf of the local government and the mayoral office of Bill Peduto.

As part of the data-collection entry, Ally conducted an interview with a Garden Expert and colleague of Ally's at Grow Pittsburgh, a nonprofit organization committed to establishing food resources in the city of Pittsburgh.

It is often difficult for environmental/agricultural nonprofits to implement successful solutions in a community because they do not take into account the viewpoints and feelings of the members within the community...Homewood is a unique neighborhood that has extreme poverty levels despite being so close to gentrified communities such as Garfield and East Liberty. I wanted to know if Courtney had any knowledge of systemic and/or legislative failures that have led to the issues prevalent in the community of Homewood. "From what I understand, the history of Homewood is extremely political, and based in all kinds of racist policies and biases. 'Disinvestment' practices and redlining have made Homewood a neighborhood in extreme poverty. One simple example comes to mind: there are no grocery stores in Homewood. Corner stores, yes, but nowhere to easily buy fresh produce (except GP farm stand at the Homewood YMCA, once a week seasonally)." Courtney's answer to this question really underlined the issues that I myself have noticed and would like to get noticed. Disinvestment is the process by which local government deems an area unable to be fixed or gentrified and as a result cuts funding and pays little attention to the wellbeing of the area. Councilmen Burgess mentioned this process-taking place in Homewood in the latter portion of the paper.

Ally also analyzed whether local papers were covering disinvestment and food insecurity in the town of Homewood, and resolved that not only were food deserts an "underrepresented" crisis that didn't derive much media currency, but also the stories which did focus on food insecurity in this area often made multiple references to crime rates. Ally realized that the only access point into this crisis was through a discourse of crime and violence as opposed to resource deprivation

and systemic oppression. Ally's final paper not only explored the many structural inequities (including race-based structural discrimination) leading to food insecurity among poor and working class populations, but also introduced tangible steps and long-term solutions for curbing such inequities. Throughout this process, Ally was able to synthesize many composing practices—rhetorical analysis, journalism, auto-ethnography, and qualitative data drawn from conducting an interview—as a way to challenge the discourses/conventions that have been used to narrate crisis.

Ally's project is a good example of multi-tiered writing that is not only place conscious but also sensitive to the communities inhabiting space. In developing this project, Ally drew connections between and among space, resource acquisition, and public policy. Not only does Ally's project map and investigate the boundary lines distinguishing Homewood from other areas in the city, but also draws on deep contrasts between these spaces, recognizing how systemic racism influences our mapping of towns and neighborhoods. Moreover, this project incorporates Ally's own experiences working as a volunteer for Grow Pittsburgh and the various hurdles to activism, including Ally's insider-outsider status. Although a Pittsburgh resident and advocate for food resources, Ally is an outsider when it comes to the everyday living practices of Homewood community members. Ally grapples with this shifting status in each draft, which at times manifests in an over-reliance on outside voices to substantiate Ally's claims and observations. However, recognizing the dimensions of insider-outsider status in public and professional writing allows students to recognize larger ethical questions surrounding how to represent and/or speak for larger communities and institutions, a skill that is often associated with public and professional communication.

Throughout this course, WFP students are asked to reimagine how we represent and express the public in writing, specifically as a byproduct of their own experiences moving within and across this sphere of influence. Moreover, we study the public sphere as a spatial and social designation, one that takes on different generic characteristics based on the physical locales underpinning and informing how we create, reproduce, and receive discourse. Each of the assignments are designed to have students identify or map the material features associated with public space and negotiate the social/representative qualities inherent in these spatial landscapes. Lastly, as is evinced in the above student example, this course stimulates ethical concerns regarding space, access, and representation, considering how students and community members are identified by the spatial structures underlying their everyday practices and communication.

5.3   REPRESENTING THE PROFESSIONS IN WRITTEN PROFESSIONAL COMMUNICATION

Writing for the Public and Written Professional Communication (WPC) are flagship courses within the Public and Professional Writing major and certificate program at the University of Pittsburgh. Although both courses reify audiences and locations beyond the academy, each are fairly different with respect to student makeup, interests, and course assignments. Students taking Written Professional Communication at the University of Pittsburgh are less interdisciplinary than Writing for the Public students, hailing mostly from the STEM fields (science, technology, engineering and math).   Based on my own experience teaching these courses, I've observed that students choose WPC over other course listings often because they want to satisfy a writing requirement without encountering or engaging what they presume to be

"creative writing" or long-form texts. That is, many of the students who take WPC at Pitt regularly assume that they are only going to be writing resumes and producing job application materials. Therefore, managing expectations can be a daily practice for instructors hoping to incorporate reading materials and assignments that fall outside of these student aims.

Although part of this course involves producing professional texts and having students think critically about how they are representing themselves through job application materials, this course also encourages students to reflect on what it means to write and communicate as a professional, the ethical responsibilities associated with writing on behalf of or representing a professional community, and the relationship professional institutions have and forge with public spaces, public policy, or members of the public. Similar to the course description for WFP, WPC begins as follows:

> How do we distinguish between professional and non-professional writing? How might we utilize diverse methods of communication (oral, textual, and visual) in order to get our message across? What are the implicit or explicit stakes in utilizing a professional discourse? What ethical or legal obligations do we necessarily undertake when establishing ourselves as professionals within a given field?...Although the work of professional writing may, on its face, appear to be devoid of these critical concerns, this course will aim to underline the extent to which writing for the professions is more than just skills, drills, and techniques. Consequently, we will be engaged in the work of defining and revising what counts as professional writing and who we validate and uphold as professionals.

Of course these questions are quite ambitious, and I don't expect students to have hard-and-fast answers by the end of the semester. However, I do want to offer students many different avenues

and entrypoints for reflecting on professionalism as a genre and mode of action. In other words, WPC can be a space where students not only practice "writing like professionals," but also review how we arrive at these professional designations through sociocultural and discursive analysis. Consequently, the goal of this course is to have students develop a working definition of what professionalism means to them based on the variety of experiences and discourses they bring into the academy and ultimately into their professional fields of study.

Unlike WFP, this course is arranged around a series of shorter assignments and writing exercises. For instance, students compose a Technical Definition and Instruction Set where they define a technical term that derives specific currency in their respective fields of study, refining and/or complicating this definition based on their own experiences as practitioners. This assignment asks that students write for a less-experienced colleague or someone who is not necessarily expert in the material or field of study. Having students compose instructive materials for less-experienced colleagues positions student writers as teachers, mentors, and advocates, requiring student writers to anticipate audience awareness and variance in literacy/fluency patterns. As the semester advances, students not only explore the many stylistic conventions associated with professional writing, including how professionals represent themselves in print and online (vis-a-vis professional websites, social media, and linkedin), but also the potential ethical or personal challenges encountered by professionals or working practitioners. One such assignment is drawn from Kathryn Schulz's *Being Wrong: Adventures in the Margin of Error*, which examines how error affects personal and professional development. For this assignment, students create 10-minute audio podcasts in which they reflect on the role of error in the workplace by interviewing a professional either in their disciplinary field or someone they know personally. In preparation for working with sound-editing software, students

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participate in two workshops demonstrating how to use Audacity, which is an open-access online audio editor that is specifically tailored for students and first-time users. Each of these workshops not only familiarize students with sound-editing technologies, but also emphasize how to translate textual conventions into sound—as well as the various affordances associated with this new medium. Therefore, this assignment serves to help students consider the relationship between medium and message and the time constraints associated with working with new media, requiring students to anticipate error (which is rather common when practicing new and different techniques associated with digital technologies) and manage a feasible workflow.

Furthermore, this assignment tasks students with not only unpacking the material and structural consequences of erring within a professional setting, but also strategies for navigating, anticipating, and working through error. A particularly noteworthy outcome of this assignment were ongoing discussions about who constitutes a working professional, as students often apply a variety of standards to these roles. Below, I've transcribed two short student examples that are reflective of how differently students approach who "counts" as a professional based on the individuals they chose to interview.

> **Student One—**We are all familiar—if not too familiar—with personal errors that occur in our everyday lives. I chose to excavate error in a new light, in the place we dread it the most: in the workplace. In an attempt to understand error in this new arena, I had the pleasure of interviewing Dr. Mark Castle, an esteemed professor in the graduate school of public health at Pitt. Dr. Castle specializes in patient safety and medical errors that occur in the health industry. He offered his perspective on error as an experienced instructor. Who better to help me analyze error than Dr. Castle who has got it down to a science? […] Because the stakes of

healthcare are so high, Dr. Castle is required to view error as technical and with a method behind it. He finds the underlying reason for error and makes it his job to eliminate it. I found this cut-and-dry perspective on screwing up to be different in comparison to the messiness of our own personal mistakes. As opposed to finding someone to blame, he finds the root cause of the mistake and works on correcting it.

Student Two—Error in the field of technology is viewed very differently than in other workfields. In some ways it is an accepted part of working with technology and sometimes can lead to major issues. R. Smith, a junior computer science major at the University of Pittsburgh has worked for Staples as a tech consultant, in a research lab working with Stage Four breast cancer patients, and now works for Apple…Through his work in the research lab, focused on Stage Four breast cancer patients, Smith has encountered error involved in his work while sequencing the genomes of a specific breast cancer patient that was directed to the research lab for treatment... Many people don't think to check something as small as a calibration in a machine until it's too late to fix. Because the settings of the program was off [at R's lab], it led the researchers to believe that the patient needed a certain treatment that was later found out to be wrong...You're the common denominator in every situation in life, but that doesn't make you responsible for everything that goes wrong...The people who worked alongside of Smith in this research lab are all equally responsible for the incident that happened.

While Student One places a high standard on who constitutes a working professional, interviewing a distinguished professor who is accredited and specialized in his disciplinary field, Student Two views professionalism as more fluid, democratic, and multidisciplinary, choosing to interview a fellow student with a wide range of skills. Moreover, the scope and valence through which each student approaches workfield error is also varied. Although Student One employs a conceptual framework to their understanding of error, assigning specific protocol to how health scientists diagnose error, Student Two demonstrates a more experiential reading of error in the workplace, weighing the ethical stakes involved in workfield mistakes. However, both students attend to the concept of personal liability and professional agency, recognizing the extent to which professionals represent and implicate larger professional systems and structures. Additionally, Student One and Student Two interpret such liability based on how these systems treat and interact with members of the public, in this case patients. The final student example below incorporates a vastly different perspective on professionalism—one that is more individualized.

> **Student Three—**For this podcast, we are going to talk about error in the working
> world. I sat down with my grandfather, John Reynold, a man from a bygone era
> where a high school diploma and hard work could get you just about anywhere in
> life. John held many jobs throughout the years at many different places. He made
> a living with his hands, some elbow grease, and his connections forged through
> the workforce. I sought John's perspective on mistakes in the workplace because
> when you've worked in steel plants and construction sites an error can mean the
> difference between having all five of your fingers or not…As he moved on in life,
> the errors became less physically harmful but more consequential. A

miscalculation on the construction site could set work back weeks, and lead to future problems if they went unacknowledged…However, despite all of his experiences with misshapen buildings and fractured fingers, John still believes that the greatest mistake he ever made was not a physical slipup or a math error. Rather, it was a realization of a missed opportunity that only manifested itself later in life…Yes, the greatest error he ever made in the workplace was a case of not sticking with it—an oddity, since that's my mother's favorite phrase and she surely learned it from him. I think it says a lot that a man whose medical record is longer than War and Peace maintains that his worst mistake was not a physical error. John's feelings on the matter show that even in the realm of manual labor our greatest mishaps are never physical. Rather, they manifest themselves through missed opportunities and chances passing by in the rear view mirror.

Student Three's podcast was dominated by references to time and history, as the sound interludes marking transitions and shifts in tone were cuts from Frank Sinatra's oeuvre. Also, phrasings such as "bygone era" and "passing by in the rear view" signal a reflective point of view. Student Three seems to be "taking inventory" with respect to both the consequences of error within a professional context and the extent to which our concept of professionalism has shifted culturally—as Student Three notes that his interviewee is from a "*bygone* era where a high school diploma and hard work could get you just about anywhere" (see above). Moreover, while Student One and Two associate professionalism with accreditation and academic training, Student Three aligns professionalism with personal development and "getting somewhere in life." Additionally, although Student One and Two regard the consequences of error through a

managerial and ethical lens, Student Three analyzes error through an individual and psychic frame, weighing the physical/material and personal/psychic cost of workfield mistakes.

These student podcasts are exemplary of the types of multi-modal student engagements WPC can offer. This course requires students to critically engage with actual working professionals, negotiating some of the working concerns that professionals have to daily navigate. Furthermore, this approach to WPC asks students to not only identify the professional spaces informing genre styles and conventions, but also to anticipate difference, both with respect to variance among different levels of expertise (i.e. the technical definition and instruction set assignment) and error—as our discussions surrounding the podcast assignment center on how professional errors mark deviations in and departures from workfield strategies and protocols, necessitating creative and ethical solutions for managing and working through these anomalies.

5.4   CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided a foundation for addressing concerns regarding space, access, and representation in public and professional writing. Although professional writing curricula doesn't always attend to public arenas and public writing, often viewing public writing as a journalistic enterprise separate from professional communication, this chapter sought to introduce ways of engaging "the public" in public and professional writing courses, both by theorizing the relationship between space and different forms of social representation and considering how professional institutions forge relationships with public spaces, public policy, and members of

the public.[47] While previous chapters have highlighted periodical literature and African American protest and activist writing, this chapter sought to contextualize such approaches to media literacy and activism by foregrounding how we teach writing beyond the academy and academic discourses. Throughout this analysis, I have foregrounded the interanimating relationship among space, bodies, and texts, considering the degree to which the communicative constructs we associate with public and professional writing serve to influence how we represent bodies in public and professional settings. Consequently, Public and Professional Writing courses are unique spaces for mapping and understanding the relationship between space and different forms of social representation, including racial, gendered, and classed subject positions. Similar to the periodical writing I've analyzed in previous chapters, student projects investigate who has access to public and professional spaces and resources, as well as the various discursive conventions characterizing and accenting these sites. Moreover, students discuss the role of public and professional writing in reimagining these environs.

Each of the courses presented in this chapter position students across real, imagined, and virtual environs, as students are encouraged to view public and professional arenas as roving and porous spaces that imply certain standards of representation. Because public and professional spheres are characterized by spatial, social, and conventional/stylistic designations, class discussions involve the material and ethical implications of public and professional discourses and policies, giving students the opportunity to challenge, affect, and intervene in these practices. Given the interdisciplinary nature of these course offerings, students practice a range of different

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[47] I tend to account for this relationship to the public in Written Professional Communication in the podcasting assignment, as errors in the workplace oftentimes regard and impact members of the "public." Therefore, we discuss concerns about liability and what it means to "serve the public" as a corporate institution, particularly how this service is expressed in written communication. Moreover, considering the risks/consequences associated with maintaining a certain insularity among professional and academic institutions is another avenue for exploring the public-private relationship, which I didn't discuss in this chapter due to the limited scope of this analysis.

genres and composing strategies to unpack consequential questions surrounding the work of writing and communicating beyond the academy and for an audience that doesn't necessarily only include students, professors, and faculty. Finally, PPW courses serve as access points for students to use writing and different forms of media expression to identify and refine their larger academic and professional pursuits. Although PPW teaching methods have not typically involved ecocompositional and place-based strategies, such methods do emphasize transfer and the transferability of rhetorical skills to articulate the work and relevance of PPW curricula. However, this chapter suggests that "transfer" takes on new meanings when applied to a spatially-focused approach to literacy, particularly when we recognize the PPW classroom as an arena for writing into and between public and professional spaces, considering how these sites map and produce different opportunities for social representation. More specifically, place-based research must shift and evolve when staged in the PPW classroom, as such approaches take on a more civic and participatory orientation, expanding what constitutes as an environmental exigency to include public and professional territories. Students are compelled to consider not only the sites of exigence, but also the human actors arranging and being arranged by these spatial constructs.

6.0   EPILOGUE

Throughout this dissertation, I have offered an examination of turn-of-the-century African American periodical texts with three keywords in mind, space, access, and representation. I have suggested that placing such terminology into dialogue and mapping the interanimating connections that form as a result of this dialogue can serve to expand the scope through which we view public literacy. That is, over the course of this project I have argued that what we can learn from the historical texts I've researched is a grammar of the public that places into focus the nested relationship between space and different forms of social representation, including representations of race and gender. The connecting tissue between each of the periodicals I've studied is this sensitivity to the spatial landscapes, particularly the public spaces, influencing acts of literacy and public negotiation. Although I've urged against instrumentalizing such texts in the composition classroom by overlooking the specific historical circumstances underlying these different ways of writing about space, the frame through which papers such as *The Woman's Era*, *the Colored American Magazine,* and *The Crisis Magazine* view the public sphere—specifically as an embodied and negotiated territory—can and should be applied to contemporary writing contexts, especially those that are engaging with the concept of the public vis-a-vis public and professional writing, service learning initiatives, and community literacy projects. More expansively, discussions regarding the policing of bodies in public venues and the activist movements that have been established as a byproduct of these conversations are similarly

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influenced by and in dialogue with these larger historical investigations of space. *The Woman's Era*, *the Colored American Magazine*, and *The Crisis Magazine* foreground the need to protect bodies in space (as opposed to simply preserving space at the expense of bodies). Consequently, claims for preserving "the public safety" requires protecting the security of *all* bodies residing within our public environs. Indeed, such arguments are relevant to contemporary rhetorics, as oftentimes outcries for "public safety" imply maligning, banning, and sometimes extinguishing marginal and minority bodies for the purposes of maintaining an abstract and disembodied concept of the public sphere.[48] This dissertation project aimed to refine these conversations by focusing on the history underlying how activist media has been used to intervene in this process of grouping and legislating the ways in which bodies come into view within our public arenas, particularly as the concept of "the public" continues to evolve to accommodate women, minority and immigrant communities.

Viewing the public sphere as a site of both danger and progress—that is, as a site in which blackness is discriminated against and through which discrimination can be exposed and critiqued, the activist periodicals I've presented in this dissertation offer an approach to public literacy that prioritizes lived experiences and localized identities. Each chapter of my dissertation builds from this framework, which I outline in Chapter One. In Chapter One I reviewed place-based scholarship, including ecocomposition, public sphere theory, and ecocritical literature to

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[48] I am obviously tangentially referring to the rise in nativist, populist discourses that resurfaced during the 2016 Presidential election, which advocated for firmer border control, banning Muslim immigration into the United States, placing tariffs on exports, and pulling out of trade and security alliances such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The rise in such nativism could be viewed as a reaction to the recent media publicity surrounding police violence against African American communities, the successful mobilization of Black Lives Matter as an activist movement, and a decade of progressivism that not only saw the election of Barack Obama (the first African American head of state), but also made Hillary Clinton the first female candidate to be nominated for President by a major political party. My argument here is that calls for "public safety" are often used as a demagoguing strategy for populist candidates to malign and other marginal and minority communities. Such arguments overlook more complex questions concerning which bodies do and don't deserve to be "safe" within our public spheres of representation, serving to abstract the marginal and minority communities inhabiting our public spaces—as such communities are often contested, erased, or policed within these spheres of representation.

investigate how spatially-focused approaches to literacy define and interpret the public sphere and a discourse of the public. My purpose for reviewing this literature was to learn what terms and concepts were in play, such as ecology, environment, and exigency, as well as identify why and how an historical case study of African American periodical activism might compliment the ways in which we discuss writing about space. In the second half of this chapter, I leaned on W.E.B, Du Bois's *Souls of Black Folk* and "Conservation of the Races" speech in order to contextualize my turn to African American media in the early 20th century, suggesting that Du Bois's notion of "conservation," expressed in both his periodical and long-form writing, is reflective of larger concerns throughout this period about space and environmental preservation.[49] However, what is unique about Du Bois's "conservation" is its capacity to build from environmentalist rhetoric, presenting an interpretive framework that reads the organization and legislation of space along a racialized axis—a framework that I argue we also see in turn-of-the-century public writing. My reading of Du Bois's long-form work therefore helped me distill terms such as space, access, and representation. Such terms have served as guideposts for fleshing out a more coherent definition of public literacy—one that is attuned to the physical and cultural environs undergirding and influencing how we group and represent difference within our communities, what constitutes a public subjectivity, and who has access to public spaces and resources.

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[49] The period in which I'm writing saw increased attention to environmental protection and conservation initiatives, as environmental reformers such as Gifford Pinchot and John Muir advocated for the preservation of natural spaces. In 1892, John Muir founded the Sierra Club, which aimed to protect natural parks and waterways from industrial encroachment. President Theodore Roosevelt's conservationist legislation, which protected wildlife and public lands through the United States Forest Service (USFS), was very much inspired by the activism of Muir. As I have outlined in Chapter One, W.E.B. Du Bois's concept of "conservation" builds from this interest in environmental protection to foreground racism and systemic oppression as an environmental exigency. I suggest that Du Bois's intervention is not only reflective of environmentalist discourses at the turn of the century, but also tied to a legacy within African American public literacies that challenged the "neutrality" of such spaces, making visible the racial hierarchies refracted within our spatial landscapes.

In Chapter Two I chronicled how African American periodicals such as *The Woman's Era* and *The Crisis Magazine* employ a discourse of the public in order to reconstitute physical space. By supporting efforts to build new public spaces for African Americans to safely occupy (including schools, libraries, and hospitals), *The Woman's Era* and *The Crisis Magazine* re-map the territory of the public as both a physical/material and cultural/discursive arena. In doing so, these magazines engaged in the work of "making space" for marginal and minority communities while also theorizing the rights associated with publicness, specifically rights that ensure access to education, public safety, and the ballot box without the risk of physical violence or harassment. Refining this discussion about "making space" for marginal and minority communities through periodical activism, Chapter Three continued to read public space through both a physical/material and cultural/discursive lens, focusing on Pauline Hopkins's editorial contributions to the *Colored American Magazine*. Analyzing Hopkins's "Famous Women of the Negro Race" series, as well as a four-part culture and lifestyle piece entitled "The Smoky City," this chapter shifted from an emphasis on access to public spaces and resources to a consideration of how Hopkins's editorial practices represented the unique position of African American women in negotiating the public sphere as both women and persons of color, foregrounding the relationship between public space and different forms of racial and gender representation. Chapter Three also introduced a discussion of pedagogy, exploring the ways in which Hopkins's use of epideictic rhetoric serves to teach readers not only the history of African American activism, but also a larger progressive value system that privileged public outreach and community service. Additionally, I argued that Hopkins's feminist politics was uniquely tethered to the public sphere and public service, as each of the women referenced in the biographical sketches Hopkins either wrote herself or had a strong hand in editing showcased African

American women as public actors, including educators, librarians, writers, singers, and public activists.

Chapter Four further explored Themes introduced in Chapter Two and Three, specifically the ways in which a grammar of the public can serve to highlight hierarchies of power, representation, and access implicit within our public landscapes. Yet this chapter activates such discussions through a close textual analysis of Jessie Redmon Fauset's serial fiction "Emmy," which is a story of racial passing. Looking at a single issue of *The Crisis Magazine*, this chapter examined intertextual references within the December 1912 issue that point to the superficial standards on which race identity is learned and evaluated. This chapter charts how the December 1912 issue distills these arbitrary standards both through Fauset's narrative of passing and through dialogue between "Emmy" and the two articles bracketing her work.

In my final chapter, I transitioned to classroom-specific teaching practices, considering how we might expand the ways in which we teach and discuss public literacies to account for concepts such as space, access, and representation. Grounding such work in the public and professional writing classroom, Chapter Five demonstrated how the framework established in previous chapters can have practical application within contemporary writing contexts. In doing so, I was able to show how the heuristic I introduced this dissertation with, which explored how activist media engages consequential conversations regarding who has access to public spaces and resources, can help writing instructors reimagine the learning objectives associated with advanced composition, particularly in courses that are designed to teach writing beyond the academy and academic spaces. More specifically, I argued that Jean Grace's treatment of professional writing as advanced composition places into focus the importance of cultivating students' capacities to write between personal, academic, and public and professional arenas.

Furthermore, I suggested that public and professional writing curricula can provide a context for students to not only locate themselves within and between these arenas, but also to consider what constitutes a public or professional exigency by interviewing members of the public/professional institutions they'd like to write within or on behalf of. Although I approached the concept of "exigency"' differently in Writing for the Public and Written Professional Communication—either through the frame of "crisis" in WFP or "error" in WPC—each of the student examples I referenced were able to make claims about how we diagnose exigency within public or professional spaces, the ethical responsibilities associated with representing a public or professional community, and the relationship between public and professional spaces, both in terms of public service or advocacy. My goal for these assignments was to draw connections between public/professional space and different forms of social representation, which include public and workforce representations. Throughout this chapter, I explored how the critical framework I've developed vis-a-vis my analysis of turn-of-the-century public texts can enhance the ways in which we currently teach and evaluate public and professional writing. Thusly, Chapter Five marks a return to Chapter One, not only in terms of the heuristic I reference in these bookending chapters, but also in applying the historical practices associated with African American activist media to contemporary disciplinary discussions about space, access, and representation in public/professional media and writing. In much the same way that segregationist policies propelled W.E.B. Du Bois to promote a notion of conservation that viewed space and the public sphere as embodied, contextual, and marked by a history of racism and systemic oppression—an argument I also find in African American media in this period— our current political moment requires that we as scholars and instructors remain attuned to the hierarchies of power and access underwriting how we discuss and engage a diverse public

sphere. Although these two historical periods are distinct, I am suggesting that the historical practices I've charted in this dissertation can serve to guide our ways of thinking through the work of public writing and engagement, especially for marginal and minority communities.

While this dissertation does not offer a comparative analysis of African American media activism throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first century, it does offer a critical lens for re-interpreting public literacies and the stakes and consequences associated with public visibility vis-a-vis media correspondence. Moreover, this analysis attempted to trace an historical case study of African American periodical activism in order to show how current place-based scholarship and public sphere theory emerges from a long history of writing about space and theorizing the public sphere—a history, I argue, that is grounded in African American uplift movements and periodical activism. However, in reviewing what this dissertation has accomplished with respect to unearthing how *The Woman's Era*, *CAM*, and *The Crisis Magazine* negotiate an evolving public sphere of influence, I must also examine two avenues for further research. My aim in doing so is to acknowledge how Themes introduced in this dissertation might find further application in the study of media literacy and place-based research in the field of composition and rhetoric. These two avenues include 1.) examining differences between public visibility and hypervisibility through the lens of current activist movements such as Black Lives Matter, and considering how these concepts take on new meanings as a byproduct of mass mediation and 2.) exploring how public literacies are shaped by and mediate between the local and the global. I would like to treat each of these avenues separately, reviewing how both can refine Themes addressed in this analysis to account for more contemporary writing and media contexts. Each of these avenues can build upon the ideas of this dissertation in order to attend to current concerns regarding how we teach and discuss the affordances of media publicity within

our academic institutions, as well as the ways in which a discourse of the public can intervene in nationalistic and overtly anti-globalists rhetorics. Moving forward, I want to briefly discuss the role of public visibility and hypervisibility in our contemporary media environment, and how a more pronounced understanding of hypervisibility might offer a necessary counterpoint to some of the affordances I've associated with public visibility and media publicity in this dissertation.

6.1   MEDIA PUBLICITY, HYPERVISIBILITY, AND THE SURVEILLING GAZE

Although this dissertation makes many references to public visibility and the ways in which African American periodicals attempted to make blackness more publicly visible through media publicity, I neglected to weigh the implicit consequences associated with what scholars such as Nicole Fleetwood refer to as Black hypervisibility in media and corporate environments. Merging concepts such as hypervisibility and iconicity, Fleetwood defines "hypervisibility" as the opposite of the erasure of blackness within mass media environments. According to Fleetwood, the hypervisible Black body is treated as an overtly-aestheticized "visual spectacle" lacking interior characteristics. Blackness is rendered "invisible as a subject, and yet hypervisible as abject" (Fleetwood 90). Consequently, blackness comes into focus either as a hypervisible spectacle or invisible (negated) presence within our public spheres of representation. While in Chapter Four, I considered how the December 1912 issue of *Crisis* uses a discourse of "passing" in order to gesture toward the hyper-aestheticization of blackness in mainstream media—both in terms of the derogatory iconography found in popular magazines and films and through the circulation of photographs depicting mob violence—I could have more fully fleshed out the relationship between hypervisibility and surveillance, particularly with respect to the surveilling

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of African American bodies in public spaces. Such surveillance serves to align blackness with Otherness, deviance, or criminality, making African American criminality, deviance, or otherness hypervisible within our public institutions. A critical emphasis on hypervisibility not only presents a counterpoint to the supposed neutrality of public visibility, but also provides a new avenue for contextualizing the role of our media environments in evaluating and legislating difference within our public spheres of representation. As I noted in Chapter Four, our media outlets teach citizens how to visualize and evaluate different forms of social representation. Therefore, concepts like hypervisibility provide a framework for understanding the drawbacks of media publicity, especially the ways in which such publicity can serve to normalize static, often hyper-aestheticized depictions of marginal and minority communities. Moreover, the concept of hypervisibility can be a useful access point for analyzing contemporary activist campaigns such as Black Lives Matter, which underscore how current policing practices are a byproduct of viewing blackness as abject, criminal or deviant. Although I briefly alluded to these activist movements in order to frame the importance of rethinking a discourse of the public, further research might explore how media activism has evolved to meet the demands of new media technologies. We may also consider how new media technologies reshape the relationship between media publicity and public authority by democratizing who authorizes what does and doesn't become publicly visible or hypervisible.

A critical emphasis on "hypervisibility" can also supplement discussion surrounding "the public turn" and "going public" in the composition classroom by drawing attention to how our media outlets narrate and organize an evolving public sphere of representation.[50] In *Composition,*

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[50] The "public turn" and "going public" are phrases that derive currency in the field of composition and rhetoric to describe the role of the public sphere in writing practices, either writing that is moving beyond the academy and academic institutions or writing that is sensitive to the various public identities students bring into the composition classroom. The "public turn" is also used to indicate scholarship that seeks to contextualize place-

Counterpublics, and the Citizen Bricoleur, Frank Farmer charts the public turn in composition studies, arguing that composition's interest in public sphere theory was galvanized by scholars in the 1990s who wanted to "remodel" the public sphere "through intellectual work […] [and] teaching practices" (Farmer 5). Part of this investment in remodeling the public sphere so as to make it amenable to scholarly activism was tied to a suspicion about this sphere's vanishing influence over politics, social organization, and economic intervention. Farmer writes that "the 1990s saw an abrupt increase of commentary devoted to making sense of our discipline's relationship to a public that seemed to be, if not exactly a phantom, then certainly a slowly vanishing arena of discursive opportunity (Farmer 5). Yet, Farmer notes that little attention has been payed to counterpublic discourses, suggesting that while scholars such as Susan Wells, Michelle Comstock, and Christian Weisser "gave passing mention to counterpublics...very few in our discipline gave any sustained attention to the problems posed by counterpublic discourses, especially as such discourses might bear relevance to the practices of those who study and teach writing" (Farmer 10). Farmer's work highlights the importance of counterdiscourses and alternative media outlets such as zines in challenging mainstream media publicity. Thusly, another avenue for refining the "public turn" in composition studies might be a keener focus on how contemporary counterdiscourses work to remediate gestures to normalize hyper-aestheticized depictions of marginal and minority communities in mainstream public culture. Such work is particularly relevant given the rise in nativist, populist rhetoric that draws

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based research such as ecocomposition and ecological discourses vis-a-vis public sphere theory, considering topics such as civic engagement, activism, and public intellectualism (Christian Weisser; Jenny Rice). Although the phrase "going public" was first coined by Peter Mortensen in his 1998 article for *College Composition and Communication*, it has more recently been used by Linda Flower in her 2010 book chapter "Going Public- In a Disabling Discourse" where she chronicles how learning disabled writers publicize their experiences and identities as disabled peoples. Flower, like Farmer, is interested in the "counterpublic" space as a site of both healing and cultural training. Coming out in the same year, Shirley K. Rose and Irwin Weiser's edited edition *Going Public: What Writing Programs Learn from Engagemen*t chart different methods of public engagement in the writing classroom.

distinctions between a nationalistic "us" and internationalist "them." What becomes "hypervisible" within populist rhetorics is therefore the deviant, violent, or victimized global other. Therefore, although this research provides an historical case study for contextualizing ways of reclaiming public authority vis-a-vis media publicity, there is certainly space for additional comparative research that considers how these different approaches have evolved in light of new media technologies. In the following section, I offer a more thorough overview of how a comparative analysis of media publicity might further account for the public sphere's local and global dimensions.

6.2   SITUATING THE PUBLIC ACROSS LOCAL AND GLOBAL ENVIRONMENTS

> Through our scientific and technological genius, we have made of this world a neighborhood and yet we have not had the ethical commitments to make of it a brotherhood...We must live together as brothers or we will all perish together as fools. We are tied together in the single garment of destiny, caught in an inescapable network of mutuality...—Martin Luther King Jr.

I've introduced this section with a passage from MLK's speech, "Remaining Awake Through a Great Revolution," delivered March 1968 at the National Cathedral in Washington DC, in order to underline the extent to which African American activist campaigns throughout the twentieth century have not only been concerned with localized forms of community organization, but also globalist or transnational expressions of resistance. MLK's words are prescient, especially seeing as modern advancements in computing and digital information technologies have led to the development of globalist economies and networked societies, heightening our political,

economic, and cultural interconnectedness. Although my analysis chronicled the period between 1894 and 1915, a period in African American activism that preceded the Civil Rights Movement by thirty years, the periodicals I've focused on anticipate MLK's concept of a "network of mutuality" spawned by technological advancement and mass mediation. Using the resources available through mass media technologies and styles, such as mixed media layouts that featured copy, print advertising, and illustrations, as well as half-tone printing techniques, which allowed the mass duplication of photographs (as we see in chapter four), the periodicals I've examined employ a grammar of the public to organize disparate and sometimes competing publics, including mixed-raced and gendered communities. As I've mentioned above, this dissertation chronicled the initiation of mass mediation in the United States at the turn of the twentieth century, studying how African American media activism both shaped and was shaped by an increasingly more connected public sphere of representation. Whereas my aim was to expand the historical frame through which we discuss media as a representative force that has the potential to make and foreclose space in the public sphere for marginal and minority communities, further research might investigate how the public sphere has become more virtual, porous, and roving as a result of technological innovation. Moreover, a key challenge facing us today are anti-globalist gestures to isolate and abstract global communities and international populations. These anti-globalist gestures are particularly prevalent among populist movements throughout the United States and Western Europe that have targeted marginal and minority groups in order to promote nationalism and global separatism, aggravating anxieties about global otherness. Therefore, additional research might consider how a grammar of publicness might mediate and overcome the assumed tensions and divisions between the global and local.

Extending the reach of "publicness" to include global or transnational publics requires a

more thorough understanding of different forms of political representation across "real" and "imagined/virtual" communities. Such work would not only align the public with local concerns and localized identities (which was the primary focus of this dissertation), but also treat the public sphere as a critical and interpretive framework for delineating global publics. By global publics I mean forms of representation that resonate with global political economies, as opposed to more literal instantiations of material resources and institutions (such as physical access to public spaces and resources). This is not to say that questions of global political economies are not material in nature, but rather that a grammar of the public can serve to draw connections or parallels between the material and virtual, anticipating and adapting to new virtual spaces created by emergent media technologies.

The first step to reaching this goal can be found in contemporary composition and rhetorical scholarship that foreground global rhetorics, pedagogies and public and professional literacies. Because this dissertation took on themes such as public space, access, and representation, one way of refining the work I've presented in this analysis might be to investigate how our public and professional literacies are influenced by and attend to globalization and the reconstitution of public space as consequence of new media technologies. In Anne Surma's *Imagining the Cosmopolitan in Public and Professional Writing,* globalization and the immediate access granted by new media technologies demand that public and professional communication engage a "critical cosmopolitanism"—one that focuses on the "dialectical tensions between several and perhaps rival responsibilities to different (known and unknown) others...motivating our reflections on and critique of the functions and effects of globalisation in terms of our relationships with others" (Surma 6). A "key challenge" faced by researchers and practitioners of public and professional writing, Surma argues, arises from "the

revolution in information and communication technologies of the last few decades," which have granted "immediate access—through the vision, sound and text of conventional and Internet-based social media—to (various mundane, appealing and horrifying) aspects of the lives, knowledge and experiences of near and distant others" (Surma 12). An outcome of such immediate access is the "shifting of local and global boundaries," which presents new opportunities and potential risks for marginal and minority communities:

> The boundaries transforming our lives are not only geographical, but also political, social and gendered, as patterns of human relationships in the family, at work, in local, state and global communities affect and are affected by globalising forces. Thus, for privileged individuals and communities, borders and boundaries may be opening up in exciting and perhaps confronting and challenging ways. Conversely, for people who are disadvantaged or marginalised, those borders and boundaries (both their existence and possible transgression) may be experienced by turns as either constricting or protective (Surma 4).

Consequently, a firmer understanding of the public as a point of mediation between the borders separating local and global interest or private-corporate and public-nonprofit gains, can serve to recalibrate who the beneficiaries of globalization are and how local spaces and identities inform and are impacted by global communities and networks. Furthermore, recognizing the public sphere's local and global dimensions can help scholars and instructors re-envision public and professional literacies through a cosmopolitan orientation—one that not only situates writers across real and imagined environments, but also practically applies the work of local, public literacies to larger global trends and contexts.

6.3   SPACES AHEAD

Ultimately, concepts such as space, access, and representation can offer a useful constellation for teaching and historicizing public literacies and media activism. A greater attention to what is made "hypervisible" within our media outlets and the ways in which a grammar of publicness can serve to mediate—and possibly bridge—local and global boundary lines are two areas for further research. Although the analysis that I've presented in this dissertation only marginally gestures toward these critical horizons, Themes that I've addressed in Chapters Two, Three, and Four—namely the ways in which marginal and minority communities make space for themselves within public culture by publicizing and acknowledging the racial hierarchies bundled into our public spaces—provides a historical foundation for future scholarship in media activism and public and professional writing. While these chapters constructed an historical case study of African American public writing, Chapters One and Five attempted to ground such work in current disciplinary and institutional contexts, considering how we might contextualize place-based scholarship by attending to marginal and minority discourses of space (Chapter One) and the ways in which we might expand our understanding of public literacies in the public and professional writing classroom by foregrounding the relationship between public/ professional space and different forms of social representation (Chapter Five).

Despite the attention placed on African American periodicals, the larger purpose of this dissertation was to burrow out a critical history that examines how marginal and minority communities engage questions concerning who has access to public space and resources, the stakes and consequences of public visibility, and the role of media publicity in reconstituting or "making space" for marginal and minority communities in public culture. Throughout this dissertation, I outlined the different writing practices and strategies associated with writing about

public space and public subjects. My goal was to chart new methodological spaces, if you will, for place-based scholarship—spaces that highlight the historical inroads undergirding place-based writing, as well as the marginal and minority voices refining and contextualizing the scope of place-based analysis and discovery. As place-based scholarship and public and professional writing studies move forward, my aim is to continue exploring the political, ethical, and social stake underlying how we teach and theorize public discourse and engagement. Having concluded the first step in advancing such work, I hope that this examination can contribute—or or at the very least demonstrate—the rich historical and theoretical complexity of place-based writing, and the necessity of advancing public literacies and media activism to meet new political, cultural, and institutional challenges.

PROFESSIONAL, TECHNICAL, AND PUBLIC WRITING COURSE OFFERINGS

AMONG ACCREDITED UNIVERSITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

This appendix charts the frequency of Professional and Technical Writing course offerings, majors/minors, and certificate programs in or crosslisted with English departments. This appendix also chronicles overlap between Professional and Public Writing course offerings, majors/minors, and certificate programs for the purposes of deducing how public writing is imagined within Professional and Technical Writing curricula. The information was collected from Association of American University websites between April and June 2017.

Table 1. List of Professional and Technical Writing Course Offerings

University	Professional Writing Course Offerings	Professional Writing Major or Minor	Public Writing	Notes
Boston University				
Brandeis				
Brown				
California Tech				
Carnegie Mellon	X	BA in Professional Writing	X	"Professional Writing combines liberal and professional education with a strong foundation

				in rhetorical studies. While based firmly in the liberal arts tradition, the major has a strong career orientation and is specifically designed to prepare students for successful careers as writers and communications specialists in a range of fields: publishing, government, journalism, law, community advocacy, the non-profit sector, education, corporate communications, finance, and the arts."
Case Western Reserve	X			
Columbia				
Cornell				
Duke				Certificate program in Technical Communication, which is part of the Continuing Education Program
Emory				Business Writing offerings through Department of Business
Georgia Tech	X	Technical Communication Minor (Literature and Media Program).	X	Emphasizes Rhetoric of Science and Technical Writing
Harvard				Business Rhetoric

Indiana University (Bloomington)		BA in Public and Professional Writing	X	"The B.A. major in English with a Concentration in Public and Professional Writing emphasizes the critical analysis and production of writing and written discourse in professional, academic, and civic contexts. This concentration provides English majors with a strong core of abilities in reading and writing, as well as an opportunity to build rhetorical knowledge in a variety of modes, sites, and genres of language use."
Iowa State University		Major in Technical Communication	X	"As a Technical Communication major, you learn to compose a wide range of print and electronic documents for use in business, industry, schools and other institutions, and communities."
MIT		Writing, Rhetoric, and Professional Communication Program	X	""Writing, Rhetoric, and Professional Communication is devoted to teaching students how to analyze and produce effective communication. Communicating

				effectively as a professional–to colleagues, managers, potential funders, and the public–requires conceptual knowledge about how to explain complex and specialized information and how to persuade an audience in many different fields, social contexts, and media."
McGill University				
NYU				
Northwestern University	X			
Ohio State University		Professional Writing Minor	X	"The Minor in Professional Writing works with students from all areas of study across the university who are interested in writing in the professional world, academic settings, and public arenas of civic life."
Pennsylvania State University	X	Professional Writing Major	X	
Princeton University				
Purdue University	X	Professional Writing Major	X	Professional and Technical Writing courses crosslisted with Communications classes in Journalism

Rice University				
Rutgers University		Technical Writing Minor	X	Includes courses in public speaking and public communication as part of the Technical Writing Minor
Stanford University				
Texas A&M		Technical and Professional Writing Minor		
Tulane				
The University of Arizona	X			
SUNY Buffalo	X			
UC Davis		Professional Writing Minor	X	Includes courses in Journalism
UC Irvine				
UCLA				
UC San Diego				
UC Santa Barbara		Professional Writing Minor (Writing Program)	X	Includes courses in civic engagement
University of Chicago				
University of Colorado at Boulder	X			Offers classes in Business writing through the Writing and Rhetoric Department
University of Florida				
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign	X			
Iowa State University	X			
The University of Kansas	X		X	Merges public and professional writing (for profit/non profit)

University of Maryland, College Park	X	Professional Writing Minor		
University of Michigan	X			
University of Minnesota	X	BS in Technical Writing and Communication (Writing Studies Program)	X	Offers a wide range of courses—from technical to business to professional to public writing.
University of Missouri	X			
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill	X			
University of Oregon	X			Emphasizes Scientific and Technical Writing and Business Communication
University of Pennsylvania			X	Although there are no Professional Writing Courses, there are courses in Literary Journalism and Writing About Health in Medicine
University of Pittsburgh	X	Public and Professional Writing Certificate Program (working towards Major)	X	
University of Southern California				Masters in Professional Writing
University of Texas at Austin	X	Professional and Technical Writing Minor		
University of Toronto	X		X	Professional Writing and Communication (interdisciplinary program that crosslists courses

				with English department). Includes courses such as "Writing About Place," "Community and Writing," "Professional Writing," and "Journalistic Investigation."
University of Washington	X		X	Includes Technical Writing and Journalism courses
University of Wisconsin at Madison	X			
Vanderbilt University				
University of Washington in St. Louis				
Yale University				
University of Virginia	X		X	Academic and Professional Writing Program, which includes courses in career-based writing, travel writing, and writing about the environment
Michigan State University		BA in Professional Writing (Writing, Rhetoric, and Communication)	X	" "The Bachelor of Arts degree in Professional Writing is a degree program for students wishing to specialize in writing as an area of expertise. Students will develop advanced writing skills with emphasis on writing in digital

				environments such as web authoring and multimedia writing; on writing for and in diverse public and disciplinary communities; and on editing and publishing in a variety of professional contexts."
Stony Brook		Professional Writing Minor		
University of Rochester				Writing, Speaking, and Argument Program includes courses such as "Communicating Your Professional Identity." Not associated with the English Department

APPENDIX B

HISTORICAL PHOTOGRAPHS, PERIODICAL EXCERPTS FROM *THE COLORED AMERICAN MAGAZINE*, AND REFERENCES TO THE PUBLIC SPHERE IN THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN'S *THE WOMAN'S ERA*

This appendix includes photographs from the Jesse Alexander Photograph Collection featured in the Schomberg Center for Research in Black Culture Digital Archives through the New York Public Library. Additional figures were captured from the "Smoky City: Social and Business Life." The Colored American Magazine [Boston, MA]. December 1901. Negro Periodicals in the United States, 1840-1960. HaithiTrust Digital Library.

The second half of this appendix charts the currency of references to the public sphere in the National Association of Colored Women's *The Woman's Era* periodical between March 1894 and January 1897. This research aimed to chart different discursive contexts and usages of this terminology in the first twenty three issues of the paper. The information in these charts was gathered using Emory University's Emory Women Writers Resource Project.
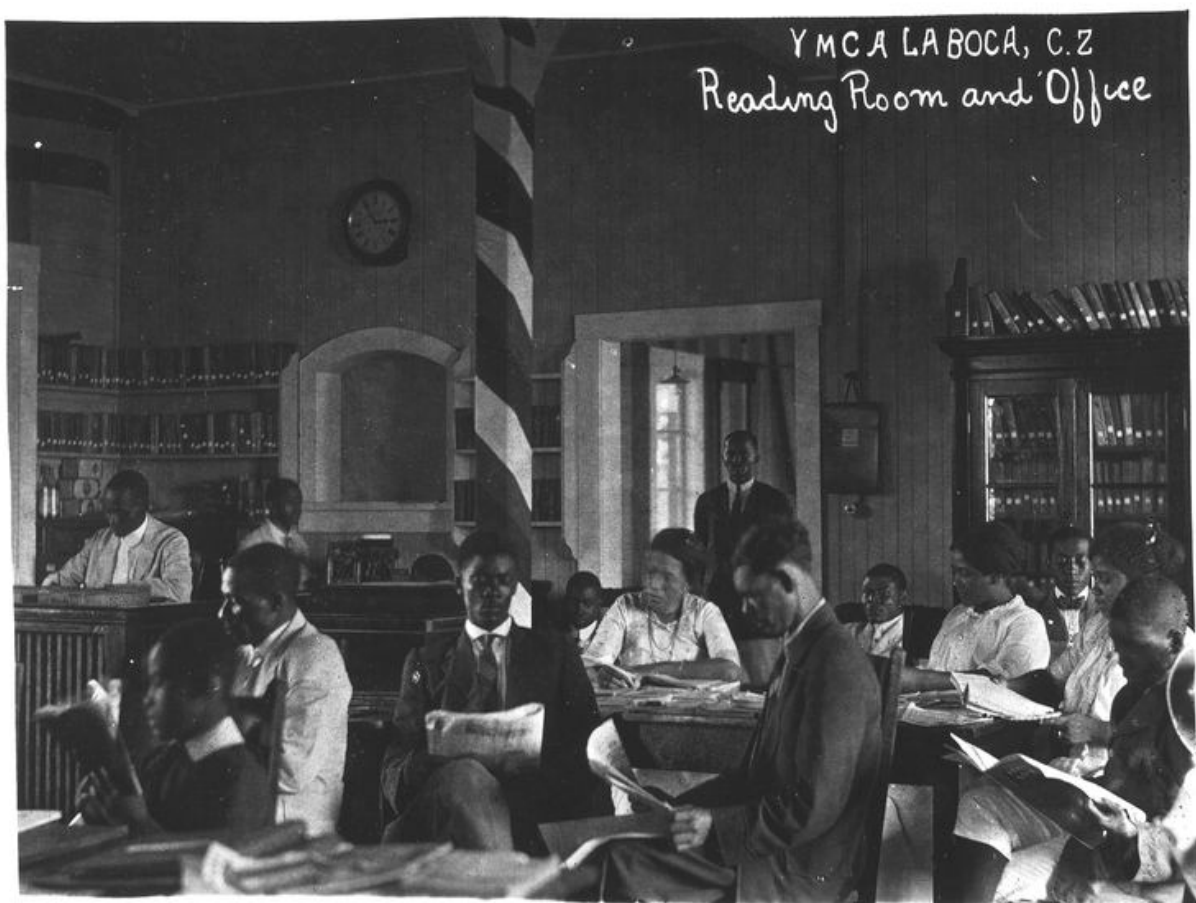
Figure 1. "YMCA, La Boca Reading Room and Office," from the Jesse Alexander Photograph Collection

Figure 2. Untitled photograph from the Jesse Alexander Photograph Collection

Figure 3. Untitled photograph from the Jesse Alexander Photograph Collection

On the occasion of a visit to the Hawaiian Islands during Queen Emma's reign, Mrs. Pindell was presented with a diamond necklace worth fifteen hundred dollars. The compass of this singer's voice was the same as the "Black

ANNA MADAH AND EMMA LOUISE HYERS.

Swan's," embracing twenty-seven notes, from G in bass clef to E in treble clef. Musical critics compared her to Madame Alboni.

Madame Pindell died at Los Angeles, Cal., May 1, 1901.

ANNA MADAH and EMMA LOUISE HYERS are natives of California. They early showed signs of musical precocious-

ness and were placed under the tuition of Professor Hugo Sank, and later were taught by Madame Josephine D'Ormy. They made their début at the Metropolitan Theatre, Sacramento, California, April 22, 1867.

Of this début "The San Francisco Chronicle" said:

"Their musical power is acknowledged. Miss Anna Madah has a pure, sweet soprano voice, very true, even and flexible, of remarkable compass and smoothness. Her rendition of 'Casta Diva,' and her soprano in the tower scene from 'Il Trovatore,' and Verdi's 'Forse é lui che l'anima,' as also in the ballad 'The Rhine Maidens,' was almost faultless, and thoroughly established her claims to the universal commendations she has received from all the connoisseurs in melody who have heard her.

"Miss Louise is a natural wonder, being a fine alto singer, and also the possessor of a pure tenor-voice. It is of wonderful range, and in listening to her singing it is difficult to believe that one is not hearing a talented young man instead of the voice of a young girl. Her character song was one of the greatest 'hits' ever made; and henceforth her position as a favorite with an audience is assured."

After this début the young women retired for study, but in a short time moved East, singing to enthusiastic audiences in Western towns and cities. In Chicago their reception was most flattering, their remarkable musical gifts created intense excitement among people of high musical culture.

About this time Mr. Wallace King, a tenor singer of great ability, a native of Camden, New Jersey, joined the famous sisters; Mr. John Luca, of the Luca family, a cultured baritone, completed a quartette which became well known from Maine to California. Mr. A. C. Taylor, of New York, was the pianist.

The Hyers sisters appeared at the Peace Jubilee concerts, Boston, Mass., under P. S. Gilmore, before an audience

Figure 4. Image scan from "Smoky City: Social and Business Life." The Colored American Magazine

[Boston, MA]. December 1901. Negro Periodicals in the United States, 1840-1960. HaithiTrust Digital Library.

Access provided by the University of California

MISS MARY WRITT, Pittsburg, Pa.
See page 147.

MISS SARAH FOWLER, Pittsburg, Pa.
See page 147.

MISS EMMA WRITT, Pittsburg, Pa.
See page 147.

MRS. J. P. GOLDEN, Georgetown, S. C.
See page 143.

Figure 5. Image scan from "Smoky City: Social and Business Life." The Colored American Magazine [Boston, MA]. December 1901. Negro Periodicals in the United States, 1840-1960. HaithiTrust Digital Library. Access provided by the University of California.
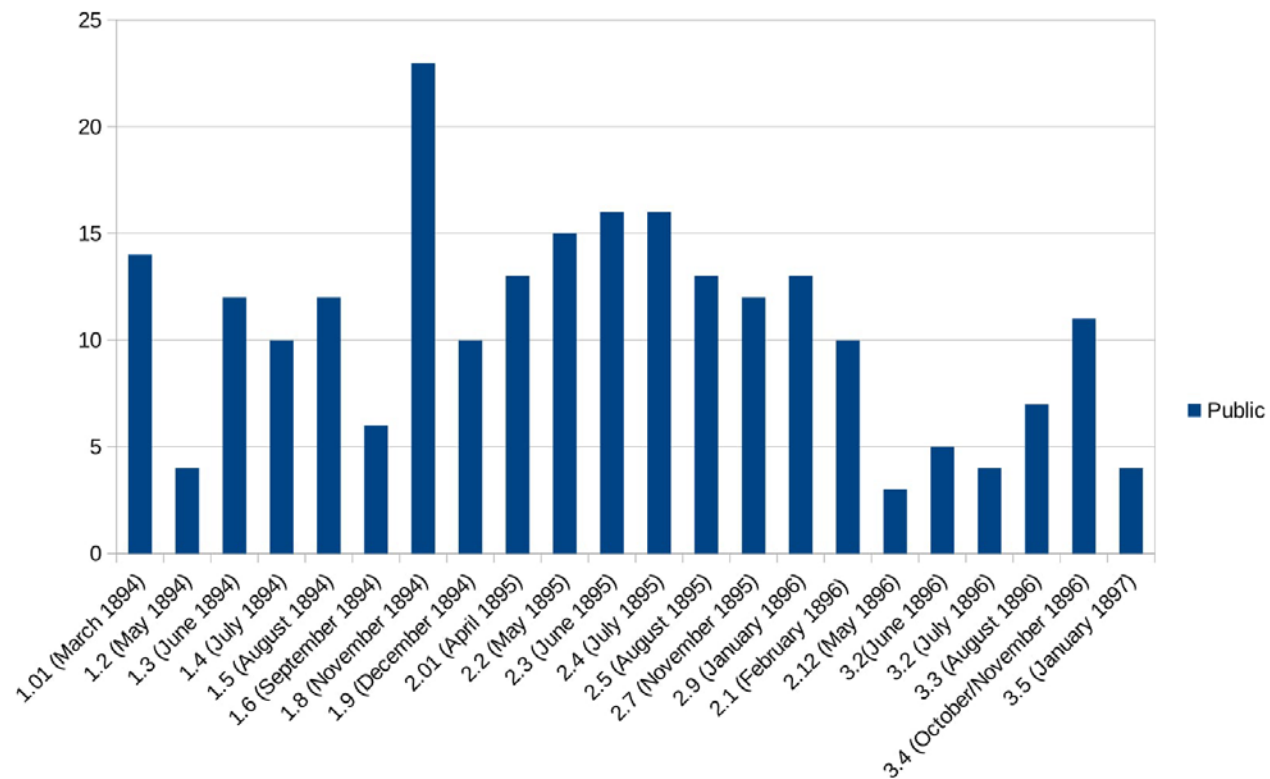
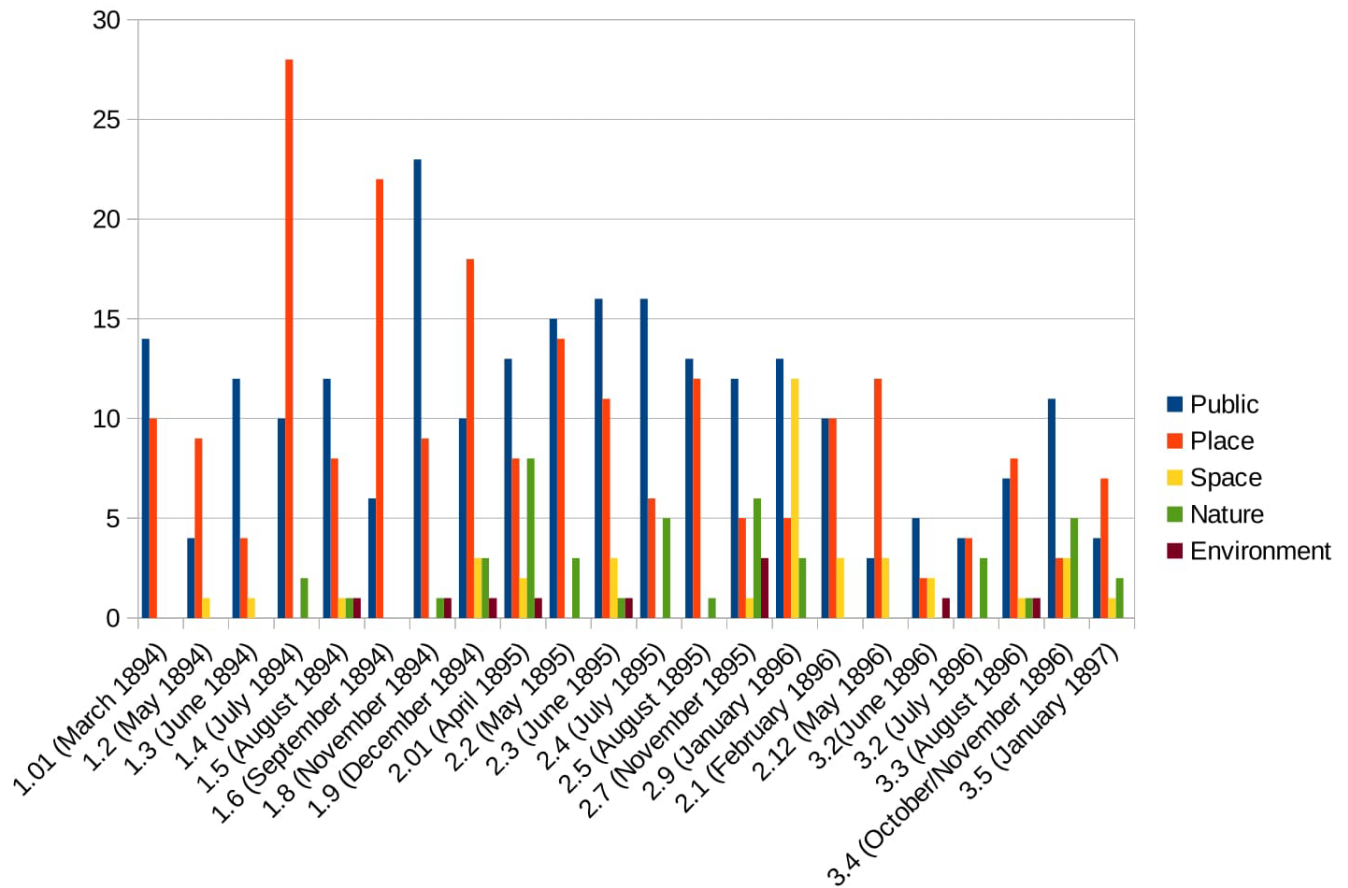**Figure 6.** Use of the term "public" in *Women's Era*, March 1894 through January 1897.

Figure 7. Use of space-related terms in *Women's Era*, March 1984 through January 1987.
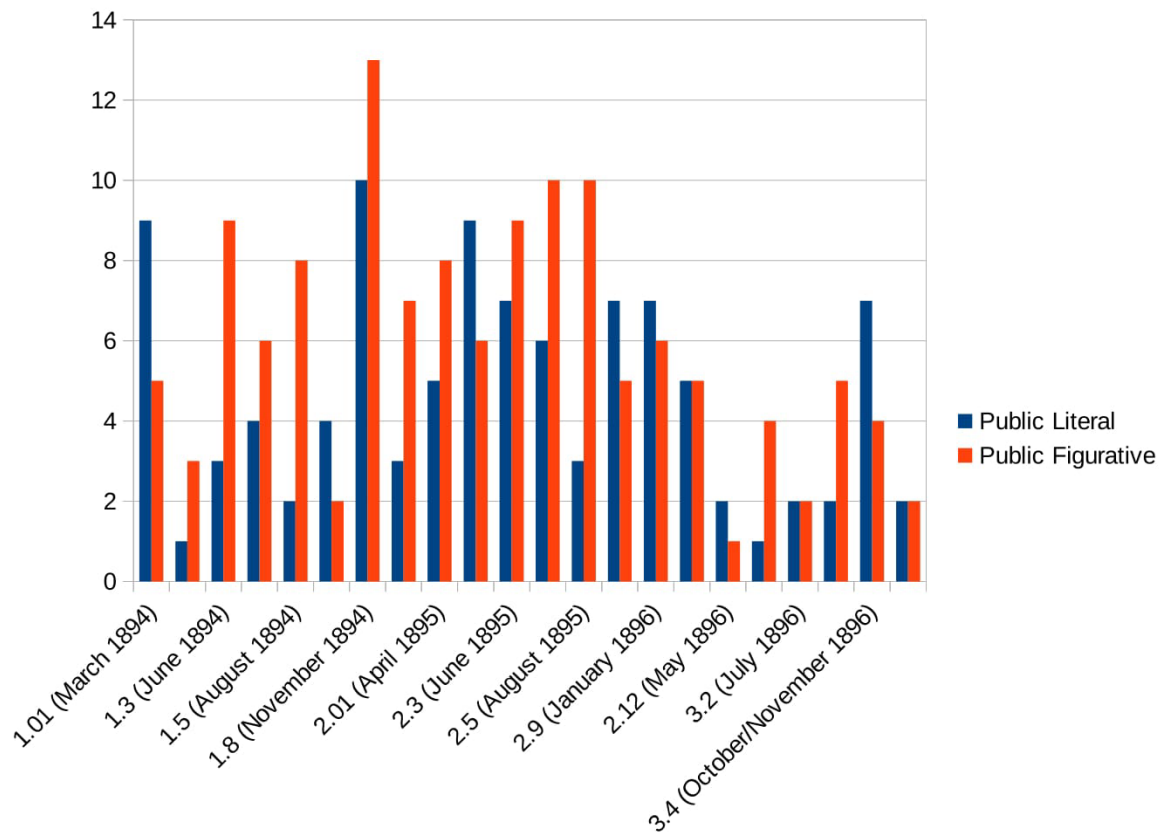
Figure 8. Use of literal and figurative forms of "public" in *Women's Era*, March 1984 through January

1987.

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