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'Where history meets the future' : a historiographic exploration of Mississippi : the view from Tougaloo.

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‘WHERE HISTORY MEETS THE FUTURE’: A HISTORIOGRAPHIC
EXPLORATION OF *MISSISSIPPI: THE VIEW FROM TOUGALOO*

By

Khirsten L. Echols
B.A., Tougaloo College, 2012
M.A., University of Alabama, 2014

A Dissertation
Submitted to the Faculty of the
College of Arts and Sciences of the University of Louisville
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
In English/Rhetoric and Composition

Department of English
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

May 2018

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A Dissertation Approved on

April 6, 2018

by the following Dissertation Committee:

Carol Mattingly, PhD
Chair

Andrea Olinger, PhD

David Anderson, PhD

Carmen Kynard, PhD

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my late great-grandmother, Willie Mae Brooks.

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Hail to thee, our Alma Mater; Dear to us thou art; Sun and moon and stars beloved
Bless thy loving heart.

Tougaloo, Eagle Queen, we love thee; Mother Eagle, Stir thy nest; Rout thine eaglets to
the breezes; They enjoy the test.

Hero cannot love his country More than we love thee; Though he die upon the altar, We
would die for thee.

For thine inspiration, Mother Though thy sons depart, For the rainbows end forever We
will bless thy heart.

- Jonathan Henderson Brooks '29

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I am very much looking forward to the work ahead for this project. Tougaloo, Eagle Queen, we love thee!

ABSTRACT

‘WHERE HISTORY MEETS THE FUTURE’: A HISTORIOGRAPHIC EXPLORATION OF *MISSISSIPPI: THE VIEW FROM TOUGALOO*

Khirsten L. Echols

April 6, 2018

“Where History Meets the Future”: A Historiographic Exploration of Mississippi: The View from Tougaloo explores the historical narratives of Historically Black Colleges and Universities, with a special emphasis on Tougaloo College in Tougaloo, Mississippi. In particular, this dissertation examines the ways in which Tougaloo’s official history omits the voices of its student populations. It offers, then, a revisionist reading of the school’s history, constructing a narrative from the perspective of students. Based on hours of archival research and examination of the school’s student newspaper, this dissertation constructs a method that incorporates student voices into the historical narrative. The collection of contemporary student narratives, I argue, offers a model for future presentations of Tougaloo’s historical narrative and those of HBCUs more generally. That considered, this dissertation uses Tougaloo’s motto, “Where History Meets the Future” as a conceptual frame geared toward:

1. Exploring the place of institutional histories in the ongoing understanding of meaning when related specifically to HBCUs;
2. Accounting for the material history surrounding existing institutional narratives, specifically those at Tougaloo College via *Mississippi: The View from Tougaloo*;

3. Supplementing these sponsored narratives with student voices via student newspapers; and
4. Forwarding this understanding of a more inclusive institutional narrative by considering active institutional and pedagogical applications for the project.

Together, these foci revisit the past in order to imagine futures that might introduce more critical conversations around HBCUs broadly and Tougaloo specifically.

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THE BLACK PAST AS GUIDE: AN INTRODUCTION

Those who have no record of what their forebears have accomplished lose the inspiration,
which comes from the teaching of biography and history.
Carter G. Woodson

Navigating the fragmented terrain of information that is history, whether of an individual, a community, or a disciplinary field, is arguably an opportunity to better understand who we are, how we carry out our work, and how we shape our disciplinary identities. Conversely, such navigation can lead to uncharted paths, inroads, and perhaps dead ends. But the journey that history allows is one that invokes meaning-making possibilities for individuals and collective bodies. For “‘Where History Meets the Future’: A Historiographic Exploration of *Mississippi: The View from Tougaloo*,” careful engagement with Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) presents rich, nonetheless complicated, histories that on the one hand can position the institutions as integral to the promotion of educational opportunities for Black Americans for some 150 years; but, on the other hand, these histories can complicate the motivation for such educational opportunities. These complications might arise from anti-black rhetorics of social mobility and progress—appeals that promote notions of correctness and refinement that perpetuate systemic racism and separation. This paradox informs some attempts to discuss, define, and defend HBCUs. For some, these conversational ends are informed by, but not limited to, personal experience, usually alumni perspectives; notions of popular culture, usually narratives forwarded through mass media; and historical

perspectives, usually rooted in and even juxtaposed to black history, American history, and/or various disciplinary histories. In any case, these thoughts have become instrumental to the historicizing of HBCUs, for better or worse.

Tougaloo was founded in 1869 after the American Missionary Association purchased five hundred acres of land overlooking Jackson, Mississippi from John Boddie of the Boddie Plantation. According to Tougaloo's website, the school was established to train young people "irrespective of religious tenets and conducted on the most liberal principles for the benefit of our citizens in general."¹ Tougaloo's website chronicles that the school was a teacher training school until 1892, "at which time the College ceased to receive aid from the state." Continuing, "Courses for college credit were first offered in 1897, and in 1901, the first Bachelor of Arts degree was awarded [and]...in 1916, the name of the institution was changed to Tougaloo College."

In 2008, my personal history intersected with the history of HBCUs via Tougaloo as I embarked on my collegiate journey. As a first-year student, I was required to enroll in "Mission: Involvement,"² an orientation course. Although a substantial portion of the course's design was intended to heighten my awareness of the college's expectations of first-year students, the course had a unique element that also promoted engagement with

¹ See Tougaloo College's website. www.tougaloo.edu

² "Mission: Involvement Structure: Students classified as freshmen are divided into small groups for individual attention. In these small group sections, instructors are encouraged to allow students to express themselves and to get to know the instructors as individuals as well as authority figures. Faculty and students are also encouraged to plan a number of non-traditional meetings, such as visits to the instructor's home, a group movie, museum, or play. Students are required to attend weekly campus convocations. This weekly gathering forges bonds at a second level. It enables students who are bonding with members of their class to become simultaneously better acquainted with the larger community. In order to increase student involvement, each class section elects a student representative to meet with other representatives of the freshman class to provide input for student sponsored activities during the year. Mission: Involvement 101 Course Description: Course content and activities emphasize the student focusing on self as an individual leaving home, adjusting his/her future. Students learn a wide range of skills to assist them in making a smooth transition from high school academics to meeting the challenges of college academics successfully." (Tougaloo College Student Handbook, 2008)

Tougaloo's history. Each week we read sections of *Mississippi: The View from Tougaloo* (1979; 2001) and participated in engaging conversations around Tougaloo's history as told by authors Clarice T. Campbell and Oscar Allan Rogers, Jr. By including the text in the course, the instructors and First-Year Experience program administrators reflected Carter G. Woodson's emphasis on the importance of historical knowledge by imparting the belief that knowing your past is essential to participating intelligently in societal affairs.

My initial reading of Campbell's and Rogers's text was introductory in nature. I found myself accepting and welcoming the text's presentation of historical and institutional events. My second reading, as a graduate student, however, led me to endless questions—the most poignant being, “Where are the students?” I found the scarcity of student voices within the text particularly problematic, especially considering that what could be the most important stake-holding voices were obscured. Their absent-presence³ prompted me to consider them more directly as voices that might offer an alternate institutional history. My motivation to focus on Tougaloo and *The View*, then, is threefold, spanning (1) personal, (2) local, and (3) national evaluation and critique of one HBCU's role within U.S. higher education. Each intersection seeks to explore the presence of narratives within Tougaloo College's archives via writing found in student newspaper publications.

³ I am specifically using Catherine Prendergast's usage of the term in her 1998 *CCC*'s article, “Race: The Absent Presence in Composition.” Using her conviction that “when the subject of a study is identified by race or ethnicity, the legacy of racism in this country which participates in sculpting all identities—white included—is more often than not absent from the analysis of that writer's linguistic capabilities or strategies” (36), I am arguing that whether or not student voices are visually (print) or linguistically (oral) present in institutional histories, they are always present because they ultimately shape the institutional history.

Through my many interactions with *The View*, I found myself reading and re-reading at varying critical intersections. As a student at Tougaloo, I was enthused to gain exposure to the history of a space that I perceived to be an oasis of black culture. As a Master's student at the University of Alabama, I was reflective of the history shared within *The View* while completing a critical literacy narrative on the influence of women, specifically black women, throughout my educational journey. Most recently, and currently, as an emerging HBCU scholar, I am critically engaged with the nuances that shape and inform not only the historical narrative that is shared, but also the socio-historical implications of such a presentation. At any of the provided moments, I find myself in constant negotiation of who I am as a first-generation participant in all levels of higher education, seeking ways to embed my identity within all that I do academically and professionally. In so doing, I find myself revisiting Tougaloo via Campbell and Rogers's extensive narrativization of the institution's history while thinking through the complicated nature of telling institutional narratives. It is important to acknowledge that institution building, regardless of the context, occurs in response to a historical moment. Whether that historical moment is a response to omission or the celebration of progress, the development of institutions does not happen in a vacuum. That considered, "Where History Meets the Future: A Historiographic Exploration of *Mississippi: The View from Tougaloo*" uses Tougaloo's motto, "Where History Meets the Future" as a conceptual frame geared toward:

5. Exploring the place of institutional histories in the ongoing understanding of meaning when related specifically to HBCUs;

6. Accounting for the material history surrounding existing institutional narratives, specifically those at Tougaloo College via *Mississippi: The View from Tougaloo*;
7. Supplementing these sponsored narratives with student voices via student newspapers; and
8. Forwarding this understanding of a more inclusive institutional narrative by considering active institutional and pedagogical applications for the project.

Together, these foci revisit the past in order to imagine futures that might introduce more critical conversations around HBCUs broadly and Tougaloo specifically.

Project Overview

When considering intelligible approaches for negotiating the insider—outsider ends of my alumna status when designing this project, I found myself anxiously thinking through how best to position my inquiry. My narrative did a great deal of work for presenting my motivation, but, initially, justifying my inquiry as one that was necessary for re-evaluation was underdeveloped. Though I'd long known that Tougaloo and HBCUs would be the focus of my early-career scholarly endeavors, I quickly realized that beyond my HBCU and Tougaloo pride, engagement with *The View*, and my own understandings and critiques of public discourse surrounding these institutions, my exposure with the history of HBCUs broadly and Tougaloo specifically was limited. Consequently, I went back to *The View*. In doing so, I became less interested in arguing the historical validity of the information presented in the text, and more interested in rhetoricity of the text within the institutional narrative genre. With that in mind and noted

as my project's first layer, my evaluation led me to connect my question of the presence of students to this rhetorical reconsideration.

In *The View*, Campbell and Rogers note that “In 1967 at least six student mimeographed papers published more or less regularly and freely circulated on campus...[where students] were given the freedom to express their own ideas” (226). This description led me to Tougaloo's archival holdings, where I found the six publications described in this text and countless other auxiliary publications. These archival holdings and my employing of archival research methods, then, became central to this project's design for the purposes of deeper understandings of Tougaloo's institutional narrative and student newspaper publications.

Student newspaper publications function, generally, as independent or school-sponsored sites that report on the happenings of their respective campuses. This general description is not intended to overlook the many functions that student newspaper publications might embody; instead, the above description intends to highlight the role of print news reporting by students, I argue, as an important and essential contributor to the composition, collection, and preservation of institutional history. This perspective places these publications and the students who contribute to them (as writers, editors, photographers, members of the campus community at large, and the like) at the center of the institution's efforts to compose and preserve its historical narrative—a critical position that pivots on the students' contributions. Although this view may seem inherent, it is important to note that book-length textual representations reflect similar efforts to chronicle institutional events and developments. These institutional narratives, however, are usually published by individuals associated with the university who are not students;

namely, alumni and/or long-time members of the university community who serve or have served in administrative positions. Many of these publications are sponsored by the institution being historicized or by university presses. During this study I located countless institutional narratives, some with multiple volumes, but no particular university press or institution that aligned their editorial philosophy with this genre. However, Arcadia Publishing⁴ has devoted a unique series of publications to the histories of approximately 226 American colleges and universities, with notice of additional future editions. In the description of their “Campus History” series, Arcadia advances: “Higher education is more than just an important step when it comes to making your way in the world. It’s a huge part of American culture, as well as the American dream in general. It’s also a massive piece of the puzzle when it comes to the larger concept of American history.”

Although *The View* was not published by Arcadia Publishing (instead it was published by the University Press of Mississippi), it certainly mirrors the aims of publications included in the “Campus History” collection. The authors’ efforts to carefully interrogate the complicated and layered history of Tougaloo alongside the difficult and equally layered history of Mississippi, prove that higher education is indeed “a massive piece of the puzzle when it comes to the larger concept of American history.” In addition to this parallel, *The View* and many, if not all, of the texts included in the “Campus History” series present top-down historical presentations of the respective institutions centered on the lineage of leaders, the development of the architecture, and general, sometimes marginal, comments about campus climate. One of the most

⁴See <https://www.arcadiapublishing.com/Home>

detrimental effects of top-down approaches to history is the omission of the individuals who often drive the history being reported. Careful consideration of their narrative contributions might offer a more robust perspective in conjunction with the master narratives being circulated. Further, considering the role of student voices within these narratives could shatter the top-down presentations by including localized accounts from multiple perspectives. That considered, looking to the black past through Tougaloo's history allows me to introduce the value of student literacies by positioning compositions from a Tougaloo student newspaper as an alternate and generative contribution to the institution's history.

Project Overview

I characterize “‘Where History Meets the Future’: A Historiographic Exploration of *Mississippi: The View from Tougaloo*” as a Sankofa project—one that allows me to use my own history as a vehicle for imagining the future for HBCUs, namely Tougaloo College. Sankofa is an African word from the Akan tribe in Ghana. The word's literal translation is “it is not taboo to fetch what is at risk of being left behind.” Another iteration of the word's translation encourages that “We must go back and reclaim our past so we can move forward; so, we understand how and why we came to be who we are today.”⁵ One widely-used Sankofa symbol, a mythical bird with its feet firmly planted forward with its head turned backwards, represents the Akan people's understanding and embracing of the necessity of the past as a guide for planning the future. Similar to Tougaloo's motto, Sankofa symbolizes the past as essential to ensuring a sustainable future. This project, then, seeks to locate student voices via student newspaper

⁵ See Berea College's Carter G. Woodson Center's webpage. <https://www.berea.edu/cgwc/the-power-of-sankofa/>

publications as a historiographic exploration that might offer a revision of Tougaloo’s historical narrative. Ultimately, this project negotiates past, present, and future perspectives of HBCU history through *The View* via archival research methods which serve as an entrée to the justification for the collection of HBCU narratives that might encourage future sites for individual and collective HBCU legacies.

As my earlier narrative suggests, my first-year experience introduced me to the text most central to this project—*The View*. Through multiple encounters with the text throughout my educational journey, I feel compelled to perform a more focused reading aimed at answering my primary question: “Where are the students?” In searching for the voices, which I maintain are some of the most influential contributors to this institution’s history and narrative presentation, “Shifting the View, Turning the Page: A Revisionist Reading of *Mississippi: The View from Tougaloo*” analyzes the material history surrounding the text in order to argue that one representation of the institution’s history is not sufficient. This chapter introduces HBCU literacies as a framework centered on constituting critical understandings of the knowledge-making possibilities for HBCUs, past, present, and future. The next chapter, “Historical Interlude: Uncovering the Historical Context of the Beittel—Owens Presidential Transition,” functions as a link to “The Black Past as Gateway: Reviewing the Black Press, the Black Arts Movement, and the Black Campus Movement” and “To Protect and Advance⁶: HBCU Literacies and Tougaloo’s February 1969 *Harambee*.” Both chapters provide an archival focus and delve deeply into the institution’s history beginning with 1965, a pivotal leadership

⁶ Language influenced by Elaine Richardson’s African American literacies.

moment for Tougaloo: the appointment and inauguration of the College's first black president, George A. Owens.

1965 also marks the early beginnings of the Black Arts Movement (BAM), a period deemed by some as “the sister of the Black power movement,” and by others as “the shortest and least successful movement in African American cultural history.” On either end of the spectrum, the BAM is noted for its artistic and literary contributions. Further, the BAM served as a time for the cultivation of ownership and circulation of artistic and literary works through the development of black-owned publishing houses. BAM scholar James Smethurst contends that,

Since de jure segregation still operated in the South (and beyond) and de facto segregation or token integration was in effect at many colleges and universities elsewhere, a huge proportion of black college students (and black faculty) were concentrated at the African American schools in the South and the so-called Border States. These concentrations of black schools and African American college students along with the national focus of the Civil Rights Movement on voting rights and the segregation of public facilities in the region left a deep imprint on the Black Arts Movement there. Of course, if we take Black Arts to be essentially the cultural wing of the Black Power Movement, the distinction between it and the Civil Rights Movement is difficult to draw precisely—perhaps more difficult than in any other region of the United States. To generalize broadly, the Civil Rights Movement of the late 1950s and early 1960s aimed in the first place at dismantling the segregation of public institutions and public accommodations and at the enfranchisement of African Americans across the

South. Black Power was a contentious political formation, but generally speaking nearly all its manifestations involved a concept of liberation and self-determination. (76)

For this project, the BAM serves as a site for temporal context aimed at moving engagement with Tougaloo's history beyond the central focus of the Civil Rights Movement (CRM). Currently, much of the critical material related to Tougaloo is written from the vantage point of the CRM. While this time period was and remains important for shaping the institution's, the city of Jackson's, the state of Mississippi's, and this nation's history, the liminal space between the CRM and these respective localities invites a forward-looking engagement. That considered, "To Protect and Advance: HBCU Literacies and Tougaloo's February 1969 *Harambee*" positions the BAM as a progressive moment that allows closer examination of the potential contributions of student newspaper compositions to this movement's artistic, written expression.

Additionally, during the peak of the BAM, the Black Campus Movement (BCM) thrived. The BCM, "which emerged in 1965 and declined in 1972," was cultivated by "hundreds and thousands of black campus activists (and sympathizers), aided on some campuses by white, Latino/a, Chicano/a, Native American, and Asian students, [who] requested, demanded, and protested for a relevant learning experience" (2). Ibram H. Rogers (now Ibram X. Kendi) describes mid-February 1969 as "the apex of the Black Campus Movement" (2). In his book, *The Black Campus Movement: Black Students and the Radical Reconstruction of Higher Education, 1965-1972*, Rogers argues,

February 13, 1969, looms as the most unruly day of the BCM. If there was a day, or *the* day, that black campus activists forced the racial

reconstruction of higher education, it was February 13, 1969. Black students disrupted higher education in almost every area of the nation—the Midwest in Illinois and Wisconsin; the Northeast in New York; the Upper South in North Carolina; the Deep South in Mississippi; the West Coast in the Bay Area. It was the day that emitted the anger, determination, and agency of a generation that stood on the cutting edge of educational progression. It was like no other day in the history of black higher education—a history of turmoil and progress, accommodation and advancement, isolation and community. Like the BCM highlighted, this day had been in the making for more than one hundred years and changed the course of higher education for decades to come. (2)

Because Tougaloo's student news publication did not have an edition published on this exact date, "To Protect and Advance: HBCU Literacies and Tougaloo's February 1969 *Harambee*" concludes with a close reading of the news coverage and reporting throughout February 1969. This chapter's engagement with the period aims to explore Tougaloo's contribution to both the BAM and the BCM, further justifying the need for *multiple student* voices for critical understandings of the institutional history and literacy based epistemologies.

The project concludes by departing from the archive to consider critical and digital futures for the project. Drawing on digital humanities research and personal reflection, "Where History Meets the Future: Imagining Critical and Digital Futures for Tougaloo" advocates not only for the multiplicity of voices, but also the multiplicity of scholarly ends. Plainly, this chapter looks ahead to next steps, which include a

monograph that offers a more extensive presentation and analysis of archived student voices from *Harambee* and the development of a digital archival space that prioritizes the ongoing composing, collecting, and curating of student voices for the purpose of avoiding a single institutional narrative. Together, these chapters look to the black past and further push the call for (re)consideration of how and with whom we strive to maintain inclusivity in the historical representations of HBCUs. In recognizing the many gaps within our field and beyond as it relates to HBCU communities and the need to continue resistance of top-down institutional histories, this project rightly centers students in the movement from history to the future.

SHIFTING THE VIEW, TURNING THE PAGE: A MATERIAL HISTORY OF MISSISSIPPI: THE VIEW FROM TOUGALOO

To date, *Mississippi: The View from Tougaloo*, the only published history of Tougaloo College, has two printed editions—the first published in 1979 and the second in 2002. The text seeks to explicate the founding of the college through the American Missionary Association’s larger response to the educational needs of the newly emancipated Black Americans after the Civil War. In the only published review of the text, Paul L. Sanford⁷ notes “the respective reader who, judging from the title anticipates finding this work a total look at all the facts of Mississippi society will be disappointed—but only slightly. Rather than a complete view of Mississippi, what one finds is a history of Tougaloo College” (321). *The View* offers a chronological account of the institution’s origins beginning with its connection to the Amistad case,⁸ detailed accounts of the successes and failures of the institution’s political, social, and economic structure, battles with local and national government for existence and survival, insight into the presidencies that shaped the institution, and consideration of the racial climate and discrimination within and beyond Tougaloo. Sanford’s 1980 review was certainly a needed work as he shed light on the recent publication within *The Journal of Southern*

⁷ American historian who, in 1969, became the first full-time faculty member at the University of New Orleans when he was hired as an Associate Professor of History.

⁸ The American Missionary Association was influential in the court proceedings of the freed Africans who were accused of mutiny after killing part of the crew that captured them. The ship that they were on was called Amistad.

History, but a critical (re) reading of the text would argue that *The View* does, in fact, provide insight into Mississippi society, similar to Ralph Ellison's acknowledgement that black history is always intertwined with American history,⁹ or James Baldwin's sentiments that "The story of the Negro in America is the story of America. It is not a pretty story,¹⁰" Tougaloo's story is forever intertwined with the story of Mississippi, and it is not always a pretty story. That considered, "Turning the Page, Shifting the View: A Material History of *Mississippi: The View from Tougaloo*," engages conversations centered on HBCUs and the material history surrounding *The View*. Specifically, this chapter explores *The View* and its efforts to produce particular ideological and emotional understandings of Tougaloo through a critical reading of the text. Ultimately, I examine why this text should not be the only source for such an institutional history because it has an interesting and fraught history of its own—one, I argue, that teaches us a great deal about textual economy and interrogates the social, cultural, and political implications of publishing the text.

HBCUs

From their inception, HBCUs have been positioned marginally in relation to other American colleges and universities. This marginal positioning has led to questions of the reliability and quality of the educational practices at these institutions. HBCUs, as the name suggests, have contributed to histories that shape the ways that Black Americans participate in US higher education. Many of their 19th- and 20th-century foundings were initiated because of federal land-grant funding, through government charters, or by religious organizations such as the American Missionary Association. Each institution's

⁹ See Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* (1952)

¹⁰ See Raoul Peck's "I Am Not Your Negro" (2017)

establishment aligned with the principal mission of educat[ing] Black Americans at institutions that were, according to the White House Initiative on HBCUs, “accredited by a nationally recognized accrediting agency or association determined by the Secretary [of Education] to be a reliable authority as to the quality of training offered.” Within the current context of higher education, the 107 colleges and universities included in the HBCU community account for 3% of U.S. institutions and currently enroll roughly 14% of all African American students.¹¹ Further, within the larger history of HBCUs are collective and individual histories of institutions, events, and movements that contribute to black history, culture, and education while responding to understandings and engagement with black life in educational contexts.

Historian Bobby L. Lovett argues that his motivation for composing the first comprehensive narrative of HBCUs from 1837-2009, *America’s Historically Black Colleges: A Narrative History* (2011), was a response to the limited scope of scholarship related to the institutions. Lovett posits that many of these conversations seemingly exist for the purposes of “defending HBCUs or criticizing their existence based on statistical data, student performance, faculty characteristics, and alumni outcomes” (ix). Current publications presenting increasing numbers of critical conversations that question the educational relevance and effectiveness of HBCUs have surfaced in both popular and scholarly sources, ranging from countless articles highlighting institutional practices and progress within higher education, news articles and postings describing current happenings, graduate theses and dissertations arguing for action research, institutional websites and documents describing goals and guidelines, and other media on and related

¹¹ See National Center for Education Statistics

to HBCUs. These polarized conversations between defense and criticism leaves much to be desired by way of localized study of HBCU institutions.

I hope to alleviate the vagueness of said polarization by positioning Tougaloo as a historiographic case study to increase more critical treatment of HBCU literacies. More specifically, I present one frame for understanding how HBCU literacies inform critical understandings of narrative presentations of institutional histories.

On HBCU Literacies

This chapter's treatment of HBCU literacies forwards the understanding that these literacies reflect the ways of knowing and being associated with HBCU communities. In addition to the language and learning practices associated with these institutions, my characterization of HBCU literacies looks to Elaine Richardson's consideration that African American literacies serve to advance and protect the communities to which they are associated. Richardson's *African American Literacies* (2002) stands as the first book-length engagement with the rhetorical concept of associating epistemological outcomes to the social practices of African American communities intended to coin the term African American literacies. The text functions as a foundational exploration of African American-centered approaches to intellectual considerations of literacy, language, composition, rhetoric, and pedagogy as they relate to theory, research, and practice. Additionally, Richardson frames African American female literacies and their vernacular presence within larger considerations of African American life and culture. In so doing, she argues that "African American literacies include vernacular resistance arts and cultural productions that are created to carve out free spaces in oppressive locations"

(16). She continues, “These survival literacies, like most aspects of African American life and culture, have been mis- and misunderstood” (16).

Because *Literacies* follows works like Jacqueline Jones Royster’s *Traces of a Stream: Literacy and Social Change Among African American Women* (2000), Keith Gilyard’s *Voices of the Self: A Study of Language Competence* (1991), and Geneva Smitherman’s early works *Talkin’ and Testifyin’: The Language of Black America* (1977, 1986), “CCCC’s Role in the Struggle for Language Rights” (1999), *Black Talk: Words and Phrases from the Hood to the Amen Corner* (1994, 2000), and *Talkin’ That Talk: Language, Culture and Education in African America* (2000), Richardson’s efforts to define African American literacies offers a context through which we might understand those earlier texts and provides a guide for future research and practice. For the field of rhetoric and composition, this guide has been applied to several studies, but Carmen Kynard’s *Vernacular Insurrections: Race, Black Protest, and the New Century in Composition-Literacies Studies* (2013) proves to be the most relevant for this study’s development of HBCU literacies. *Vernacular Insurrections* traces the role of academic literacies and first-year writing practices within critical race theory and various Black Freedom movements centered on education at HBCUs. The vernacular insurrections she describes are rooted in Black Freedom movements and urge contemporary connections of literacy protests and developing ideologies to be in conversation with one another. In doing so, she introduces thinking that offers and reveals a dynamic to the writing classroom that ultimately explicates how literacy works in spaces, both in school and outside of school.

The vacillation between defense and criticism within HBCU conversations is nuanced within Composition scholarship as another binary, omission and inclusion. For my development of HBCU literacies, I look back over the eleven-year bridge between Richardson's and Kynard's work and back over the scholarly contributions around African American language, literacy, composition, and rhetoric. Accordingly, I balance the movement between defense and criticism mentioned in the previous section by locating HBCUs within Composition scholarship. The negotiation of inclusion in historical discussions related to Composition Studies serves as a foundation for this exploration. "History in the Spaces Left: African American Presence and Narratives of Composition Studies," offers a critique of historiographies of composition studies¹² and their omission of African Americans' contributions to the field. Authors Jacqueline Jones Royster and Jean C. Williams look to historical institutions and figures that reconfigure the field's narrative to rightfully include African Americans. In the same year, 1999, Keith Gilyard published "African American Contributions to Composition Studies," which traces African American contributions to Composition Studies, as the title suggests, from historical and rhetorical traditions as early as the nineteenth century. In both oft-cited essays, the authors address the often-overlooked omission of African Americans and insist on inclusive (re)inscription of the various contributions that this particular community has made over time, often years before the emergence of Composition Studies as a scholarly discipline. Within the evaluation of omission and inclusion are references to HBCUs. HBCUs, for these authors, are noted for their rich

¹² See Brereton, Berlin, Kitzhaber

historical and rhetorical contributions to the education of African Americans, and thusly Composition Studies.

Since the turn of the millennium, specifically the last eight years, our field's attention to the HBCU community's engagement with historiography,¹³ writing assessments,¹⁴ composition¹⁵ and digital pedagogy,¹⁶ and writing program administration¹⁷ has been highlighted through a number of journal publications. From the *2010 Reflections, A Journal of Public Rhetoric, Civic Writing, and Service Learning* special issue "Rewriting a Master Narrative: HBCUs and Community Literacy Partnerships" to the more recent 2016 Composition Studies special section "Where We Are: Historically Black Colleges and Universities and Writing Programs," rhetoric and composition scholars are vying for HBCUs' rightful seat at the composition table.

These contributions challenge me to think more critically about how we characterize and define the meaning-making possibilities and practices in and around these institutions. As a result, in defining HBCU literacies, I, like Richardson, am concerned with the ways these learning spaces have been "understood, believed, approached and used" (18) in order to "construct their identities and navigate their environments" (19). Ultimately, then, HBCU literacies reflect the rhetorical understandings of the social practices within and around HBCUs. Drawing on Richardson's defining of both African American and African American female literacies, my characterization of HBCU literacies also seeks to protect and advance the institutions to which they are attached. For

¹³ See Jarratt; Wallace and Bell

¹⁴ See Green, "Expanding"; Daniel; Green, "Raising"

¹⁵ See Fulford and Dial; Lockett and Walker; Spencer-Maor and Randolph, Jr.; Stone and Stewart

¹⁶ See Redd

¹⁷ See Jackson and Jackson; Griffin and Glushko

HBCUs, however, these ends complicate the rhetorical implications of the literacies themselves. Because of the layered histories surrounding these institutions, it is important to carefully think through the historical and social contexts that inform the literacy activity in and around these spaces. More plainly, HBCU literacies cannot be viewed in isolation, but instead demand contextual consideration. As a result, we gain deeper insight into the individuals, events, and moments that shape these institutions and those who interact with them. For me, that interaction remains the catalyst of this project.

Examining the Material Context Surrounding *The View*

The material history surrounding *The View* positions Campbell and Rogers at the center of critical analysis of the text. *The View*'s publication history provides clear insight into the publication and collaboration efforts between the authors. As my introductory narrative details, my introduction to Tougaloo's history centered on my reading of *The View*. From this experience, I quickly learned that co-authors Clarice T. Campbell and Oscar Rodger, Jr. present the earliest and only text exclusively about Tougaloo. Campbell, a white woman, was a native of Pasadena, California. She moved to the South after her husband's death and began teaching at HBCUs in South Carolina and Mississippi. She taught at Tougaloo for two years from 1963 until 1965, leaving to pursue doctoral studies in history at the University of Mississippi. Upon graduation in 1969, she worked at Rust College until her retirement in 1978. She resided in Mississippi until her death in 2000. Rodgers, a black man, was a native of Natchez, MS and completed his undergraduate studies at Tougaloo College. His career was spent as an educator and minister with multiple degrees from Harvard University and the University of Arkansas. He served as President of Claflin University for ten years and in several

capacities, including professor and dean, at Jackson State University for 24 years. He also resided in Mississippi until his death in 2011. Together, these authors and their interactions with HBCUs and Tougaloo help shape the text most central to this project.

Although the late 20th century yielded a number of scholarly treatments of race relations and higher education,¹⁸ Campbell and Rodgers's 1979 engagement with the subjects proves to be one of the earliest and most geographically concentrated. Further, it is necessary to note its geographic concentration in the Deep South and in Mississippi, two areas with long histories of racial and educational inequality, both respectively and intersectionally. It is not until 1995 that we gain another unprecedented geographically concentrated text through John Dittmer's *Local People: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Mississippi*, which further positions Tougaloo as an integral contributor to historical conversations around race relations and higher education in Mississippi and consequently in the US. Julian Bond, activist and leader in the Civil Rights Movement who helped establish SNCC and former President of the NAACP, describes the text as "the definitive analytical history of the black freedom movement in the nation's most recalcitrant state" (Outside Book Cover). Dittmer, American historian and Professor Emeritus of DePauw University, is an important Mississippi Civil Rights historian and scholar, to which he gives much credit to his thirteen years of service to Tougaloo College as professor, provost, and active member of the institution's community between 1967 and 1979. To add an additional layer to Dittmer's connection to Tougaloo and *The View*, he actively contributed to Clarice T. Campbell's 1963 hiring. Also, when Campbell left Tougaloo in 1965 to pursue doctoral studies, he was influential in the attempts to bring her back to

¹⁸ James D. Anderson's *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (1989) may be the most notable and oft-cited.

Tougaloo upon completion of her degree, but by then it was difficult to make the argument for the hiring, and in this case re-hiring, of white faculty¹⁹ amidst the push for the hiring of black faculty, and for black-centered curriculum to be more prevalent as the Black Campus Movement emerged and the development of the field Black Studies spread across US Higher Education.

In a June 2017 interview, Dittmer shared with me:

Clarice's book came out long before mine. There was nothing on this. So she wasn't deciding not to take my stuff or anybody else's stuff...I'm really glad that she dealt with the 60s and things that were going on there because most college histories are puffs. You know they are written by faculty or somebody and all they talk about how great the school was and if they talk about problems it was always caused by somebody from the outside.²⁰

Unbeknownst to Dittmer, his sentiments regarding the depth and breadth of campus histories mirrored mine. Additionally, he was correct in his characterization of Campbell and Rogers's treatment of the school's history. Throughout the text, there are clear moments where they challenge the present-absence of race in ways that many advocates and members of the Tougaloo community may not have done. For example, when describing the founding of the school and its charter, Campbell and Rodgers argue that "Though Tougaloo University was to serve primarily Negro students, no mention of race was written into the charter. The first normal school graduating class in 1879 included a

¹⁹ Although these national circumstances were true, it is problematic that the President assured Campbell that she would be re-hired upon completing her doctoral studies. See Appendix A.

²⁰ Interview, June 17, 2017.

white student, Luella Miner, daughter of the school treasurer. The school has always been open to whites, but their own prejudice has prevented many from attending” (14). The authors make clear their attempts to tell a factually grounded account of the institution’s history while addressing what was undoubtedly considered taboo topics at the time.

My interviews of Dittmer were very informative and helpful in piecing together contextual elements surrounding the text; this is of particular importance considering both authors are deceased. The interactions were also unique in their delivery, specifically with regard to authorial attribution. When discussing the text, he often referred to Campbell as the author. The published text, however, includes Rodgers as co-author, begging the question: how was this collaboration established? When discussing this authorial addition, Dittmer commented,

Yeah, he (Oscar Rodgers, Jr.) had nothing to do with it. Absolutely nothing. The way it was set up then was that Clarice had written the book. Mississippi Press at the time, by and large, only published authors from Mississippi state universities. Like Mississippi State. If she’d been at Jackson State, they would have done it, but she was at Tougaloo. So, they told her you need a co-author from a Mississippi state university to get this out there. As far as I know, he had nothing to do with the book. So, you’re dealing with Clarice and her dissertation.²¹

A cross-reading of Campbell’s 1967 Master’s thesis, “The Founding of Tougaloo College,” and her 1970 dissertation, “The History of Tougaloo College” did, in fact, prove that *The View* was a result of her previous projects. In many cases, the text was transferred verbatim across the three works. I highlight this continuity in part to support

²¹ Interview, June 17, 2017.

Dittmer's claim, and partially to dig deeper into the historical and cultural economies of print.

Publication Backstory through Campbell's Correspondence in 1970 and 1976

Campbell spent a series of months, practically the entire year of 1970, vying for a publication home for her history of Tougaloo College. As early as January 31, 1970, she was in conversation with Harper and Row, Publishers,²² discussing the publication possibilities. From the correspondence it was obvious that concerns of length and audience were present in Campbell's proposals. She describes the text: "As presently written the story, including footnotes, bibliographical essay, and appendix has 401 pages. These could be reduced somewhat, and the story improved for popular reading, if I were to eliminate footnotes on sources. A section at the end of the book could tell from what sources each chapter was developed without attempting to pinpoint every factual statement." This consideration anticipated the potential of the text being presented as unattractive to a wider readership while simultaneously entertaining the possibility of eliminating what would undoubtedly be a gateway for enhanced knowledge circulation for any audience. Ultimately, the published text, both editions, does include the above-mentioned bibliographical essay with a statement about footnotes that reads:

While this book has a minimum of footnotes, anyone interested in detailed documentation may consult the Ph.D. dissertation, "History of Tougaloo College," by Clarice T. Campbell, 1970, in the libraries at the University of Mississippi, Tougaloo College, and Rust College. The dissertation may also be ordered from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan. *Mississippi: The View*

²² See Appendix B.

from Tougaloo, a revision of this dissertation, parallels it enough to be able to locate documentation for chapters I-XIX. (263)

Sanford, author of the review essay mentioned earlier, notes, “The authors have done a more than creditable job in writing this book, and it demands the interest of social and political as well as educational historians. A bibliographic essay is included, but readers would have preferred immediate identification of sources through footnotes.” I echo Sanford’s observation and add that it raises questions within the politics and practices surrounding the publication of the text. The conversation around footnotes and Campbell’s early consideration of omission invites early attention to her perception of the role of institutional narrative. While it is clear that inclusion of factual information through extensive research was important to her completion of the text, it is not necessarily clear that these priorities remained as she moved from thesis and dissertation to the published text. In fact, it seems clear that a wider “popular” readership was more privileged. The lineage of contemplations around revision, readership, and reception continue across Campbell’s efforts to locate a publication home.

Harper and Row’s disclosure that the history of Tougaloo College “would be too special for [their] general trade list,” did not deter Campbell’s efforts. Presses like Abingdon Press, the book publishing branch of the United Methodist Publishing House, affirmed Campbell’s foresight around audience constraints, but also remained interested amidst the attention to a particular community.²³ The press’s senior editor shared, “My fear is that this would have a very limited market. On the other hand, if it is dealing with universal history in common with other black institutions there may be a publishing

²³ See Appendix B.

possibility involved.” Shortly after this exchange, Praeger Publishers, Inc., the former scholarly, professional, and general interest branch of ABC-CLIO, also affirmed Campbell’s audience concerns, but introduced new possibilities.²⁴ The editor shared, “Unfortunately it will not fit our present list...It undoubtedly is a very well worthwhile project but one that will probably have only a limited readership. You may find most encouraging response from one of the university presses.” These mixed reviews, centered around considerations of readership and reception, ultimately led Campbell to conversations with university presses but didn’t prompt a shift in approach as far as the text was concerned.

One of Campbell’s earliest exchanges with a university press, The University of North Carolina Press (UNC-P), furthered already developed thoughts around readership, arguing, “We have done a few institutional histories in the past, and frankly we have not been too happy with the results. Such works are almost impossible to sell and require extremely large subsidies.” This decision not only added to the growing list of the text’s denunciation, but also introduced economic considerations to the publication possibilities. UNC-P’s response also encouraged Tougaloo as a possible publication option.²⁵ The editor-in-chief shared, “Actually we feel that institutional histories can probably best be handled as a private publication of the school involved—a procedure through which a number of economies can be effected—and we suggest that you explore the possibility.” These sentiments were also reflected by The University of Massachusetts Press,²⁶ whose Director revealed, “I regret having to report that publication by this Press

²⁴ See Appendix B.

²⁵ See Appendix B.

²⁶ See Appendix B.

does not seem possible. Ideally, it should be published by Tougaloo itself, but we realize that is not likely to be possible.” While it is most obvious that these exchanges added to the growing unsuccessful efforts for the publication of the history of Tougaloo College, it is also obvious that the responses were centered around considerations of audience and reception.

The narrative for many emerging scholars’ transitioning from dissertation to monograph, as they relate to publication explorations, might resemble Campbell’s experience as told through her archived letters. For the purpose of this study, Campbell’s experience and archived letters invite deeper inquiries about the text and how it was positioned as a publication. On the one hand, it maintains its position as the first exclusive text about the college. But, on the other, its journey to this position brings issues of intentionality to the fore. After exploring Campbell’s letters detailing publication attempts, I am yet again (re)considering the impact of this text and what she was willing to sacrifice for the publication of the work. The final two presses within the Campbell correspondence chain present additional layers that further complicate *The View*’s publication backstory.

In likely the most shocking turn in the publication exploration journey, Campbell revises her delivery of the justification narrative. In an attempt to move away from the popular appeal, Campbell positioned her text as “more than a story of the college. Reconstruction personalities, race relations, and northern missionaries are all seen in a new light because of primary sources recently made available by the Amistad Research Center at Fisk University.” This description, along with the inclusion of Campbell’s title, “Assoc. Prof. of History,” in the signature line, contributes to efforts to shift the ethos

surrounding the text. The first turn in this journey takes us away from university presses yet again. This time to Viking Press, Inc., now owned by Penguin Random House, but when it was founded in 1925 its primary publication presence was that of nonfiction texts and, according to one of the founders, “distinguished fiction with some claim to permanent importance rather than ephemeral popular interest.”²⁷ This description is important and responds to what might be immediately read as a potentially illogical exploration given the press’s large nonfiction presence. Further, it leads me to directly nuance the other moments of rejection as a coded reading of the inability to view this story of Tougaloo and Mississippi as one of permanent history. Prior to this letter, Campbell was attempting to present her narrative history as one of potential popular interest. Since it was most clear that this approach would not appeal to Viking, her decision to present the descriptive proposal in a different light might have been rooted in an attempt to secure a publication home. In a final attempt to enhance the attractiveness of the text, she includes a post scriptum note saying, “Perhaps I should have mentioned that Touagloo is a predominantly black college near Jackson, Mississippi.” This reference was found in a 1970 letter²⁸ highlighting two days of student demonstrations at Jackson State University that resulted in fatalities and injuries at the hands of state law enforcement.

Campbell’s efforts to highlight the text’s scope and her credibility, paired with the temporal relevance surrounding black institutions of higher learning and the state of the state of Mississippi and the repeated rejection, prompt concerns of whether these

²⁷ See Weber, Bruce. “Thomas Guinzburgh, Paris Review Co-Founder, Dies at 84.” *New York Times*, September 10, 2010.

²⁸ See Appendix B.

responses were in fact, as Dittmer light-heartedly shared, a result of the dissertation not necessarily being a good book; or, could, conversely, prompt concerns of whether these responses were a reflection of thoughts that a book-length engagement with a Mississippi black college was an engagement of *ephemeral popular interest*. Needless to say, Viking Press's editorial director also contended "the work does sound too special for our rather general list, and I think you might be better advised to try a university press." This response²⁹ alongside the others seems to align with the latter in so far as the repeated reference to the text as "too special" reads as coded language surrounding the potential of the material not being connected to their readership, and in turn projecting the potential of an unsuccessful project.

Campbell's final press-seeking correspondence started with communication with the Mississippi Department of Archives and History.³⁰ The letter opens with her reference to the Mississippi History Newsletter's announcement of the "new University and College Press of Mississippi." Campbell continues by asking if publication might be possible and by highlighting the distinction of her work on Tougaloo across her master's thesis and doctoral dissertation, which she mentions she "would revise it somewhat for publication." This introductory letter opened communication that would lead to the eventual publication of the text but continued to add to the text's layered backstory.

After one year of communication, Campbell located her project's home. On December 30, 1970, the University and College Press of Mississippi³¹ shared, "We would be interested in your HISTORY OF TOUGALOO COLLEGE but there are a number of

²⁹ See Appendix B.

³⁰ See Appendix B.

³¹ See Appendix B.

perplexing problems which will have to be solved before we could finally publish it.”

With this information as foundation, the director proceeded to reference the enclosed “Policies and Procedures” document while highlighting the need for the project to be reviewed and approved by the sponsoring campus’s publication committee and then financially supported through the covering of costs of printing and binding. Once these steps were completed, the press would “publish the book and promote sale of the book and return to the university or college a proportionate part of the sale price which is represented by the cost of printing and binding.” The letter concludes by mentioning two additional suggestions requesting that “[her] major professor at the University of Mississippi...write [them] a letter about this manuscript. We would also like for someone in authority at Tougaloo College to read the manuscript and to write us a letter recommending it to us.” Although the University and College Press of Mississippi agreed to publish, there were many additional steps surrounding the sponsorship and support for the work. Since there was no mention of the letters of recommendation included in the “Policies and Procedures” document, it seems that these measures were also an effort to validate the content and perhaps the potential readership and success of the project. In either case, this was only a small success for Campbell’s publication pursuits.

The above series of letter exchanges reveals a particular energy around the text and chronicle Campbell’s steadfast communication around the publication. These communication efforts occurred over the course of 1970 and concluded one day shy of the year’s end when Campbell received a positive response from the University Press of Mississippi. The footer section of the press’s letter included a list of the nine supporting public Mississippi universities and colleges and a respective publishing point of contact.

This list included Oscar A. Rogers's (Jackson State University) name and serves as his first entry into the text's publication narrative, bringing us back to this section's foundational question centered around how the Campbell and Rodgers collaboration was established.

Based on additional archival findings, correspondence between Campbell and Rodgers began approximately six years later in 1976 after Campbell spent some time working on the history and communicating with the press. On March 2, 1976,³² she shared the following changes³³ with the Press's Director:

1. I would change the title [from] *As Viewed from the Cupola of Tougaloo College* [to] *Mississippi: The View from Tougaloo*.
2. In keeping with the title, the cover could picture the original mansion—still in use—with the cupola an outstanding feature. This building is to Tougaloo what the Lyceum building is to Ole Miss.
3. I would remove all documentary footnotes and try to bring any content of human interest or of implication for state history into the main body of the story. I doubt it would be necessary to be any more explicit about the sources than the bibliographic essay is. Any person having an interest in exact sources could get the original dissertation.

To which the Press replied³⁴ with positive approval, the okay to move ahead with revisions, and placement “in a category marked ‘Publication Possibilities for 1977.’” In the conclusion of this response, the necessity for sponsorship arrangements was

³² See Appendix B.

³³ This list reflects some of the changes. They were selected to address the conversations relevant to this chapter.

³⁴ See Appendix B.

reiterated. Campbell's revision list is important because it maintains details that are presented in the original publication. Her decision to maintain the removal of the footnotes and directing readers to her archived dissertation and the press's approval remain decisions of interest in so far as the press's "Philosophy" plainly states that "The basic purpose of the University and College Press of Mississippi is the publication of scholarly works." This omission seemingly does the opposite. At any rate, Campbell and *The View* were moving closer to their publication goals, and her forthcoming communication with Rodgers proves to be the final element of this story.

In late October, Campbell wrote Rodgers³⁵ for the "immediate purpose [of]...ask[ing] if [he] would be willing to write down or tape some of the details concerning the achievements of graduates." She prefaced this request by sharing her recent learning of Rodgers's own attempts to compose a history of Tougaloo. Campbell explains, "It occurs to me that you may have started the story. If so, and if you think we could work together successfully, I'd be happy to share authorship...I certainly do not want to 'cut in' on the work you or anyone else has started." Rogers's November 2nd response³⁶ welcomed to the possibility of co-authorship, but under the condition that Campbell would assign him "specific essential tasks to perform based on [her] present work." From this suggestion, it wasn't necessarily clear how or what Rogers planned to contribute to the text, but it was clear that he wanted those contributions to be clearly outlined and specific in nature. More plainly, it seemed as though his idea of collaboration was more prescriptive in nature. In addition to this request, Rogers shared a

³⁵ See Appendix C.

³⁶ See Appendix C.

sponsorship commitment that would be the final request from the press to be met. He explained,

I can practically guarantee the publication of the book via the University Press of Mississippi. Either Jackson State or the Press, itself, will advance the \$6000 needed in these times to produce 2,000 copies of a hard-cover book of 300 pages. Dividends will be paid on the first copy.

That considered, Dittmer's comment around Rogers's that sparked this particular correspondence exploration is only partially true. Although entering this publication backstory roughly one year prior to the text's publication, he did have quite a bit to do with the final text's publication. What was and remains questionable is the opportunistic approach toward this contribution. It is difficult to decide if he was totally taking advantage of a moment based on his position within the press and at Jackson State and/or if the journey around the securing of a publication home left Campbell essentially with no other option to get what she called a "fascinating and inspiring story" out to the public. In either case, Campbell had secured the sponsorship for publication and Rogers would now serve as co-author. In her response³⁷ to his sponsorship offer, Campbell agrees to his terms while stating, "before we come to a decision, you should read what I have done." I believe this could open channels for more collaborative exchange or could even speak to the press's early request of a reading from someone connected to Tougaloo. She continued to explain that her dissertation was in the L. Zenobia Coleman Library, and that the manuscript was generally the same with some revision, which supported my finding and Dittmer's comment. In her final requests, she asked that Rogers "write the

³⁷ See Appendix C.

first chapter on ‘Has Tougaloo Made a Difference?’...[lend] assistance in the condensing of chapters 2-6...[agree] to co-author the final chapter to round out the first century...[and] [collaborate] general editing for technical matters.” The final correspondence from Rogers³⁸ simply read “...I am writing...to state that your letter of the 11th was received. We will comment later.” It is difficult, then, to know if he agreed to the terms of the agreement or not.

Like my varied responses across reading *The View*, my awareness of the publication attribution shifted also as my exposure. This shift was largely motivated by Dittmer’s comment and further supported by engagement within the archives. Initially, I found it notable that *The View* was published by The University Press of Mississippi, which was founded in 1970, insofar as this connection implicated a level of criticality that might not otherwise be associated with the institutional narrative genre. More plainly, it leads the reader to believe that this would be a scholarly text. Given Dittmer’s comment that *The View* preceded his text and was the first to devote exclusive attention to Tougaloo, there is, in fact, a uniqueness to its presentation. However, the absence of elements like footnotes quickly shifts a reader’s ability to see it as such. *The View* was published within the first decade of the University Press of Mississippi’s existence, and while this is certainly no justification for the omission of sources, it raises questions related to the scholarly intent and delivery of the text. To which Dittmer’s commentary might respond,

But the circumstances around the publication of the book were such that I don’t know that it got that kind of vetting that you normally have where you send it out

³⁸ See Appendix C.

to scholars. And have them evaluate it and tell what is needed. I think they basically and I'm not sure about this, you can check her dissertation, but I think basically, it was probably the same publication as her dissertation. And you know what happens when you publish dissertations. While it might be a good dissertation and that's good, that doesn't mean it's going to be a good book.

Kathleen Fitzpatrick's text *Published Obsolescence: Publishing, Technology, and the Future of the Academy* presents a brief exploration around the history of peer review that responds to these textual developments. She offers, "on the one hand, peer review has its deep origins in state censorship, as developed through the establishment and membership practices of state-supported academies; on the other, peer review was intended to augment the authority of an editor rather than ensure the quality of a product." In either case, the temporality and historical context surrounding the publication of *The View* introduce questions around how such a publication speaks directly to the historical and cultural economies of publishing and authorship. To add an additional layer to the University Press of Mississippi publication critique that speaks to Fitzpatrick's observation of state censorship and state-supported academies and Dittmer's admission of the politics surrounding *The View*'s publication, I turn to the composition of university presses in the US. Of the nation's 100-plus university presses, only five reflect a consortium structure. That is to say, there are only five university presses whose makeup is reflective of multiple state-funded universities. The University Press of Mississippi is included. While publishing has shifted a great deal since this press was founded in 1970, the potential for presenting a unified representation of entities as well as excluding others adds to the interesting and fraught history of *The View*.

In my final efforts to explore the material history surrounding *The View*, I turn my attention to the text's front matter. The first edition, published in 1979, attributes publication to The University Press of Mississippi, as stated earlier, but also notes "this volume is sponsored by Jackson State University." Through this presentation, it is unclear if this sponsorship is monetary, embodied, or both, but it certainly connects with Dittmer's disclosing of the politics surrounding publishing with the University Press of Mississippi and the information garnered through evaluation of the above correspondence, proving that it could be both modes of sponsorship. The second edition, published in 2002, attributes publication to Tougaloo College, noting that the text was "originally published by the University Press of Mississippi." Regarding sponsorship, the front matter includes a white adhesive mailing label that reads (line 1) "First edition sponsored by Jackson State University." (line 2) "Second edition sponsored by Tougaloo College." Tougaloo's attempts to maintain and communicate ownership, support, and publication attribution are clear. In a phone interview with a representative at the University Press of Mississippi, I learned that Tougaloo secured rights to the text after it was no longer in print. In this moment of reclaiming the narrative, it is striking that many changes were not made to the core text. In fact, the 2002 edition is an exact reprint of the text, with exact pagination alignments, with the addition of three sections: (1) a second acknowledgements section penned by Oscar Rodgers, Jr.; (2) an additional chapter complete with a letter from the college's then interim president James Wyche; and (3) an additional epilogue titled, "Tougaloo Continues to Make a Difference." To the original point of sponsorship, in the second acknowledgements section, Rodgers notes "...we are indebted to many researchers, but especially to the memory and legacy of Dr. Clarice T.

Campbell, who in 1994 rekindled interest in an expanded edition of the 1978 edition...” He continues, “H.T. Drake, National Alumni Association President, [who] spear headed the drive to publish and finance the second edition...Clarence W. Hunter, archivist, for his role in the production of Chapter 22...” and concludes with a list of alumni who “provided the finance for [the] 2002 publication.” For the second edition, modes of sponsorship seem to be clearly defined, yet the reclamation efforts seem to fall flat. While Rodgers’ role as an alumnus contributor might remain ambiguous for the original publication, it does stand as an interesting consideration that prompts me to explore more nuanced approaches to viewing Tougaloo’s history. These approaches require a literal and figurative turning of the page—one that maintains a critical eye toward both the history and the future.

HISTORICAL INTERLUDE: UNCOVERING THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE BEITTEL—OWENS PRESIDENTIAL TRANSITION

The Beittel—Owens Presidential transition is one of Tougaloo’s most pivotal leadership shifts. Amidst the struggles forwarded by the Civil Rights Movement on the campus, in Mississippi, and throughout the United States, Tougaloo inaugurated its first Black President. This “Historical Interlude” looks first to *The View* and then to archived government documents and textual historical scholarship to advance conversations around this leadership transition and further explicate the need for more than one narrative delivery of Tougaloo’s history, in this instance as it relates to Presidents Beittel and Owens.

As Dittmer mentioned in one portion of his interview, Campbell and Rodgers’s text was the first of its kind to address directly matters of race within the state of Mississippi through Tougaloo College. Although this project largely argues against top-down approaches to institutional histories, it is important to examine the top-down presentation forwarded through *The View*. It is through the narrating of presidencies and leadership shifts that readers gain insight into the views and critiques circling both Mississippi and Tougaloo. My decision to focus on the Beittel—Owens Presidential transition is largely informed by the unprecedented racial presence of a Black president at Tougaloo. When consulting *The View*’s conversation about and around the transition, the authors devote the final chapters, Chapter 20: “Beittel and Civil Rights” and Chapter 21:

“Rounding out the Century,” discussing the presidencies of both men, respectively. The final two pages of chapter twenty and the opening two pages of chapter twenty-one briefly describe the leadership transition. The brevity of the discussion led me to explore developments surrounding the transition that many have surfaced after Campbell and Rogers’s publication.

In the final pages devoted to Beittel’s presidency, Campbell and Rodgers describe an “announcement in the spring of 1964 by the board of trustees that Dr. Beittel would be leaving as of September” (216). When discussing the shock that many of the campus community members experienced, the authors reference a press release provided by the board of trustees stating that “Dr. Beittel will retire but have no adequate reason” (216). After many speculations of illness, political pressure, and concerns from “students who begged him to reconsider and friends of the college who feared that Tougaloo was finally surrendering to intimidation” (216), Beittel stepped down from the position. The board leaders offered the following letter:

Under his forthright guidance on the Tougaloo campus, the College at long last has become a beacon of light, as well as a goal, for the fulfillment of the principles so necessary for Mississippi. His leadership as President, his unhesitating expressions of courageous insight into our problems on campus and in public, his display of moral integrity without regard to personal cost, his dignity, if you please, all of these qualities have redounded to the credit of the Congregational Christian who sponsor Tougaloo, as they have been a profound source of strength for others.

We, of course, will not presume to intrude in the particular academic and administrative areas which are your concern as members of Tougaloo's Board of Trustees. We do take the liberty of emphasizing that a change in the Presidency juncture will so complicate current critical issues about Tougaloo and race relations that the advances of the past few years will be seriously endangered. The reaction to the enemies of Tougaloo has already been made obvious in the press: Dr. Beittel's leaving is a victory for them and the first step in the control which must be exercised by the racists of Mississippi on the campus. Tougaloo is finally surrendering to intimidation. (216-217)

The letter positioned Beittel's leaving as voluntary, which would later prove to not totally be factual. Most telling from the letter, though, was the underhanded and forced removal of a more than capable and celebrated leader for the sake of avoiding racial strife. Campbell and Rodgers note, "The board asked Dr. Beittel to announce his voluntary retirement, but he chose not to be a part of the deception. He would not have left his former post at Beloit College for a mere four years at Tougaloo. He had the board's written assent to his remaining until age seventy. In short, he was not retiring of his own free will, yet he could not openly oppose the board at so critical a time for the college. The board asked George Owens, the school's business manager, to be acting president as of September 1, 1964" (217). The transition was coded as one informed by the need for a younger leader. The ageism appeal was shallow in so far as the board was aware of Beittel's age when he was appointed. Although Campbell and Rogers do not go into great detail about the curious nature of this transition, their allusion to the matter was undoubtedly critical. It is likely that their criticism and interrogation were limited to the

information available and the willingness to share said information during the time, or the lack thereof.

The authors advance their conversation around the board leaders and the presidential transition by describing that “those members of the board of trustees who were persuaded that Tougaloo needed a younger man at the helm expected to bring to the college a scholarly and distinguished person to be the new president. Several such persons did come to Tougaloo to make their own appraisals of the position offered” (218). Rather than confront the perhaps unspoken realities that informed Beittel’s removal, Tougaloo moved forward with finding Beittel’s replacement. According to Campbell and Rodgers,

After a year of looking for a new president, a member of the board came to Tougaloo to announce that in the board’s search far afield it suddenly realized that it was overlooking the talent at Tougaloo’s doorstep. Acting President George Owens, the board members asserted, had the qualifications sought. In addition, he was thoroughly familiar with Tougaloo, his alma mater, where he had earned his bachelor’s degree in economics. He had been Tougaloo’s business manager under two presidents and for the past year had served as acting president. (218)

Although the nature of Beittel’s removal and the immediate need for new leadership was clear, Campbell and Rodgers’s brief engagement with this pivotal leadership moment left me longing for more critical commentary. Noteworthy is their admission that “Tougaloo’s first black president was felt to be disadvantaged in some ways. He lacked an earned doctorate though several institutions would soon bestow honorary degrees upon him. His master’s degree from Columbia University. In business administration and

his limited experience as a junior executive at Saks 34th in New York, while unusual for a black man in the mid-twentieth century, did not appear to qualify him to administer a liberal arts college. While he was acknowledged to be a competent business manager, first at Talladega College then at Tougaloo, these positions hardly gave him the broad background expected in a college president” (219). However, beyond his considerations around his background and qualifications, little attention is given to the details surrounding the transition. While Dittmer’s discussion of the temporality of the original publication, 1979, and access to specific information is important, the second edition, 2002, maintains the same brevity, even when additional information and scholarship was available. That considered, the remaining discussion of this chapter evaluates that information and scholarship.

This nation’s long (and continued) battle for civil rights is often described as a crucial time in US history aimed at eliminating Jim Crow segregation and attempting to reform legal and day-to-day aspects of racism throughout the country, specifically in the South. Many argue that the movement began with the 1954 Supreme Court decision *Brown v. Board of Education* or the Montgomery Bus Boycott and culminated in the late 1960s or early 1970s. The body of the research surrounding the CRM continues to grow daily. From conversations centered on the continued relevance of the movement as we approach and pass milestones of victories and tragedies to debates of today’s civil rights concerns, research related to this movement’s history, impact, and future continue to grow. The same can be said for Mississippi’s role in the movement. The body of scholarship directly connected to the state and the movement is represented in several texts, book length fiction and non-fiction publications, peer-reviewed journals,

newspapers and magazines, films, and the like, and spaces, museums and historic places. These representations span a range of foci including, but not limited to, educational spaces, children in the movement, particular pivotal moments, life writing, and countless other areas. Over the past two decades, attention to Mississippi's role in the movement have grown consistently, and many, if not all, look back to John Dittmer's *Local People*. The analytical history prioritizes the role of local people in the movement and forwards the then and continued critical efforts to push back against top-down presentations of history. In so doing, Dittmer reveals pieces of Tougaloo history that had not yet been unveiled, namely details surrounding the presidential transition from Adam D. Beittel to George A. Owens. Dittmer positions his evaluation of Tougaloo's leadership transition in concert with the moments that Mississippi freedom movement leaders were facing hostile takeover attempts. When aligning these turbulent moments, Dittmer introduces Tougaloo into his considerations sharing,

...the white president of Tougaloo College, Daniel Beittel, was encountering similar pressures in his efforts to maintain Tougaloo as an institution open to and supportive of civil rights activities. From the outset of his presidency in 1959 Beittel had refused to discourage student political activity. He had visited the jailed "Tougaloo Nine" after the library sit-ins in 1961 and risked personal injury by joining the students at the Woolworth's lunch counter during the 1963 sit-in. Although no wild-eyed radical—Beittel ran a tight ship on the Tougaloo campus—he was greatly admired by activists for his courage and commitment. For white Mississippians, President Beittel was the symbol of 'communist'

influence at “cancer college.” The state legislature had even threatened to revoke the school’s charter to bring the institution into line. (234)

During the spring 1963 regular session, the Mississippi Legislature drafted a senate bill stating that the Commission on College Accreditation “shall have the power and authority, and it shall be its duty to prepare an approved list of junior and senior colleges and universities located in the State of Mississippi.” This draft was a direct attack at Tougaloo, but it wasn’t the first, so administrators were prepared. In 1947, the state attempted to spitefully revoke the school’s accreditation which they had only gained a little over a decade prior in 1931. The Senate’s attempt to strip the institution of its status as an accredited institution would certainly cripple Tougaloo, potentially indefinitely. That considered, Beittel wrote to Governor Paul Johnson,

I am advised that the House has now passed a bill originally introduced into the Senate as Senate Bill No. 1794 authorizing the State of Mississippi to remove a college from the list of state accredited colleges even though that college may be fully accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. The purpose of the bill is to provide further harassment for Tougaloo College.

If achieved, revoking the college’s accreditation could have severely adjusted the legacy of the institution. With the senate bill looming, the state stood ready to take aim at the school’s reputation for training educators. He also wrote to Dr. William Fidler of the American Association of University Professors, “If Tougaloo College is not on the state approved list, it may be very difficult for our graduates to procure teaching positions in the state of Mississippi.” Bill #1794 was enacted but was altered in such a way that it

merely achieved a public censuring, something Tougaloo was more than accustomed to through the news media and daily press.

These interactions, from the state government to the College and from the College to respective leaders, are reflective of HBCU literacies. These literacies cannot not be effectively evaluated without acknowledging the longstanding historical tradition of the powers that be in multiple spaces dictating what counted as an education in their attempt to maintain control of individuals, specifically African Americans. In their mind, the fear of neglect of that tradition could be detrimental, so they made educational progression for these institutions nearly impossible. Although SACS had accredited the college, the legislature found it necessary to intervene. Plainly, the fear of literacy practices not controlled was unfathomable.

The constant contesting of the existence and viability of these institutions presents a need for literacy practices, here written correspondence, as a means of resistance. Beittel's attempts to both protect and advance the institution unveil the violent social history surrounding this moment in Tougaloo's history. By the time this bill was circulating, the Civil Rights Movement was at its peak in Mississippi, and Tougaloo served as a safe haven and primary base for the movement, making it a target and even a threat. Although the bill was not passed successfully, and the institution remained accreditation, the target shifted from the institution to Beittel. Upon being hired at age fifty-nine (1959), Beittel was assured by the board of trustees that he would serve until age seventy. According to Dittmer, however, in January 1964, "the board informed him that he would be 'retiring' as president that year, on reaching the age of sixty-five" (235). Continuing, Dittmer discusses the previous year, 1963, which introduced the beginning of

“a cooperative relationship with Brown University” (235). Though the relationship was prompted by then Brown president Barnaby Keeney who “had taken an immediate interest in the southern black school, meeting with Tougaloo board members and contacting northern foundations on Tougaloo’s behalf,” Dittmer notes, “Keeney had his own agenda, however, one that did not include Tougaloo’s active involvement in the black struggle” (235). In the concluding engagement with details surrounding this leadership shift, Dittmer shares the following excerpt from Beittel’s correspondence to Keeney. He writes,

I was told that I was to be replaced at the urgent request of Brown University. It was indicated that Brown University would not continue our promising cooperative relationship unless I am replaced, that without Brown University the Ford Foundation will provide no support, and without the foundation support the future of Tougaloo College is very uncertain.

Both Keeney and Tougaloo’s board president, Robert Wilder, denied this was possible. Although private correspondence to Wilder revealed Keeney’s concern that “it would be disastrous if the word got around that Brown was interfering in the internal affairs of Tougaloo,” Dittmer expounds further substantiating his claims around this matter. As these inquiries were settling, financial support was thriving. Prior calls and pleas from black colleges for state and federal assistance went unanswered for years on end; however, support was now being offered, most times without solicitation, by various foundations and government agencies. This upsurge of support was certainly felt at Tougaloo, but it came with a larger cost.

Embedded within these generous support channels was the latent expectation that the institution would align its educational efforts with the promotion of middle-class aspirations. On the surface, these aspirations could be deemed as desirable given the seemingly secure promise of upward mobility for many. But, beyond the surface, these aspirations were not intended to be harmonious with the encouragement of liberation activism, which would certainly put the students and Tougaloo in a compromising position. In a press release announcing the partnership between Tougaloo and Brown, Brown officials stated,

The way is opening today for the Negro to win for himself the rights of American citizenship, including unrestricted opportunity for entrance into professional fields. It is obvious that if he is to take advantage of that opportunity, he must get a better education.

The socio-historical context surrounding the forthcoming leadership shift stands as yet another interesting Tougaloo backstory. It proved that Beittel's "retirement" was irrevocable, and plans were set in motion for his removal. As the efforts were actualized, Mississippi Sovereignty Commission Director Erle Johnston noted, "We are in position to guarantee to the trustees that if Dr. Beittel and Rev. King were removed and education takes place of agitation under the new administration that no punitive action will be taken by the Mississippi Legislature or its officials against the institution." Connecting the removal of individuals to the imagined possibility for enhanced educational opportunity and ensuring no interference from the government provide further insight into the malicious efforts surrounding the leadership shift that would later be celebrated as an unprecedented milestone. Upon parting, Beittel wrote,

What shall I say to a faculty who hope I will “change my mind and remain with the college,” or students who try to persuade me that I should not retire, or friends of the College who fear that Tougaloo “is finally surrendering to intimidation?” Shall I tell them the unvarnished truth that in spite of an agreement with the Board for a longer term of service, I am being sacrificed with hope that his will result in larger financial gifts to the College? Shall I say that while Brown University has not demanded a change of administration at Tougaloo, a change of administration at Tougaloo, a change of administration is being made with the thought that it will be pleasing to Brown University and perhaps the Ford Foundation?

Beittel elected to silently remove himself, never actually speaking the above sentiments, as Brown University and Keeney commenced their reconstructive plans for Tougaloo. The first of these plans was the appointment of George A. Owens: alumnus and the college’s business manager, Owens would serve as the interim President. Within the first year of the restructuring, Owens was inaugurated as the college’s first black President.

The April 1966 edition of *The Tougaloo Chronicle*’s banner “Inauguration of President Owens Marks New Era For Tougaloo College,” heralds details and commentary, which was a seventeen-by-fifteen-inch publication printed on bright pink paper around the inauguration events and celebratory messages surrounding the appointment. When describing Owens’s appointment as the college’s ninth President, writers consistently mention the fact that he was “the first Negro and the first Tougaloo graduate to become the president of Tougaloo College in its history” (2). The Inauguration’s program included an opening symposium titled “Future of the Predominantly Negro Colleges in the United States,” where Keeney, Brown University’s

President, and Kenneth Clark, New York City College Professor of Psychology, were speakers, an exhibition of a model and pictures of “New Tougaloo” were displayed, an address was made by the then President of the Danforth Foundation, with a culminating inaugural ball. It was clear that 1966 not only ushered in a new president, but also new plans for the future of the institution. The promise for cross-institutional and foundation support was apparent in the speakers who presented during the inauguration program. The focus of the inauguration’s symposium is of particular interest for the consideration of the student publications circulating in the years that follow. Placing a discussion of the “Future of the Predominately Negro Colleges in the United States” alongside the exhibition of the “New Tougaloo” make clear the implications of an administrative, both internal and external, push for a very different Tougaloo. This shift was actualized within the decade that followed, but while the seemingly progressive Tougaloo was developing considerations for the future of negro colleges in the US, students were thinking of the future of black colleges in the US. While the distinction between the ‘negro’ and the ‘black’ campus may seem small, it actually spoke directly to larger socio-linguistic and -historic considerations that surfaced during the mid-20th century.

THE BLACK PAST AS GATEWAY: REVIEWING THE BLACK PRESS, THE BLACK ARTS MOVEMENT, AND THE BLACK CAMPUS MOVEMENT

For this study's purposes, Carmen Kynard's *Vernacular Insurrections: Race, Black Protest, and the New Century in Composition-Literacies Studies* (2013) offers a bridge to my considerations of HBCUs and their contributions to the black press. While I will not focus on student protests directly, Kynard's treatment, although brief, of the role of the Black press for black students at black colleges serves as a gateway for new considerations for our field's understanding of student voices via student writing publications. She argues,

Students had an important political presence at the black colleges of the 1920s and came to function as one of the most significant aspects of the New Negro movement. These students had a connection to the political demands being waged outside of their college campuses and saw their battles inside as intrinsically related. The black press itself functioned as its own classroom for these new black college students. (27)

With Kynard's connection in mind, this chapter offers historical engagement with the Black Campus Movement and the Black Arts Movement as a backdrop for analytic consideration of my archival exposure to Tougaloo's February 1969 *Harambee*.

The Black Press

The black press' origins trace back to the 19th century when black Americans were working with and against the ills of slavery. In fact, many historians argue that the black press was created and gained notable success due to its obvious opposition to slavery. With the 1827 release of *Freedom's Journal*, noted as the first black newspaper, this widely accepted conclusion was understandable, considering the press' mission:

We wish to plead our cause. Too long have others spoken for us... We are aware that there are many instances of vice among us, but we avow that it is because no one has taught its subjects to be virtuous; many instances of poverty, because no sufficient efforts accommodated to minds contracted by slavery, and deprived of early education have been made, to teach them how to husband their hard earnings, and to secure themselves comfort.

But, as media historian Bernell Tripp notes, "Slavery was only one of the many issues confronting a race fragmented by varying levels of education, as well as economic and social standing" (10). Similar sentiments can be seen through the stated mission of a later publication of another notable early contributor to the black press' historical lineage, *The North Star* in 1847. Editor Frederick Douglass writes,

While our paper shall be mainly Anti-Slavery, its columns shall be freely opened to the candid and decorous discussion of all measures and topics of a moral and human character, which may serve to enlighten, improve, and elevate mankind. Temperance, Peace, Capital Punishment, Education—all subjects claiming the attention of the public mind may be freely and fully discussed here.

The early contributions of the black press were far-reaching.³⁹ Prior to the Civil War, approximately 40 black newspapers were in circulation across the United States. According to literary scholar Elizabeth McHenry, “The newspaper was at the heart of a new political strategy for the free black community: because of its ability to communicate a common message to a wide audience and thus facilitate organization, the editors believed it to be the *most economical and convenient method* of ensuring *moral, religious, civic and literary improvement of the injured race*” (89). In her monograph, *Forgotten Readers: Recovering the Lost History of African American Literary Societies*, McHenry seeks to “uncover a more nuanced and more accurate history” (10) of African American interaction with literature. In so doing, she looks to “The Cultural Work of The Black Press” to advance her argument that “Generalizations about black illiteracy in the first half of the nineteenth century, coupled with the scholarly attention given to the slave narrative as the primary form of literacy expression by black Americans between 1830 and 1865, have contributed to misrepresentations of the black press in the early nineteenth century” (88). For the literary scholar, this argument is compelling in that it questions the primacy of a particular genre as representative of black writing. For the rhetorician, this argument is compelling in that it invites reconsideration for other examples of misrepresentations of the black press. This project finds examples within the history of the black press at HBCUs, specifically Tougaloo College.

³⁹ My exploration of the black press’ origins and early development is not intended to overlook the contributions from other early nineteenth-century writings that worked toward the expression and circulation of the black experience of the times, i.e. *David Walker’s Appeal* (1827). Although pamphlets and other writings were being produced, I chose to focus on the publications particularly connected to the conversation of newspaper journalism.

In the conclusion of Bernell Tripp's overview of the origins of the black press, she offers a bibliographic criticism of the inclusion of the black press' origins in print literature. She argues, "Despite the abundance of available literature on journalism history, few studies have been done on the early black press" (84). She also notes, "Only brief references [regarding the development of the black press], seldom longer than one or two sentences, were made in most standard journalism history books" (82). Considering the power of the early black press described by McHenry and the progression of the black press presented by Kynard, Tripp's characterization of the brief historical referencing prompted me to turn to a more focused consideration of the black press, Julius E. Thompson's *The Black Press in Mississippi, 1865-1985*.

Thompson begins his exploration of the black press in Mississippi in similar fashion as many media historians whose focuses are the black press—through the necessary referencing of slavery. He explains,

The black press in Mississippi began in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries during the era of slavery. These first efforts at mass communication were expressed through music, songs, religion, language, myths, legends, and stories...spirituals, language, visual and hand signals, preaching, and other symbols communicated news of births, deaths, secret meetings, plans of escape, and hopes and prayers for freedom. (1)

As the historical narrative continues, "The first successful black newspaper in Mississippi began in 1867, when Henry Mason of Vicksburg established the *Colored Citizen*...In November 1868, James D. Lynch established the *Colored Citizen Monthly* in Jackson...the *Canton Citizen* was established in 1869" (Thompson 3-4). Of these early

Mississippi presses, the *Colored Citizen Monthly* was successful for approximately 36 months. Tougaloo College's 1869 establishment is noted for contributing to the production of black press material during the 1860s. Thompson also notes that "press activity increased in the 1870s with the establishment of three additional black colleges" (Thompson 5)—Alcorn University (1871); Southern Christian Institute (1875); and Jackson College (1883). Per Thompson's findings, HBCUs were influential in the success of Mississippi's black press. Over the next century, HBCUs continued to contribute to this success. The 1940s marked an interesting turn for the Mississippi black press. As many presses were recovering from The Great Depression of the 30s, religious and fraternal groups took a commanding presence. By 1949, however, the press focus shifted to more commercially based publications in response to economic sustainability. "The state of Mississippi's black press during the 1940s indicates that a continuous decline occurred in all areas of black journalism except for educational organs. Educational institutions, including Tougaloo College, maintained at least one active publication throughout the decade, while the commercial, religious, and fraternal organs did not succeed as well in keeping their journals going from year to year" (Thompson 24-5).

A similar wave of contributions to Mississippi's black press from HBCUs was noticed in the 1970s as Thompson describes,

Five historically black colleges and universities in Mississippi constituted active press centers during the seventies: Alcorn State University, Jackson State University, Mississippi Valley State University, Rust College, and Tougaloo College. During this period, activities at black colleges

maintained their historical focus on student newspapers and other publications, yearbooks, alumni news bulletins, and general newsletters on the schools' work. (105)

Additionally, he notes,

The second-oldest black college in Mississippi, Tougaloo College, a private institution, boasted a number of quality publications. Tougaloo's strength as a publishing center reflected its historical commitment to academic excellence and social change. Its publications included *The Harambee*, a monthly student newspaper; *Eagle Queen*, an annual yearbook; *Tougaloo News*, an alumni bulletin; *Pound: The Literary Magazine*; and a campus bulletin. (106-7)

Thompson's historic tracing of the black press in Mississippi reveals active and consistent contributions from the HBCUs throughout the state. This project will provide a more focused look at those considerations through publications circulated at Tougaloo College. Much like Kynard's "focus on [a] range of publications of the new black press as the language and out-of-school literacies⁴⁰ of black college students" (28), this project also looks to the college classroom as a space to engage and connect student voices of the past with current student voices that will inform the future. As was the case for the student protesters from the 1920s that Kynard describes, "there [is] a whole lot to talk and think about for a black college student" (28) in today's college classroom. Similarly, "these publications were as much a part of students' curriculum [then] as the work assigned by teachers despite the fact that these newspapers were often Northern-based

⁴⁰ Kynard describes out-of-school literacies as "something beyond classroom instruction, effective pedagogy, or learning outcomes...students' everyday practices as endemic to literacy" (29).

and that black colleges were Southern-based” (28), and they may certainly present some pedagogical affordances now. When John Russwurm and Samuel Cornish motioned the paradigmatic shift concerning who could speak for the Black American in 1827 through the *Freedom’s Journal* publication and circulation, they encouraged voices to resound together in order to *plead their cause* on their own terms, in their own voice.

Kathleen Blake Yancey’s observation that “voice allows writers the ability to define and locate themselves relative to other discourses, to write themselves by appropriating and rewriting others” (Yancey xix), guides my search for student voices within *The View*. This historiographic presentation of voice is one that allows me to appreciate conversations regarding voice that range from thoughts of voice as the writerly presentation of a *true* self and the resulting rhetorical power⁴¹ to considerations of voice as a social construction,⁴² but also to move beyond these ideas in order to connect voice with more cultural and historical representations. For me, voice is a concern attached to the rhetorical power gained from self-awareness and representation.

With such a far-reaching and influential history, it is no surprise that Peter Elbow once shared sentiments regarding “the biggest problem for voice as a critical term may come from its fans. The term has been used in such a loose and celebratory way as to mean almost anything” (Elbow, “What”). Elbow continues by offering distinct markers of voice as an attempt to offer critical insight on how we engage voice. These insights have even been revisited by Elbow as he posits “Voice used to be a hot critical term in the pages of journals, but our current scholarly conversation has gone rather quiet” (Elbow, “Voice”). His observation of voice’s once “hot”-ness may very well be true, as a

⁴¹ See Elbow; Young; Danilewicz

⁴² See Dozier

keyword search using the term “voice” across the field’s major journals yields an excess of 100 articles either directly or peripherally related to the term between 2010 and 2016⁴³. The “quiet”-ness, however, is debatable. Since Elbow’s observation in 2007, voice *has* been visible, but in ways that differed from earlier presentations. Some examples include, but are certainly not limited to writing pedagogy and program administration,⁴⁴ linguistics,⁴⁵ and publication practices.⁴⁶ From a historiographic perspective, voice functions as motivation for the development of projects that employ archival research methods. Often, it is the response to omitted voices and the acknowledgement of the rhetorical power their presence might bring to our field⁴⁷ and others that connect voice and historiography. When pinning my position within this connection, I see voice functioning in the way that Royster defines it in her oft-cited article, “When the First Voice You Hear Isn’t Your Own” – voice as a visual and oral “phenomenon” that is “heard, perceived, and reconstructed.” Understanding voice as a rhetorical phenomenon gives the term potential to shape projects such as Patricia Sullivan’s “In Search of Past Classroom Practices: In Search of Students’ Voices,” where the voice is positioned in a manner that not only interrogates past pedagogical approaches, but also places value on viewing voice as representation. Similar to the Royster and Williams’s acknowledgement of the need for more diverse and inclusive disciplinary historical representations, Sullivan views the inclusion of student voices in institutional and pedagogical narratives as a revision that is mutually beneficial for the past, present, and future of our understanding

⁴³ Keyword search generated through JSTOR, Science Direct, and Literature Online.

⁴⁴ See Powell; Bryant; Zawacki

⁴⁵ See Tardy; Matsuda “Identity”; Olinger

⁴⁶ See Matsuda “Coming”; Hasswell

⁴⁷ See Royster, *Traces*; Mattingly, *Water Drops*; Logan, *With Pen*

of voice, narrative, and histories. I, too, find value in such understandings of voice as they result in movement toward the representation and consideration of diverse voices. While these diverse voices are present in many areas of our field's conversations, scholars theorizing about the intersection of digital humanities and rhetorical historiography are developing projects, such as this one, that contribute to the growth of said intersection by introducing new sites for innovations to our field's understanding of the future of historiography. Working within Tougaloo's archival holdings offers diverse voices that introduce scholarly benefits for the field of Rhetoric and Composition and HBCU communities at large.

Navigating the Archive

In order to effectively gain an understanding of the narrative history and narrative future, this project employs conceptual questions regarding the relationship between historiographic methodologies and archival methods, the ethical and practical implications attached to the recording and collection of oral histories, the importance of narrative inquiry as a means of engaging voice, namely student voices, and the development of digital humanities initiatives that might aid both institutional histories and futures through the collection and digital housing of Tougaloo Voices.

Historiography allows scholars space to investigate, interrogate, and interpret history for purposes ranging from personal interest to those of challenging ideologies and practices of a particular group. Inherent in these inquiries is the presence of narratives that scholars often locate with hopes of increasing and enhancing the possibility for more diverse and inclusive historical representations in scholarly conversations.⁴⁸ In

⁴⁸ See Royster; Gilyard; Villanueva

understanding the power and possibilities that historiography holds in shaping and reshaping histories, researchers are charged with the responsibility of considering how and where they are positioning themselves. This positioning is not reflective of theory necessarily, but often a methodological positioning⁴⁹ that introduces, as Jessica Enoch and Cheryl Glenn suggest, the potential for “fruitful, research-launching dissonance” (21). Such positioning can be charted through disciplinary discussions held during the field’s annual Conference on College Composition and Communication (CCCC) via Octalogs⁵⁰ on the topic of historiography and related conversations. A retrospective look at the Octalogs charts our disciplinary understanding and engagement with rhetorical historiography. With conversations ranging from methodological approaches and motivations for scholarship in rhetorical history (Octalog I, 1988) to focused considerations of ideologies of intersectionality and where and how we position rhetorical history in scholarship (Octalog II, 1997) to forward-looking considerations of rhetorical history as it relates to digital research (Octalog III, 2010), these Octalogs serve as my guide for understanding one approach to these rhetorical and historical inquiries—archival research methods. The Octalogs, as Lois Agnew describes, do not mark “our field’s preoccupation with historiography.” They do, however, “constitute a unique occasion that illuminates varying perspectives concerning the construction of history, methods of researching and writing rhetorical histories, what counts as evidence, the

⁴⁹ See Wu; L’Eplattenier

⁵⁰ Panel Organized by James J. Murphy, Octalog I: The Politics of Historiography (1988) (James Berlin, Robert J. Connors, Sharon Crowley, Richard Leo Enos, Victor J. Vitanza, Susan C. Jarratt, Nan Johnson, Jan Sweaingen); Panel Organized by Richard Leo Enos, Octalog II: The (Continuing Politics of Historiography (1997) (Janet Atwill, Linda Ferreira-Buckley, Cheryl Glenn, Janice Lauer, Roxanne Mountford, Jasper Neel, Edward Schiappa, Kathleen Welch); Panel Organized by Lois Agnew, Laurie Gries, and Zosha Stuckey, Octalog III: The Politics of Historiography in 2010 (2011) (Vicki Tolar Burton, Jay Dolmage, Jessica Enoch, Ronald L. Jackson, LuMing Mao, Malea Powell, Authur E. Walzer, Ralph Cintron)

ethics of historical scholarship, and the role of history in the field” (Agnew, Introduction).

For me, the Octalogs offer a perspective of the field’s movement away from “The Rhetorical Tradition... [toward] the experiences of women, people of color, and the working class” (Miller, Octalog III, 2010)—a movement that allows my embodied identity markers, cultural experiences, and scholarly gaze to intersect with our field’s progression toward what Gwendolyn Pough describes as the expansion and embrace of our diverse and interdisciplinary lenses (2011 CCCC Chair’s Address). The Octalogs signal paradigmatic shifts in our understanding of the field at-large with specific regards to the ways in which we view research methodologies, how we engage with them, and how they shape our disciplinary trajectories. These shifts in historical perspectives place historiographic methodology central to considerations of understanding the past and consequently the future. Though this shift may seem logical and even expected, since history is arguably inextricably linked to the future, it has forged paths that led to reconsiderations of disciplinary archives⁵¹ which have given rise to the way that the discipline has understood its own history as a means of informing its disciplinary future. Historiography as a methodology has increased scholarly archival presence and in turn increased disciplinary understandings of its history and function. For this project, as Tougaloo’s motto suggests, linking the past and the future functions as a conceptual crux that allows me to use my past HBCU experience in concert with my future disciplinary desires related to historiography as “a filter and a lens,” (37) as Gaillet suggests, that prompts engagement with archival collections at Tougaloo. By reflecting on Tougaloo’s

⁵¹ See Brereton; Enoch, “College English”

past, it is my hope to imagine possibilities for the future that incorporate this project's reflective and forward-looking gaze in both scholarship and instruction.

As scholars were reflecting on the usefulness of their own history in the 1999 special issue of *CCC*, "A Useable Past: *CCC* at 50," Jacqueline Jones Royster and Jean C. Williams actively presented these notions of narrative privileging and suggested a more dynamic approach to narrative representations. Royster and Williams write:

The imperative is to emphasize the need for historicizing practices that both contextualize the historical view, as composition narratives typically do, but that go beyond contextualizing to treat that view as ideologically determined and articulated. This imperative indicates that, while we recognize that narratives of composition have been successful in increasing our understanding of long-range views of the field, we recognize also that these same narratives have simultaneously directed our analytical gaze selectively, casting, therefore, both light and shadow across the historical terrain. (581)

Historiography works within the light and the shadow to not only reveal "the negative effects of primacy," but also to encourage shifts in priority. Royster and Williams attend to the necessity for inclusive narratives that do more than contextualize what it means to be inclusive. By going beyond contextualization for the purposes that Royster and Williams describe, historiography discovers spaces, places, voices, and histories that may have remained uncharted otherwise. Archival research methods, then, serve as a vehicle to both more diverse representations of omitted and marginal voices, as well as a way to foster innovation in how these discoveries are collected, shared, circulated, and

discussed.⁵² This project looks across Tougaloo’s historical terrain recognizing the value of the history shared within the pages of the published narrative, but also acknowledging the need to explore both the light and shadow for historiographic possibilities that might present perspectives beneficial to bridging history and the future.

Beyond the 50th-year milestone reflection and the millennial moment described above, historiographic approaches that charge scholars with the task of recovering and re-theorizing work—that they deem important—has a unique relationship with archival research methods. In this way, archival methods allow researchers like myself the autonomy, not only to explore, but, also, to actively pursue projects that might otherwise be omitted from conversations that inform understandings of the past, interrogations of the present, and considerations of the future. Thus, exposure to diverse presentations of archival engagements via approaches such as feminist rhetorical practices,⁵³ cultural rhetorics,⁵⁴ and pedagogical approaches⁵⁵ challenge disciplinary boundaries while introducing new faces, places, and events to our field.

For Rhetoric and Composition, engagement with and around archival research methods has forged connections with larger conversations about qualitative research methods,⁵⁶ which has resulted in cross disciplinary discussions with social sciences and cultural studies.⁵⁷ Conversations around archival research can be linked to larger disciplinary considerations such as connecting the archives to rhetoric (“Archivists with

⁵² See Morris and Rose; Lerner; Bloom

⁵³ See Royster and Kirsch

⁵⁴ See Powell; Cushman

⁵⁵ See Enoch; Huot; Sullivan

⁵⁶ See Kirsch and Sullivan; Enoch; Gold; Sullivan

⁵⁷ See Brooks; Galloway; Hamilton, et al.; and Cvetkovich

an Attitude”),⁵⁸ rationale for using archival methods,⁵⁹ definitions of archives,⁶⁰ modes of access,⁶¹ re-theorization of archival research,⁶² and evaluated rhetorical value associated with archives.⁶³ Amidst these varying engagements with archival research methods, the connections made between histories and the individuals studying them is driven by personal modes of inquiry. Those engagements considered, I use “the personal as method,” as Liz Rohan suggests, to make connections within our field and beyond—across disciplines, communities, generations, races, classes, etc.—that may have remained marginally engaged otherwise.

Such connections attract researchers like myself who rely on the affordances of “cross-boundary discourse” and subjective subject positioning⁶⁴ when locating useful research methods for completing this project. By centering this project’s inquiry on archival research methods, this reciprocity introduces possibilities for researchers like myself to embody Rohan’s thoughts on the necessity of “living the research.” This notion encourages “using place as an extension of the archive to imagine past and reordering...felt impressions, particularly when acknowledging the ethical dilemmas” (233) associated with such reciprocal possibilities. When considering the social process of archival research, Neal Lerner raises questions of ethics, cautioning researchers of the importance of “self-check[ing]” regarding “the intents and biases to the act of research just as one would with qualitative research when the researchers attempting to render as accurately as possible the social world of the research participants” (203-4). As I consider

⁵⁸ Special collection of CE in 1999

⁵⁹ See Connors; Glenn; Mattingly

⁶⁰ See Brereton

⁶¹ See Ferreria-Buckley; Enos; Biesecker; Ramsey; Warnick; Morris and Rose

⁶² See Ritter; Gaillet

⁶³ See Ramsey, et al.

⁶⁴ Royster, “When”

my positionality as an HBCU alumna and a budding scholar of color within our field, and the ethics of engaging research related to and about Tougaloo and HBCUs at-large, I turn to Royster's presentation of an afrofeminst ideology which extends the promotion of reciprocity by encouraging that "we speak and interpret *with* the community, not just *for* the community, or *about* the community" (275). That considered, my self-checking experience reveals my concerns associated with ethical ways of dealing not only with the archival aspect of the project, but also the aspects that look forward and incorporate digital humanities methodologies such as Jim Ridolfo's textual diasporas, which allow me to incorporate oral history methods in relationship to digital archives as a method that might enhance conversations related to the representation of student voices within Tougaloo's history.

In a brief interview with a Tougaloo Alumna, Marta C. Youngblood,⁶⁵ who worked extensively on student newspapers during her time as a student at Tougaloo College, I learned of her interest in the materiality of the publications which resulted in the composing of her senior thesis, "A Historical Perspective on the Student News Publications of Tougaloo College (1890-2000)," which she completed in 2002. Although she could not locate a copy of that project,⁶⁶ she did recall a good deal about her experience while writing the culminating project. Alongside comments concerning the extensive collection of newspaper publications available with the college's archival collection, Youngblood commented specifically on her engagement with Harambee. She mentioned briefly that during her project she was drawn to learning more about what students were doing and saying within this publication because it was actively circulating

⁶⁵ Her name was Marta Gwyn Collier while a student at Tougaloo.

⁶⁶ I was able to locate the manuscript in Tougaloo's records.

during her time as a student. She went on to comment about her shock at the gaps of archived entries during the Civil Rights Movement, specifically 1969, given Tougaloo's active involvement and contributions to the movement. I share this short anecdotal reference as an introduction to the methodological underpinnings of my engagement with Tougaloo's student newspaper publications.

Prior to traveling to Tougaloo to visit the archives, I made many attempts to contact the college's library staff. After weeks of leaving many voice messages and sending emails, I learned that the archivist position was one of transition. Since Tougaloo had recently acquired the Medgar Evers Home and Museum, longtime archivist Ms. Minnie Watson would be leaving her post at Tougaloo for daily operations and working in full capacity in the Evers space, and Mr. Tony Bounds would be taking on the role of archivist. In my initial conversation with Mr. Bounds, I briefly shared my alumnae relationship with the college and my interest in the student newspaper publications, to which he replied, "Ms. Echols, we have everything you need right here. I look forward to meeting you soon."

Upon my arrival at the library and signing of the archive's visitor log, Mr. Bounds shared more about his Tougaloo backstory at which point I learned that he served as an archival intern-of-sorts at Tougaloo during his graduate studies. As he directed me to the room where the newspapers were boxed, he mentioned that one of his early tasks was the cataloging of the student newspapers, which explained his enthusiastic declaration that everything I needed would be at Tougaloo. When we arrived in the room, one section of a long series of shelves held several boxes, all of which held the student newspapers I'd hoped to locate. The boxes, from ceiling to floor, were far more than I expected, and I

eagerly began looking through the finding aid and within the boxes. As I moved through the boxes while talking with the archivist, I realized that I would have to focus my search a bit more to effectively engage the student publications alongside *The View*.

Initially, I planned to manage the possible 100-plus years of history and events reported through the news outlets by dividing my archival exploration into two parts surrounding the year 1965. In addition to this notable shift in leadership through Owens's Presidential appointment, *The View* also alludes to other mimeographed papers that addressed Tougaloo's history—*Tougaloo Enterprise*, as early as 1884, *Tougaloo Quarterly*, as early as 1885, and *Tougaloo News*, as early as 1954. After many visits to the archives and more careful evaluation of the newspapers, I learned that it was not until the mid-1960s that student publications were consistently present on campus. Although the above publications included entries about the college, and even discussed students, they were not necessarily products of student journalists. In fact, it was difficult to determine whether authors were faculty, staff, or students. What was clear, however, was that the presentation of information, the subscription-based delivery, and the overall focus of the entry was aimed at promoting a particular image of the college—one that would yield continued support and/or new support from individual and organizational donors. As a result, I decided to forego focusing on publications prior to 1965 since they were not largely published by students. It is important to note that several short-lived auxiliary publications surfaced simultaneously, but I maintain the decision to not include them here. Instead, I will briefly highlight that their sporadic presence further proves the contrast in the delivery of information and perhaps the indirect desire for students to organize their views through written communication.

The Black Arts Movement, The Black Campus Movement, and Black Student Newspapers

At this point of the early archival journey, I had eliminated publications prior to 1965 for my study's sample. The 1965 temporal marker, however, remains because of the larger context of the leadership shift mentioned above. Further, I anticipated locating student writing and commentary that either commented on or responded to this shift. In order to do so, I turned back to the text where Campbell and Rogers highlight that "In 1967 at least six student mimeographed papers published more or less regularly and freely circulated on campus" (226). The news outlets, *Encore*, *The Occasional Ripple*, *The Student Voice*, *Harambee*, *Alpha Speaks*, and *The Nitty Gritty*, each offered and continue to offer (*Harambee*) unique presentations of Tougaloo history and life. Of those six publications, all except *Harambee* were auxiliary publications that were not circulating for a substantial period. That considered, *Harambee*, then, became the focus of the student newspaper publication evaluation. With this focus in the fore, I quickly accepted that an exhaustive study of this newspaper would take me down a journalism-focused analysis instead of the historiographic exploration I intended to complete. As an attempt to maintain attention to the newspapers, I considered the larger historical context surrounding Tougaloo, finding that much of the scholarly discussion including the college connects to the Civil Rights Movement. While this narrative is extremely important and far-reaching, it is important to consider effective means for history to meet the future and continue to progress through history. Put differently, my navigation through the archives was fueled by a desire to move beyond the Civil Rights Movement. Consequently, my study picks up at the intersection of the Black Campus Movement and the Black Arts Movement.

Alongside considerations of the BAM, the remainder of this chapter's engagement with Tougaloo's student newspapers centers on Tougaloo's contributions to the BCM via student activism compositions. Since the *Harambee* was not published on February 13, 1969, which Rogers describes as "the apex of the Black Campus Movement" (2), the forthcoming representative sample focuses on publications from February 1969 instead. The seven respective publications offer insight into activist contributions Tougaloo students made to the larger movements. Further, these publications are analyzed on the basis of the content they present, how that content reads alongside the published narrative, and how the compositions align with the larger narrative of the BCM.

This narrative, as characterized throughout Rogers's *The Black Campus Movement* text, reflects a spectrum of student activism. Some of these deliveries include, but are not limited to, student walk-outs, active calls for the hiring of faculty and the reshaping of curriculum through course offerings and foci, and rallies, some that often unfortunately ended in unexpected violence and even fatalities. The range of activism across US campuses of higher learning was not restricted to any particular geographic region and in some cases not limited to Black students. The movement was centered on more diverse and inclusive practices that prioritized the Black experience through learning opportunities and engagement. For the HBCU, however, this activism included an additional layer. Because of the race-centered intention of the existence of the HBCU, the movement's impact could be read as potentially more impactful. Rogers spends a good amount of the book positioning HBCUs within the movement. These efforts provide a critical perspective on the activist contributions students made in the early and

developing stages of the movement. Further, his treatment of their role often revealed the painful and layered realities of race, education, and the constraints of freedom these student activists faced. One example highlights,

Early in the movement, HBCU students faced the bulk of the repression and opposition. For instance, one of the black campus protests to become national news was headlined by what would become a familiar occurrence during the movement—brutality by Mississippi state troopers, many of whom, like other troopers and policemen across the South, were suspected KKK members. Troopers threw heaps of tear gas at one thousand protesting students and community members at Alcorn State in April 1966, and clubbed them with nightsticks and rifle butts. “Brutality! Brutality! Brutality!” A woman shouted at one point. The shout would reign throughout the BCM. (130)

Rogers explains that his inclusion of these instances is intended to properly situate the work of student activism at HBCUs. Embedded within this explanation are attempts to alleviate the expectation that the work of the BCM was happening for quite some time and that HBCUs were also actively contributing to the movement. The latter point is important because it may have been commonplace to assume that there was no need for these institutions to consider a more pronounced and visible Black presence in curriculum and faculty. But, given the complicated histories described in the previous chapters and the large presence of white faculty and consistent white leadership, HBCUs actually stood as a more viable location for this type of activism.

HBCU student newspapers were integral in promoting and circulating the campus activist activities and ideas. Rogers describes,

Black student newspapers influenced the construction and circulation of their ideology. Urban rebellions, black power, gender issues, and the notion of a Black University were a few of the many topics columnists discussed in HBCU newspapers, just as writers carried stories on the demands and protests at their schools (and other institutions). In many cases, the editors of HBCU student newspapers were activists—specifically at the movement’s height in 1969. Sometimes campus newspapers were the voice of the struggle at HBCUs, resulting in some administrators clamping down on them with the same ferociousness as they did on protests. (84-85)

The writing presented by student journalists in these publications often present some of the most candid takes on the day-to-day happenings on a campus and in many cases the world beyond that campus. That considered, the writing itself is a form of activism. The balancing of risk and responsibility for these writers is commendable considering the potential of administrative push back or even surveillance by the FBI.⁶⁷ These stakes were so very high for student activists and equally high for those who reported on them. In some cases, the reporting could be viewed as having higher stakes when considering the potential of the information circulating beyond the campus. In either case, activism and writing as activism was rising.

In the final core chapter of *The View*, “Rounding Out the Century,” readers are introduced to the most clear examples of the above-mentioned activism—both actively performed and composed. Campbell and Rogers’s brief mention of the student

⁶⁷ “During the 1960s and the 1970s, the Jackson FBI office took great interest in campus activities because ‘Tougaloo College has been a staging area for civil rights and militant negro activities in Mississippi’ (Campbell and Rogers 229).”

newspapers position the newspapers as a space where students were “given freedom to express their own ideas.” While these outlets could indeed present a viable space for freedom of expression, it is true, to Ibram Rogers’s point, that the administration often maintained close watch of the information being circulated within these publications. In fact, circling back to anecdotes shared in Youngblood’s interview reveals that there were active measures in place for monitoring what was published. She mentions that perhaps in the 1960s and 1970s there was less of this energy, but she doubts it. She recalls being asked not to publish certain pieces and even threatened by loss of her scholarship and certain privileges for insisting that certain stories be included in publications. Although recollections shared by individuals may be one of the few ways that we can gain insight into these particular experiences that were never reported, many of the entries that were presented in the student newspaper reflect details of engagement and activist activities nevertheless. Such is the case for Tougaloo’s *Harambee*. Ibram Rogers mentions that this publication “publicized the idea and activities of the BCM” (85). He continued by mentioning that these student journalists “challenged the campus community on its racism, and discussed major black power leaders in 1969 and the early 1970s. Poetry, short stories, book reviews, essays, announcements, tributes to black women and men, and drawings accompanied the articles” (85). The range of information and expression within the publications was extensive, spanning localized campus coverage, conversations around national events, and commentary rooted in social critique of topics like nationalism, pride, and education. Also compelling was the circulation of the publications. As mentioned above, the early iterations of campus news, specifically those with entries not composed by student journalists, were circulated throughout the US to

subscribers. Though there was no subscription element associated with the student publications, the circulation possibilities were far-reaching as individuals beyond the campus also had access to news publications. For many HBCUs, the sharing of campus news resembled the circulation reach of the earlier black press, in so far as the sharing of information was not limited to the locales in which they were composed, and very often the sharing became an effective means of communicating events and conversations far and wide. The Black Campus Movement highlights a specific instance where Tougaloo's publication had such an impact. Ibram Rogers notes, "A presumably white Duke student from Washington, DC, wrote the editors of *Harambee* in February 1969, 'I have been reading Harambee and have not been able to put it down!...I have gained a much greater understanding of Blacks. Thank you, Harambee, for one of the most rewarding learning experiences I've had since I've been [at] Duke'" (85). The sentiments shared by the Duke student alongside Youngblood's mention of the missing 1969 reportings and February 1969's characterization as the apex of the BCM led me to *Harambee*'s seven February publications, all of which offer insight into how Tougaloo was contributing to the larger movement.

TO PROTECT AND ADVANCE: HBCU LITERACIES AND TOUGALOO'S
FEBRUARY 1969 *HARAMBEE*

Using HBCU literacies, the ways of knowing and being associated with HBCU communities, as a conceptual frame, this chapter introduces a localized study of Tougaloo as a contribution to ongoing critical HBCU and education scholarship. In order to situate HBCU literacies as a conceptual frame, I turn to Elaine Richardson's *African American Literacies* to advance the thought that HBCU literacies reflect the ways of knowing and being associated with HBCU communities. In addition to the language and learning practices associated with these institutions, my characterization of HBCU literacies looks to Richardson's consideration that particular African American literacies serve to advance and protect the communities to which they are associated. In forwarding this concept of HBCU literacies, I seek to use it as a mode of analysis that allows space for more critical entries into HBCU scholarship. In this way, I work within the differentiated ends of advancing and protecting to understand past, current, and future literacy possibilities which are initiated by (re) reading *The View*.

For Tougaloo, the movement from history to the future is driven by the knowledge-making practices that HBCU literacies make visible. Balancing and conceptualizing protection and advancement, though, varies based on subject positionality causing the resulting epistemologies to potentially look vastly different even when viewed within the same context. Free press on HBCU campuses, for instance, could

be viewed from the student perspective as a space to both maintain and protect the freedom of expression for students while engaging critical conversations that could constitute institutional and cultural advancement. This same potential, however, could be viewed as a threat for that very protection and advancement from an administrative position. This paradoxical relationship, then, complicates the notice of HBCU literacies. On the one hand, the concept allows presentations of and engagement with critical conversations surrounding and within HBCU culture, many of which require a turning of a critical mirror on the institutions and culture themselves. More times than not, these critical moments are met with contention. In the case of the campus press, they often lead to pushes to not publish stories, idle threats and punishment in response to stories, or the complete dismantling of the press altogether. That considered, the other hand could potentially view these same ends as reasons to enact measures that will protect the institutions from further scrutiny. These protective measures, then, could also be viewed as possible means of advancement. In either case, this hypothetical situation intends to reveal that HBCU literacies, similar to black life in America generally, are not always clear cut. Nevertheless, with careful consideration, they can create pathways for critical understandings of these institutions and their histories.

On HBCU Literacies

This chapter's treatment of HBCU literacies forwards the understanding that these literacies reflect the ways of knowing and being associated with HBCU communities. Richardson's *African American Literacies* (2002) stands as the first book-length engagement with the rhetorical concept of associating epistemological outcomes to the social practices of African American communities coined the term African American literacies. The text functions as a foundational exploration of African American-centered

approaches to intellectual considerations of literacy, language, composition, rhetoric, and pedagogy as they relate to theory, research, and practice. Additionally, Richardson frames African American female literacies and their vernacular presence within larger considerations of African American life and culture. In so doing, she argues that “African American literacies include vernacular resistance arts and cultural productions that are created to carve out free spaces in oppressive locations” (16). She continues, “These survival literacies, like most aspects of African American life and culture, have been mis- and misunderstood” (16).

Because *Literacies* follows works like Jacqueline Jones Royster’s *Traces of a Stream: Literacy and Social Change Among African American Women* (2000), Keith Gilyard’s *Voices of the Self: A Study of Language Competence* (1991), and Geneva Smitherman’s early works *Talkin’ and Testifyin’: The Language of Black America* (1977, 1986), “CCCC’s Role in the Struggle for Language Rights” (1999), *Black Talk: Words and Phrases from the Hood to the Amen Corner* (1994, 2000), and *Talkin’ That Talk: Language, Culture and Education in African America* (2000), Richardson’s efforts to define African American literacies offers a context through which we might understand those earlier texts and provides a guide for future research and practice. For the field of rhetoric and composition, this guide has been applied to several studies, but Carmen Kynard’s *Vernacular Insurrections: Race, Black Protest, and the New Century in Composition-Literacies Studies* (2013) proves to be the most relevant for this study’s development of HBCU literacies. *Vernacular Insurrections* traces the role of academic literacies and first-year writing practices within critical race theory and various Black Freedom movements centered on education at HBCUs. The vernacular insurrections she

describes are rooted in Black Freedom movements and urge contemporary connections of literacy protests and developing ideologies to be in conversation with one another. In doing so, she introduces thoughts that offer and reveal a dynamic to the writing classroom that ultimately explicate how literacy works in spaces, both in school and outside of school.

The vacillation between defense and criticism within HBCU conversations is nuanced within Composition scholarship as another binary, omission and inclusion, is introduced. For my development of HBCU literacies, I look back over the eleven-year bridge between Richardson's and Kynard's work and back over the scholarly contributions around African American language, literacy, composition, and rhetoric. Accordingly, I balance the movement between defense and criticism mentioned in the previous section by locating HBCUs within Composition scholarship. The negotiation of inclusion in historical discussions related to Composition Studies serves as a foundation for this exploration. "History in the Spaces Left: African American Presence and Narratives of Composition Studies," offers a critique of historiographies of composition studies⁶⁸ and their omission of African Americans' contributions to the field. Authors Jacqueline Jones Royster and Jean C. Williams look to historical institutions and figures that reconfigure the field's narrative to rightfully include African Americans. In the same year, 1999, Keith Gilyard published "African American Contributions to Composition Studies," which traces African American contributions to Composition Studies, as the title suggests, from historical and rhetorical traditions as early as the nineteenth century. In both oft-cited essays, the authors address the often-overlooked omission of African

⁶⁸ See Brereton, Berlin, Kitzhaber

Americans and insist on inclusive (re)inscription of the various contributions that this particular community has made over time, often years before the emergence of Composition Studies as a scholarly discipline. Within the evaluation of omission and inclusion are references to HBCUs. HBCUs, for these authors, are noted for their rich historical and rhetorical contributions to the education of African Americans, and thusly Composition Studies.

Since the turn of the millennium, specifically the last eight years, our field's attention to the HBCU community's engagement with historiography,⁶⁹ writing assessments,⁷⁰ composition⁷¹ and digital pedagogy,⁷² and writing program administration⁷³ has been highlighted through a number of journal publications. From the *2010 Reflections, A Journal of Public Rhetoric, Civic Writing, and Service Learning* special issue "Rewriting a Master Narrative: HBCUs and Community Literacy Partnerships" to the more recent 2016 Composition Studies special section "Where We Are: Historically Black Colleges and Universities and Writing Programs," rhetoric and composition scholars are vying for HBCUs' rightful seat at the composition table.

These contributions challenge me to think more critically about how we characterize and define the meaning-making possibilities and practices in and around these institutions. As a result, in defining HBCU literacies, I, like Richardson, am concerned with the ways these learning spaces have been "understood, believed, approached and used" (18) in order to "construct their identities and navigate their environments" (19).

⁶⁹ See Jarratt; Wallace and Bell

⁷⁰ See Green, "Expanding"; Daniel; Green, "Raising"

⁷¹ See Fulford and Dial; Lockett and Walker; Spencer-Maor and Randolph, Jr.; Stone and Stewart

⁷² See Redd

⁷³ See Jackson and Jackson; Griffin and Glushko

Ultimately, then, HBCU literacies reflect the rhetorical understandings of the social practices within and around HBCUs. Drawing on Richardson's defining of both African American and African American female literacies, HBCU literacies also seek to protect and advance the institutions to which they are attached. For HBCUs, however, these ends complicate the rhetorical implications of the literacies themselves. Because of the layered histories surrounding these institutions, it is important to carefully think through the historical and social contexts that inform the literacy activity in and around these spaces. More plainly, HBCU literacies cannot be viewed in isolation, but instead demand contextual consideration. As a result, we gain deeper insight into the individuals, events, and moments that shape these institutions and those who interact with them. For me, that interaction remains the catalyst of this project.

Whether reaching back to (re)evaluate 19th-century establishment or thinking through contemporary concerns that might impact the future of the institutions, HBCU literacies must be understood through the rhetorical strategies of the individual or groups enacting these literacy practices. That considered, HBCU literacies are not limited to a singular individual or group. In fact, HBCU literacies are best comprehended and evaluated through the varying individuals who might employ particular rhetorical strategies in order to convey their message. The distinction between who is delivering or performing the HBCU literacies, then, directly influences the rhetorical strategies used to by the individual or group. For instance, a student's HBCU literacies might reflect a different set of rhetorical strategies than an alumna(e) or administrator. Let's imagine that storytelling is the method through which an individual or group decided to discuss HBCUs. The use of storytelling would be viewed as a rhetorical strategy that the

speaker/writer deemed most effective for their information. To that end, the resulting composition could be evaluated as a presentation of an HBCU literacy. For any stakeholder, the sharing of information might take into consideration, but is not limited to, positionality, available and accessible materials, and the risks and responsibilities associated with the composing and circulating of the information. However, for particular stakeholders, these considerations introduce variance in the ways in which the literacy performance is read. For the purposes of this study, the exploration of HBCU literacies is made visible through student newspaper writings. From the writings, students' rhetorical decision-making to write, to address particular issues, and to present their expressions in a campus news publication centered on student experiences work together to reflect the delivery of their literacy practice—their HBCU literacies.

Tougaloo College Newspaper Publications

Many scholars who have included Tougaloo in their publications, including Campbell and Rodgers, rely heavily on various in-house publications and their efforts to chronicle the institution's happenings. The earliest publication on record, the *Tougaloo Quarterly* (1889), gave birth to a number of other campus publications, all with distinct purposes. For example, the *Tougaloo Quarterly*'s motto was "Warning every man, and teaching every man in all wisdom; that we may present man perfect in Christ Jesus." The goal of this publication was to educate all men that they might be good Christians and receive salvation from the Lord. This purpose appears highly religious in nature when juxtaposed to the more secular contents of the current news publication, *Harambee*, which seeks to report campus events according to facts without the influence of personal beliefs or those of faculty or staff. Even in their diverse areas of focus, Tougaloo's news

outlets have consistently strived to keep the campus and community, near and far, informed of academic and social events and activities. In the early years, these publications served a range of functions. *Tougaloo News*, for instance, was the name affixed to both the college catalog, housing information related to course offerings, and the faculty publication journal, establishing a platform from which faculty could publish their research in the same manner as their counterparts at historically white institutions and in turn increase the positive visibility and viability of the College.

The *Tougaloo Quarterly*, as suggested by its banner, was issued four times a year and its survival was dependent upon subscriptions. The oldest (and only) preserved copy of the publication claims the status of a broadsheet measuring 20-inches by 13 ½ inches in size. The front page of this issue contained six stories and one sketch, with the bold mission statement directly beneath the banner. The first entry, a poem by Rosa Evangeline Angel titled, “The Years God Keepeth,” communicated religious content in similar fashion to the other front-page stories, with the exception of two entries, “The South and Negro Education” (a reprint of a *Harper’s Magazine* story) and “Luray Caverns” by G.M. Sammons (a day in the life feature story). These entries and their foci were removed from the Tougaloo experience in that they did not deal directly with the campus. Further, as it relates to this local study, while the earlier news publications were circulating in hopes of gaining support for the institution, the contents were not student-centered or composed by students necessarily.

One year later, 1890, the campus newspaper changed its name to *Tougaloo News*. This name shift was interesting, specifically considering it mirrored the naming of the institution’s course catalog and faculty publication journal. At this time, *Tougaloo News*

was more direct in its reporting of campus related information, but often these entries were not composed from a student perspective or for a student audience. The paper was 12-inches long and 8 ½ inches wide, standard paper, with two stories printed on the front page. In the inaugural issue, the front cover stories were “Untitled,” addressing the name change from *Tougaloo Quarterly* to *Tougaloo News* and the shift from quarterly to monthly circulation, and “First Impressions of Tougaloo,” describing an unknown author’s impressions after visiting Tougaloo. The paper’s assumed purpose, as printed on all the editions, was “to chronicle what is being done for and by the race, and especially to notice all signs of progress.” Although the name and stated purpose had changed, it was clear that this subscription-based publication was also intended for audiences beyond Tougaloo, as the publication’s mission highlighted “hope to utilize the best essay work in school, and to give a good report of what is going on.” Although these areas were aimed at showcasing exemplary students likely for the purposes of additional support, they were also early examples of inclusion of students within the publications. These efforts were more aptly visible through the editor’s inviting of friends and students to submit “items of interest, news, letters and articles” and particularly focusing on obtaining information on “graduates and former students, what they are doing, what success they are having and what experience has taught them.”

For ten years, *Tougaloo News* maintained a general focus of reporting the college’s progress. By 1900, however, students were more present than ever. This increased presence was largely apparent in the March issue’s three entries—one “Untitled” editorial addressing progress at Tougaloo; another expressing the need for more structures on campus; and the last exploring the need for increased alumni

involvement on campus. The six issues published in 1910 continued to reflect an increase in the number of stories related to students and campus activities. Specifically, the front page of the February issue contained stories highlighting a conference that was held on campus, a record of notable campus visitors, and the recent Christmas activities. The April and May-June issues discussed the upcoming commencement activities. Curiously, none of the six editions of the paper from 1910 contained pictures, photographs, or sketches, as did the previous editions. 1920 introduced distinct format changes. The banner was standardized, and the first boxed story appeared in the paper. Of the three preserved issues, the January issue included a letter to the editor devoted to the improvement of race relations generally, but the remaining entries showed a return to less campus-centered, and consequently less student-entered, entries. The March issue led with another boxed story, and each of its three stories contained a headline and attribution. The entries that followed were letters from the president of the Alumni Association and from then President William Holmes. By the October-November issue, the publication's attention to campus-related happenings was more visible, with a total of four stories directly related to Tougaloo. Here also were the first mentions of a "Living Endowment Fund" and "Alumni News," signaling the development of institutional structures connected to current and former students. Publications from the 1940s were visually impactful, with the consistent employment of photographs throughout their layouts. The 1940s was also notable due to a slight shift in publication history. Until 1946, there appeared to be only one campus news outlet circulating, but the publication of *Tougazette* changed this trend. Although the publication seemingly mirrored *Tougaloo News* in size and layout, the contents were noticeably different. Approximately half of the

entries referenced activities of current students, and every entry dealt with campus life to some degree. *Tougazette* appeared to be the most student-centered of the campus news publication. Though there were no signs of the immediate continuation of this outlier publication, the May 1950 issue of *Tougaloo News* continued to report stories related to Tougaloo, ranging from student led campus beautification efforts to the announcement of the commencement speaker. October 1950 marked the last preserved issue of *Tougaloo News* and ushered in yet another shift in publication.

The 1960s marked a number of changes for Tougaloo College. In regard to the college newspaper, *Tougaloo News* was changed once again to *Tougaloo Southern News* as a result of Tougaloo's merger with Southern Christian College. Instead of recording the volume number, date and number only in the banner, this information was again repeated toward the bottom of the front page and encased in a bar. This publication maintained the subscription-based approach for sustainability and was reflected through this detail on the bottom of the cover page:

Entered as Second Class Matter at the Post Office at Tougaloo, Mississippi, under the Provision of the Act of Aug. 24, 1912. Return Postage Guaranteed.

Further, this documentation proves that a distant readership may have also been maintained. This consistency is not particularly alarming, but it is telling of the continued efforts to share news about Tougaloo and more pointedly to show the college in a good, progressive light.

Countering this subscription approach and non-student focus yet again was *Tougazette*, which appeared on April 6, 1960. The second edition of this publication described changes in curriculum, special recognition of professors, and details of a visit from international scholars. Although *Tougaloo Southern News* continued its publication

through 1960, the following year the campus welcomed the *Alumni Bulletin* publication. It was clear that this news outlet did not attempt to cover campus activities or events directly impacting current students; the *Alumni Bulletin* publication was instrumental in chronicling alumni happenings.

In 1966 and 1967 *The Chronicle*, an additional auxiliary publication, was circulating information about student complaints, student plays, and high-profiled visitors to campus, such as Senator Robert Kennedy. *The Chronicle*'s contents and authorial attributions positioned it as the earliest student-authored and student-centered news publication. Also, it is important to note that *The Chronicle* was a member of The Intercollegiate Press.

By the 1970s, The Tougaloo Southern News was no longer circulating, and *Tougaloo News* was now the main campus news outlet but functioned more as a newsletter. In fact, 1969 marked the end of the various short-lived news auxiliaries and the more consistent news unit. Although the aforementioned news publications were not consistently student-centered or -authored, the dying presence of any news outlet begged the question, where was the student newspaper. An article, "Why Harambee?" by staff writer Pamela Harrion, that ran in the 1989 November issue of *Harambee*, spoke directly to this inquiry. Harrion writes:

According to records found in the Archives of the Coleman Library at Tougaloo College, "The Harambee" has existed for about twenty years. Its first publication, in 1969, entitled 'Harambee', was a mimeograph form (an apparatus for making copies from stencils of written pages or a stencil duplication machine is used). The professionally printed edition was published in 1970 or 1971. Before the

Tougaloo newspaper was called the “Harambee”, it was named, “The Occasional Ripple” (also in mimeography form). It was a newspaper of events at Tougaloo College that Ms. Ann Johnson started. Other names before the “Harambee” were ‘The Tougaloo News’ (dates back to 1870), “The Faculties’ Research Bulletin” (under Dean Frasier’s supervision), and others...etc...(Harambee. Fall Edition; Nov. 1989, p. 3)

Why “Harambee”? What was the meaning and importance of this name? “Harambee derives its name from the Swahili language. It means unity or togetherness. The name came about when a poll was taken by some students who were searching for an African name to represent the newspaper and the student body. Ms. Brocks-Shedd enlightened more on the subject:

In the late 60s or (early) 70’s, we were all going back to our African roots. A fine poet (by the name of John Wesley (also editor of the Harambee in 1969), saw the irony of existence between a black college and a white college, (while attending Yale University as an exchange student). What ever he received here (at Tougaloo) was much stronger than what he received there (at Yale) in all the fine facilities. People here (at Tougaloo) give from their souls, they give from the inside, (not from the surface).” He (John Wesley) and others worked with “The Occasional Ripple” (and as a result, came up with the Harambee name),” added Ms. Brocks-Shedd. The “Harambee” newspaper can signify the beauty, soul, and voice of the students and the faculty of Tougaloo College, if we “unite” as one. (Harambee. Fall Edition; Nov. 1989, p. 1)

Harambee's introduction in 1969 functions as additional justification for the focus on 1969.

Harambee: February 1969

In the 1967 *Ebony* magazine article “What’s In a Name?: Negro vs. Afro-American vs. Black,” Lerone Bennett, Jr. begs the question “whether one can make the word ‘Negro’ mean so many different things or whether one should abandon it and use the words ‘black’ or ‘Afro-American.’” These considerations have continued into 21st socio-linguistic and -historic conversations, but I would like to focus on this early presentation due to its alignment with the considerations happening on US college and university campuses, namely Tougaloo. Bennett’s explication of the term is organized by grouping the arguments that inform his exploration. According to Bennett, the following groupings highlight the understanding and treatment of each term:

Group One: A large group is pressing an aggressive campaign for the use of the word ‘Afro-American’ as the only historically accurate and humanly significant designation of this large and pivotal portion of the American population. This group charges that the word ‘Negro’ is inaccurate.

Group Two: An equally large, but not so vocal, group says the word ‘Negro’ is as accurate and as euphonious as the words ‘black’ and ‘Afro-American.’ This group is scornful of the premises of the advocate of change. A Negro by any other name, they say, would be as black and as beautiful—and as segregated. The times, they add, are too crucial for Negroes to dissipate their energy in fratricidal strife over names.

Group Three: To make things even more complicated, a third group, composed primarily of Black Power advocates, has adopted a new vocabulary in which the word 'black' is reserved for 'black brothers and sisters who are emancipating themselves,' and the word 'Negro' is used contemptuously for Negroes' who are still in Whitey's bag and who still think of themselves and speak of themselves as Negroes.

Embedded within each consideration is an inherent negotiation of historical context and future imagination. The groups are working against particular assumptions in order to reach more developed and forward-looking ends. In so doing, each group acknowledges both the past and current understandings of the terms while considering the risk and responsibilities of the usage they privilege. This latter consideration is mirrored for Tougaloo student journalists as they report on their unhappiness with the college's curricular offers, present their commentary on campus conditions and events, and express themselves poetically. These considerations will be taken into consideration through a representative sample of *Harambee*. This sample set's publications center on the distinction between the negro college and the black college from the student's perspective within the categories of curricular considerations, commentary on campus conditions, and emphasis on poetry. The student voices are representative of publications circulated throughout February 1969. Since there was no publication located within the archives on the exact date that Rogers describes as the apex of the Black Campus Movement, the seven publications from February 1969 are described in the following sections.

Curricular Considerations

When searching online databases for journal articles related specifically to Tougaloo, a few topics surface more often than others. In more general results, Tougaloo was present in conversations centered on the Civil Rights Movement and higher education debates and considerations of the success of HBUCs. In more specific results, the work of Ernst Borinski⁷⁴ surfaced, with the earliest being Borinski's 1948 *Journal of Educational Sociology* publication, "The Social Science Laboratory at Tougaloo College" and more recent publications like Donald Cunnigen's 2003 "The Legacy of Ernst Borinski: The Production of an African American Sociological Tradition" in *Teaching Sociology* and Maria Lowe's 2007 "'Sowing the Seeds of Discontent': Tougaloo College's Social Science Forums as a Prefigurative Movement Free Space, 1952-1964" in *Journal of Black Studies*. My mentioning of these publications is intended to highlight the celebratory energy around the presence and success of the social science forums that Borinski lead. Noted to reflect some of the most innovative teaching at Tougaloo in the 1950s and 1960s, the Social Science Seminar courses were championed at Tougaloo and beyond.

Although many, near and far, celebrated the Social Science Seminar, Tougaloo students displayed concerns about the material presented in the course. As early as 1958, students were writing about the course in critical ways, asking what the goals of the course were and raising concern around the delivery of the course. By 1969, these concerns reached the most critical of the presentations as students used their experiences and observations to directly challenge the seminar. The February 3, 1969 edition of

⁷⁴ Ernst Borinski earned a degree in education from the University of Chicago in 1946 after escaping the Holocaust and serving in the U.S. Army. He was a professor of sociology at Tougaloo from 1947 until his death in 1983.

Harambee student journalist Martha A. Alexander penned her thoughts on the conversations around student issues with the Social Science Seminar in “From Finish to Start.” Alexander described that

Saturday, December 7 1968, marked the beginning of the end of the freshman [sic] versus Social Science seminar go-round. Specifically, the purpose of the student revolt was to do away with the white man’s stern rule, to demand that students have a say in the kind of literature they read and, for instructors to teach subjects relevant to black students. I was there every minute and second, but what I saw and heard I don’t believe. Freshman [sic] are in the same bag they started from—the white instructors are still handing out and they’re still reaching! Needless to say, only time can tell what this semester will present. The freshman finished before they started. (1)

The bravery that students possessed in the efforts to coordinate conversations about their concerns was commendable, but it can’t be considered fully without thinking about the inherent power dynamics present, as Alexander describes above. In more direct moments, she shares plainly “when the cards were down and the white man had his say, freshman [sic] began to run. Ideas and the will to revolt weakened. The freshmen didn’t know whether they wanted to change the program or settle for what they had” (1).

Within the larger Black Campus Movement, Rodgers notes, Most HBCUs merely had one ‘Negro history’ and ‘Negro literature’ course at the most. Activists constantly brought to light this glaring contradiction of few black courses at institutions with practically all black students, including Earl Hart at Winston-Salem State (NC) in 1969. In the physical education department, they

only teach the ‘fox-trot and all those other European dances,’ he said. ‘In the music department we are still fooling around with Back [sic] and the rest of those pigs when we have soul musicians.’ Ultimately, ‘black students emerge after four years of college completely Europeanized.’ Some did, but during the movement black campus activists also endeavored to make European thinkers relevant, by ascertaining their utility to the struggle.” (153)

For many HBCUs the conversation was centered around the frequency of courses and how those numbers influenced the perception of the black curricular presence. At Tougaloo, however, concerns were less focused on frequency and more with the depth and breadth of content. As the article continues, Alexander shares her narrative providing insight into the complexities of her HBCU literacies through the composing and circulating of her concerns. She shares,

When I was introduced to the Freshman Social Science Seminar Course at Tougaloo, I was quite impressed by its goal to bring us up-to-date on some contemporary history. However, while studying the first unit...things were being left out of our discussions. For instance, we were drilled in the policies of a successful farmer, Antonio Rosicky; we were shown the plight of a farmer working against obstacles, such as bad land and lack of suitable supplies and equipment; but we were not oriented to aspects of other races of farmers, namely the Negro...

...The course followed the same trend in the second unit, the small town. Books that were chosen to read did not mention anything about the Negro in the small town except to say in one book, Winter of Our Discontent, that two Negro women

went into a store and left immediately after purchasing their items because ‘they knew their place’...

...Also the second unit my classmates and I requested that we read and discuss other material which we thought would give us a better idea of what goes on in the small town... Some people might argue that since we are mostly small town Negroes we should know what happens to Negroes in the small town. This is not the case. Because we are a discriminated minority race we are made more aware of the activities of the whites. We already know what they do by the more [sic] fact that ‘they run the small towns’. I might add that the point that the whites rule small towns was brought out during the discussion of this unit...

...I do not think that these views are radical. The change in books does not mean that we only want to learn more about Negro struggles. We want to learn about the problems of people all over the world. In other words, we want to learn about ourselves first and then, for the sake of being well-rounded, we want to study about other peoples. This is a hand-in-hand process. All we want is to be considered first, not second or last. These are our good intentions. (2-3)

This short excerpt reflects only two examples from the larger spread of arguments and examples across the four-page spread. The concern of ‘Negro’-centric curricular focus is central to the concerns Alexander presents. Her concerns add a dynamic to Bennet’s consideration of “What’s in a name?” For Alexander and the students at Tougaloo, being limited to a monolithic presentation of black life was detrimental to their educational success. Further, Alexander acknowledges that there had been changes made to the curriculum through the texts used in the seminar, but that “the change in books does not

mean that [they] only want to learn more about Negro struggles.” What she offers as a solution is a curriculum reflective of nuances that acknowledge and prioritize the black experience, but also “for the sake of being well-rounded,” move beyond those experience to include more diverse representations of other people. Prefacing that she did see these views as radical, Alexander was advocating for the advancement of the Social Science Seminar curriculum while simultaneously prioritizing the protection of including the black experience.

Alexander’s HBCU literacy is enacted by turning a mirror on the seminar. Against the widely felt celebration of the seminar, she argues that it was not as progressive as it professed. Embedded within her critique, however, is the introduction of the power dynamics present when pushing for visible and diverse curriculum from the student position. Her mentioning of the manner in which the freshmen retreated and considered settling when the white administration and faculty responded to their concern brings to the fore the risk and responsibility associated with HBCU literacy practices. For the student, the risk and responsibilities are amplified in so far as much of their success is dependent upon the completion of the courses they are challenging and the interactions with the faculty they are questioning. Conversely, their success is also contingent upon the depth of the material with which they engage. In either case, their bravery through literacy moments of protest and composition provide insight into the potential power struggle of HBCU literacies.

Presidential Commentary within *Harambee*

The rhetorical strategies associated with HBCU literacies are important to understand how the literacies are communicated and analyzed. For *Harambee* student

journalists, using a free campus press to circulate ideas introduced a certain level of risks and responsibilities assumed by each contributor and the publication's existence largely. That is to say, the rhetorical decision to employ newspaper writing promotes a particular HBCU literacy that centers on the risk and responsibilities of forwarding conversations from a student perspective. As a result, these conversations often vacillate between fluid notions of protection and advancing as they relate to affairs on the campus. By 1969, President Owens had served in his role four years and the college was approaching its centennial marking of existence. *The View* notes that "*Harambee* decried in its issue on April 18, 1969, that only after ninety-six years did Tougaloo get a black president" (226). This brief mention of the newspaper as it related to the President prompted my looking to 1969 for more commentary around Owens within *Harambee*.

In the February 7, 1969 *Harambee*, the cover story "The President of Student Problems" highlighted Owens's "rambling remarks and personal insights into some of the problems being looked into at Tougaloo College." More pointedly, according the student journalist,⁷⁵ "He called his talk an expression of 'one man coming to position through his own dilating while recognizing the rights of others to their thoughts.'" From the onset, then, Owens attempts to present himself in a reflective manner—one centered seemingly on the negotiations of his own thoughts alongside the thoughts of others. Such positioning denotes a level of rhetorical dexterity that seeks not only to assess and critique campus matters, but also to balance those evaluations with personal ideologies. This balancing act produces Owens's delivery of HBCU literacies as he works to articulate his *rambling remarks and personal insights* into student problems. When

⁷⁵ Student name not provided.

positioned in concert or in contest with the HBCU literacies delivered by students, the resulting dialogue opens views of the concerns being discussed.

When remarking “On Black Studies,” the student reporter notes, the president said he was afraid that young black students will be short changed in their attempts to establish black studies programs if they do not modify their efforts in such a way as to establish sound and lasting programs, for he does not see the hard work being done to make these courses relevant.

When juxtaposed with Alexander’s above point of why a Black focus would not only be relevant but also rigorous, Owens’s claim of relevance seems to falter. His suggestion for students to change their approaches is not supplemented with details of how such shifts might be explored or even what they might require the students to consider. As a result, Owens’s concerns seem to be more reflective of his personal perspective and less rooted in intentional conversations that might encourage the advancing of the student’s intellectual stimulation and development. His HBCU literacy, then, protects the structure in place at the expense of the changes suggested by the students. To support his claim, Owens explores a potential course discussing the “economics of the ghetto-black economics.” The student reports, “He says unless students study economics for an understanding of the larger discipline of economics, they will not be able to apply economics to the problems that exist in the black community.” While it would be helpful to orient the study of economics as they relate to the black community within larger considerations of economics, Owens is forwarding a different argument that positions black studies as less relevant and rigorous. Perhaps the developing nature of his remarks leaves some room for this point to be one that would continue to develop, but it speaks to

the larger consideration of how HBCU literacies might be understood and communicated from the administrative perspective.

In his final point about Black Studies, the student reporter notes that Owens argues,

The sociology of the ghetto has been his target area for a long time... ‘myths on society came from great scholars in the area of sociology. We need people who are able to use tools of sociology in a positive way in order to dispel these myths; people who can write and see clearly and capture the hopes and aspirations of people.’

His concluding statement addressing who and how information is articulated further problematize Owens’s HBCU literacy engagement. By arguing around the viability of the knowledge that would be produced by these courses and the “success” of the students who might take the courses, Owens distances himself further from the possible positive outcomes of such undertakings. In fact, he argues against them as he alludes to the possibility that the curriculum may not produce effective communication or productivity. In this way, HBCU literacy is vastly different from the administrative position. Owens’s attempts to engage conversations around curricular advancement at Tougaloo via student concerns actually reveal his attempts to protect the structure in place. Such protective measures, while problematic, can be seen in several instances across higher education. For HBCUs, however, these measures complicate the rhetoricity surrounding the themes of protecting and advancing that HBCU literacies allow.

Commentary on Campus Conditions

Building on the exploration of both HBCU literacies and February 1969 *Harambee* publications, this representative set turns to examples of commentary on campus conditions. Throughout *Harambee*'s publications, there has always been space reserved for students to present their concerns. Although every entry did not include the depth of Alexander's consideration of the Social Science Seminar, there were consistent efforts to include concerns experienced by many students. In fact, these presentations were often reflective of students who were not members of *Harambee*'s staff. Across the years of publications, spaces for this commentary took many forms; the most consistent was a series titled "Speak Out." The series posed a single question about campus conditions and surveyed students across campus, usually representing various classifications. The sample below presents two questions and three selected responses with intentions of considering how HBCU literacies are perceived through student commentary.

Harambee's February 1969 "Speak Out" questions and selected responses were as follows:

What do you think could be improved on or what do you like about Tougaloo College?

Elain Anderson, a freshman, "The curriculum of the school should be expanded. I feel that some of the courses are irrelevant to the black students. Reading about Churchill can't have too much meaning to black students since for the time that we are in other more important things should be placed before it. I would like to see courses that deal with black people, be it black economics of a community or anything dealing with black [sic] people offered as a major."

Dorna Miller, a sophomore, “I think that with the history that this school has there should be an all black faculty. I don’t believe that a white teacher can teach anything to black people about themselves since white people have not experienced the black experience. I would also like to see a change in the atmosphere from a Negro atmosphere to a black [sic] one.” (Feb 3)

What would you like seen or done on campus?

Gwendolyn Phelps (junior)- “I would really like to see Tougaloo with more capable instructors. Rumors say that so far the semester beginning in September, 1969, will only have one instructor, specifically in the Social Science Division, I would like more diversified courses offered. If you read the brochure on the Afro-American Studies Program you will be sure to note that some of the courses listed that would contribute to a minor in this field have not yet been offered. Is it because we do not have enough capable instructors?" (Feb 10)

Centering the notion that HBCU literacies vacillate between the protection and advancement of the institutions and surrounding culture, the presentation of student commentary on campus conditions adds an additional layer to the turning of the mirror described above. Similar to the bravery described above, these students possess amplified notions of bravery considering that that they were not always directly related to the newspaper’s staff. More plainly, employing methods of a campus survey and maintaining the student’s name and classification presents additional consideration of the risks and responsibilities attached to such sharing. For all students involved, those sharing and those composing, deciding to present their opinions on matters of improvement and

community engagement could have easily been viewed as the necessary critical commentary that might aid future advancement for the college. As students are arguing for “courses that deal with black people, be it black economics of a community or anything dealing with [black] people as a major” and advocating for “a change in the atmosphere from a Negro atmosphere to a [black] one,” it becomes obvious that they had carefully contemplated their own notions of advancement. Most interesting is that their concerns and the futures they’d imagined were not superficial. Instead, they were rooted in culturally-centered thought that could have positioned a particular type of development of these institutions. Given the historical context of the larger Black Campus Movement, one might argue that these considerations were circulating on campuses across the US. While this is certainly true, the spatial urgency of these conversations at HBCUs added criticality to the conversations.

The advancement that could have been garnered from the commentary above could have sparked conversations that did in fact shift the curriculum, but there were risks and responsibilities on both sides of this matter. For the administration and faculty, it is likely that the energy from the Civil Rights Movement and the rise of the Black Power Movement presented potential for loss in funding and support needed to sustain the college. While I do not find this a viable justification for not engaging these thoughts, I would be remiss not to acknowledge this possibility. But, in acknowledging it, I also argue that choosing this means of protection—one that prioritized the financial support at the expense of stagnating academic rigor—was a greater risk. In more than one issue of *Harambee*, students were expressing concerns over the information they learned and from whom, begging the question what was the future of Tougaloo? It was clear that

plans were made for the development of the physical plant and shifts within leadership for *sustainable* financial support. On the surface, these efforts seemed acceptable for the development of the college, but they overlooked the central most organ of the college—the students and their education.

In considering the concerns expressed through the “Speak Out” series, the development of HBCU literacies is further attached to the distinction of the name associated with the larger institutions. Through their commentary, students present plausible arguments that may have constituted curricular advancement. Most apparent through their sharing is the thought that the traditional Negro college was not adequate, and a push for a black college that included black courses, faculty, and culture was necessary.

Emphasis Poetry

President Lyndon B. Johnson’s July 29, 1967 issuance of the Executive Order 11365, which established a National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders and prompted investigations of “racial disorders” in American cities, found an excess of 120 cities reporting disturbances in “minority” neighborhoods. Of those reports, Jackson, MS was labeled as having “serious disorder.” Consideration of this legislation and the reports function as one of the reasons for the nationwide plea for Black Power. Additionally, these considerations function as the opening of the 2006 collection *New Thoughts on the Black Arts Movement*. Within the collection’s many considerations, James Smethurst offers “The Black Arts Movement and Historically Black Colleges and Universities” as a contribution to the new thoughts. Smethurst argues that “discussions of the Black Arts Movement of the 1960s and 1970s rarely give much consideration to black cultural

activity in the South” (75). When explaining the scholarly inactivity around the geographic area, he describes that southern black artists and intellectuals were not pleased with the difficulty surrounding the efforts it took to gain and sustain attention within the movement. He combats this noted difficulty through detailed treatment of successful grassroots black cultural organizations, institutions, and events. He argues,

...to dwell solely on the shortcomings and failures of the academically (and nationally) oriented focus of the Black Power and Black Arts Movement in Atlanta, Nashville, and other southern black academic centers is to miss the important role that these centers played. Conferences at such schools as Jackson State, Fisk, Alabama A&T, Tougaloo, and Southern early on gave visibility to new black writing and aired the national debates that had been largely restricted to study groups, workshops, and little magazines. (88)

These conference spaces were vital to the conversations centered around the future of these institutions amidst the country’s racial climate. These spaces did heighten the visibility of the writing happening on campus. In fact, many of the proceedings from these gatherings are used to chronicle respective institutional contributions to the national movement. That considered, these spaces were, as Smethurst forwards, hubs for the movement. Within his consideration, however, student newspapers were not included. For Tougaloo, these publications reflect consistent artistic contributions from student writers and journalists. When considering a publication like *Harambee* within the context of the Black Arts Movement, the paper’s “Emphasis Poetry” section is ideal for considering the movement’s manifestations of concepts like “liberation and self-determination” (Smethurst 76).

Throughout the *Harambee*'s archived editions, "Emphasis Poetry" was present throughout publications from the 1960s and 1970s. This space was dedicated to the presentation of student-written poetry. Over the years, individual poets consistently contributed to the space, displaying themselves as voices interested in unity and organization amongst students for the deeper understanding of their intersecting roles as black brothers and sisters in Mississippi seeking higher education. One such poetic voice was Jamal ALLAKU AKBAR. AKBAR's⁷⁶ work in 1969 reflected both the work of the Black Arts Movement and the Black Campus Movement. Below are three of his poems published in February 1969.

February 3
ONE PLEA, FOREVER

Dashiki, cover my body with that
power that you have to show
my BLACKNESS.

Hair, long natural show your duke natural sheen
and show my BLACKNESS.

Beads, hang long and shake back & forth and show my
BLACK graceful coolness.
Ain't i cool? Yeh i'm cool.

Mind don't change, remain that same individualistic
tool used by the whiteman

Shit, i'm different, i'm not just one of these
OTHER niggers out there.

i'm educated, i've studied, i've read hundreds of
books, i'm a cultured man.

PLEASE

⁷⁶ I maintain the all-caps presentation of AKBAR's name throughout this section. This decision is in part to reflect the student's agency in changing his name from Reggie Banks, a change that was widely enacted by many Black Americans during the 1960s and 1970s. Additionally, this decision also reflects the poet's presentation of his name.

Brothers, close that [?] gap
and throw
away the whiteman's values, throw away His
terms
that keep you from your true self.
INDIVIDUAL, INTELLECTUAL, MIDDLE CLASS, BLACK, NEGRO,

NIGGER, BOURGGEOIS.

If we are truly to become a united race of
BLACK people, our minds must bury

words and what ever else that keeps us
apart as a people.

We must determine our own terms.

when the burying comes, the unity will be there

and we will be able to

mean it when we say the

word BROTHER.

Jamal

ALLAKU AKBAR

February 17

WHERE

Questions, Answers, Questions

Searchers for Ourselves, looking to be
relevant to the needs around us.

Delivering in a cause and sometimes
doubting ourselves in ourselves.

Finding slammed doors
and closed minds, neither wishing to
be opened..

Keys are everywhere but none seem to fit
the groove, the doors of the mind
remain closed.

Exposed to a limited part of itself;
the mind becomes not hearing, not
seeing, not thinking, not wanting
anything from anywhere.

The keys are becoming rusted with the time.

Will they still be able to fit when (if)
the mind wants to be opened?
Where will the keys fit when everywhere
things are clogged up?

Jamal
ALLAKU AKBAR

February 10 (reprinted February 17)
NEW BIRTH

Strip the mind and the body of its
camouflage

Rake clear the leaves of past embalming
for it has made me think I was dead.

I pray for my soul to come back from
where it has been taken to.

False gold plated rings are on my
fingers making them false.

And now they wilt and fall into dead
soil.

My hands have become stubs always
reaching to touch pure vibrations
of my mind, soul, body, letting
me know I am growing in my Black
Being..

Jamal
ALLAKU AKBAR

AKBAR's "ONE PLEA, FOREVER," "NEW BIRTH," and "WHERE" function as a sample of his poetic contribution to *Harambee*. Although I was not able to locate a great deal of information about his academic career at Tougaloo, it is clear that his contributions to *Harambee* were seen through his role as a member of the newspaper's staff and as a consistent poetic voice. In 1969, AKBAR submitted an excess of thirty poems to the "Emphasis Poetry" section of *Harambee*. The three-poem sample set above intends to explore the emergence of one poetic student voice within the Black Arts and Black Campus Movements, respectively and relationally. The analysis of this sample is centered on movement tropes of liberation and self-determination and linguistic considerations of blackness. In so doing, this chapter concludes by advocating for student voices for institutional narrative composing. Throughout AKBAR's poetic sample, themes of liberation and self-determination are most aptly seen through his efforts to promote and emphasize Black culture, identity, education, and togetherness.

In "ONE PLEA, FOREVER," he pushes for the acknowledgement and embrace of the inherent Blackness that he and his people possess. In the first stanza, lines one through eight, he references attire, hair, and accessories that reflect the "power...[and] graceful coolness" of his blackness. This stanza's descriptive tone-setting efforts end with the interrogative call and response to reiterate the coolness of the plea for unity and blackness that he poses. In the second stanza, lines nine through fourteen, AKBAR presents a critical reflection of his otherness within his blackness. In so doing, he juxtaposes himself against other members of the race as a means of highlighting his enlightenment and exposure to culture. This contrast positions his blackness, rooted in liberation, self-determination, and

now culture and education, as a desirable mode of individuality. In the third stanza and the all-caps break, lines fifteen through twenty-two, centrally presents the plea for readers to “throw away His terms that keep [them] from [their] true sel[ves].” With Bennett’s “What’s in a Name” as a backdrop in mind, his plea for readers to abandon terms that prevent them from reaching the liberation and self-determination that might result in embracing of the blackness described in the preceding stanzas. In the concluding two stanzas, lines twenty-three through thirty-one, AKBAR offers a declarative prophesy centered on the liberation and unity of Black people. By declaring what readers “must” do in order to reach his conception of blackness, he takes on a leadership role through his poetry. For his HBCU literacy practice, protection and advancement are contingent on linguistic liberation.

For “NEW BIRTH” and “WHERE,” AKBAR’s thematic focus of growth furthers his creative conception of liberation and self-determination. In both poems, considerations of growth are understood through a journey of identification and renewal. Considering the emphasis on the mind, this journey could be conceived as the educational journey which he was experiencing at the time. Additionally, the journey could be associated with the inevitable simultaneity of his understanding and embracing of his blackness more generally.

“NEW BIRTH” builds on “ONE PLEA, FOREVER”’s engagement with abandoning previous identity and notions of self-associated with whiteness, but this time with nature-based metaphoric alignment. AKBAR’s critique of what is *pure* and what is *camouflage* is conditionally associated with desire. For him, desire is grounded in an aspirational new birth, one that will allow the validation that he is “growin in [his] Black Being.” The potential for this validating moment speaks directly to the larger movement

and the assumption that the journey described here is an educational one. The potential affirmation that might be gained from efforts of seeking and sustaining liberation and self-determination meant nothing if they were not visible. More plainly, his desire for a new birth exists as a decree for the death of his past self. In this way, his HBCU literate practices of advancement are dual—both advancement of self, “mind, soul, and body,” and intellectual thought.

“WHERE” introduces an explorative layer to AKBAR’s HBCU literacy practices. This poem supplements considerations of liberation and self-determination by thinking critically through the searching required to reach these ends. He declares that while readers are searching for themselves, they may be met with closed minds, shut doors, limited exposure, and rusted keys. With “NEW BIRTH”’s journey in mind, it seems apparent that these potential encounters are ones that have been experienced during his educational journey and beyond. Placing these experiences in concert with Alexander’s reporting on the Social Science Seminar protests and the numerous responses from students within the “Speak Out” series, it is possible that the doors and keys are representative of Tougaloo. The poem’s concluding questions problematize the future of the institution by considering if the knowledge being imparted on students would be effective for not only opening minds who desired liberation and self-determination, but also intellectual freedom that was seemingly clogged up. AKBAR’s critical creative expression turns the mirror on the institution with intentions of prioritizing exploration that results in the progression of not only the institution, but also the liberation and self-determination of the students. The progression of the students is essential to understanding *where* the institution’s foreseeable future might lie. In this way, His HBCU literacies through poetic composition interrogated

and challenged the future of Tougaloo in very different, and arguably more poignantly, ways than did the symposium meeting led by Keeney during Owens's Inauguration events.

Together, AKBAR's powerful poetry, the sentiments shared in the "Speak Out" column, and Alexander's curricular contentions present a small sample of the contributions Tougaloo students were making to the larger Black Campus Movement through their activist compositions. The campus's news publications had moved from the evangelical, mission-centered focus seen in *Tougaloo Quarterly* and *Tougaloo News* to that of *Harambee*'s radical, student-centered writing.

By February 1969, students were unapologetically critical and reflective, but nevertheless intentional. This intentionality was centered on their own notions of what steps might be taken to enhance their experience and awareness while navigating their collegiate experience. Viewing this intention within HBCU literacies necessitates my desire to place this sample in concert with the remaining months of 1969 and the complete seven-year span of the Black Campus Movement. In so doing, it is my hope to continue following AKBAR's poetry, trace the campus's curricular developments and student demands, and qualify the student commentary provided during the 1965-1972 movement's period. As is the case with many archival explorations, researchers aren't always certain what pathways their pursuits will lead. From my experience, I found that so much historical context was missing not only from our field's engagement with HBCUs and Tougaloo, but also from the work that does center both HBCUs and Tougaloo. As I develop this project, I intend to expand this sample set and present more rich representations of knowledge-making through the evaluation of the work of student journalists. Ultimately, my objective is to stress the importance of multiple voices in the

telling of institutional histories; for without this multiplicity, we risk a singular narrative void of student voices.

WHERE HISTORY MEETS THE FUTURE: IMAGINING CRITICAL AND DIGITAL FUTURES FOR TOUGALOO

Stories matter. Many stories matter. Stories have been used to dispossess and to malign, but stories can also be used to empower and to humanize. Stories can break the dignity of a people, but stories can also repair that broken dignity...
Chimamanda Ngozi Adiche

Chimamanda Ngozi Adiche's 2009 TED Talk "The Danger of a Single Story" presents a cautionary tale of the importance of the stories we encounter and share by recounting her experiences with literacy, culture, and locating her voice. In the nineteen-minute talk, she advises listeners that hearing only a single story risks critical misunderstanding. Adiche argues, "The single story creates stereotypes and the problem with stereotypes is not that they are untrue, but that they are incomplete. They make one story become the only story...I've always felt that it is impossible to engage properly with a place or a person without engaging with all of the stories of that place and that person." Her anecdotal recollections take us on a journey through one of her early literacy moments when she read books while living in Nigeria and quickly realized that the characters and culture was not reflective of her own. She then applauds authors like Chinua Achebe and Camara Laye for their literary contributions, which heightened her exposure and increased cultural representations. More pointedly, she recalls her "discovery of African writers...saved [her] from having a single story of what books are." Her recollections also highlight a later literacy moment—this one during her studies

at a US university. When describing her interactions with her American roommate, who had many assumptions of what exposures and skills Adiche's Nigerian upbringing had afforded her, we learn more about the danger of a single story. According to Adiche, her roommate only had a single story of Africa, one that caused the American roommate to take on a "default position" that was reflective of "patronizing, well-meaning pity." Adiche describes this occurrence as "a single story catastrophe." In order to combat the potential for such a catastrophic cultural moment, Adiche emphasizes the importance of stories, and further emphasizes the importance of multiple stories. I echo Adiche's sentiments and extend them to the conversations surrounding HBCUs generally and Tougaloo specifically.

In the concluding lines of the opening epithet, Adiche posits, "Stories can break the dignity of a people, but stories can also repair that broken dignity." The polarized possibilities of the outcomes of stories and the connected individuals carries rhetorical risks and responsibilities attached to who is speaking and to whom, for what purposes, in what spaces, at what time, and so on. These situational, spatial, and kairotic implications influence the ways in which these stories are presented, responded to, and circulated. At any given moment, these stories and their influence could, as Adiche points out, result in detrimental or beneficial outcomes. For HBCUs, stories hold similar power. The stories that are told about these institutions are telling of the muddied history of the country in which they were founded and the long and continued struggles of the Black students and communities for which their label is inextricably linked. As a result, HBCU stories are highly rhetorical in so far as they seek to advance a particular presentation, often grounded in the protection and advancement of the institution. As the previous chapters

explain, I argue that these rhetorical efforts to protect and advance are reflective of HBCU literacy practices. For Tougaloo, I have examined these literacies through the revisionist reading of *Mississippi: The View from Tougaloo* and the analysis of a sample of student journalists' compositions. This examination ultimately arrives at the conclusion that we cannot limit our engagement with Tougaloo's institutional history to one story. In fact, doing so limits our ability to expand the institution's literacy practices. Instead, I offer that students are at the juncture of history and the future, and their stories can imagine the critical and digital futures of the institution—futures that prioritize a continuous collective and communal composing of Tougaloo's institutional narrative.

The crux of this project lies at the intersection of archival methods and digital spaces. In considering the role of institutional narratives, locating student narratives in newspaper publications, and justifying the need for conversations regarding HBCU narratives to be present within writing instruction and digital spaces, this project encourages the aforementioned innovations that continue to challenge notions of narrative primacy. Imagining how the progression of these intersecting considerations might look for HBCUs prompts me to first consider a single institution as a model. Using the historiographic and rhetorical exploration of Tougaloo through *The View* and *Harambee* as justification suggests that efforts to promote the composing, collection, curation, and circulation of multiple Tougaloo student voices could diversify the college's institutional narrative. After looking at the field of Rhetoric and Composition's interaction with digital humanities, this chapter concludes by outlining next steps for the project.

Considering Digital Humanities in Rhetoric and Composition

In the introduction to their November 2013 *College English* special issue on digital humanities (DH) and rhetorical historiography, David Gold and Jessica Enoch argue:

There is collaboration among and extensive conversation with scholars inside and outside rhetoric and composition, stakeholder groups, and digital experts. We want to highlight the significant part collaboration plays in these projects, and we want to encourage these and other scholars to continue to discuss the nature of their collaborations. We are confident that as scholars become more involved in complex digital historiography projects, collaboration will become increasingly important. (109)

These complex projects can increase disciplinary intersections and conversations and thusly increase diverse approaches to historiography. As Gold and Enoch note, our field's movement toward intersections of digital humanities is indeed an extension of extensive conversations such as those attached to multimodality and the ways in which we understand terms and their importance,⁷⁷ epistemological practices associated with multimodality,⁷⁸ connections between literacy and multimodality,⁷⁹ and racial implications associated with technology and multimodality.⁸⁰ Claire Lauer explains multimodality is best understood as “the cognitive and socially situated choices...made in compositions” (“Contending with Terms”). Lauer’s explanation privileges the rhetorical possibilities associated with multimodality that prompt me to consider the influence of rhetoric and digital humanities via Jim Ridolfo and Bill Hart-Davidson’s *Rhetoric and*

⁷⁷ See NCTE Position Statement; Yancey; Sirc; Selfe; Ball

⁷⁸ See Kress; Wysocki

⁷⁹ See Hull and Nelson; Rumsey; Fraiberg

⁸⁰ See Banks; Kynard; Redd; Nakamura

Digital Humanities (2015) edited volume, where they introduce connections between rhetoric and DH. They position these connections as having the potential to aid our field's competitive edge when considering the types of projects we explore and also how these connections may prove beneficial to graduate students as they market themselves beyond doctoral studies. Such is the case with historiography's nascent connection to the subfield of digital humanities. Further, this competitive edge can be extended to HBCU communities as well. Many of these institutions are engaging digital humanities through STEM and STEAM related programs, most resulting in career outcomes with companies like Google and Apple.⁸¹ However, the same energy can be attached to writing studies through communal projects that center students and the institution.

In "Delivering Textual Diaspora: Building Digital Cultural Repositories as Rhetorical Research," Jim Ridolfo explains, "the work of amplifying a textual diaspora requires multi-institutional collaboration, teams of specialists, and fieldwork." He then poses this "core rhetorical question: what do communities want to do with their texts?" and continues by arguing that "In providing a method for answering this question, rhetorical studies earn a seat at the larger DH table." Ridolfo's acknowledgement of historiography's potential to be an answer to this core question not only encourages thoughts of how rhetorical studies and DH could work collaboratively, but it also alleviates anxiety centered on thoughts that such a collaboration could not be harmonious. He articulates, "Rather than thinking about research in the digital humanities in opposition to serving communities of practice beyond scholarly circles, there needs to be greater disciplinary space to cultivate reciprocal relationships. In turn, DH

⁸¹ Programs like Howard University's early career pathways program with Apple, or their digital humanities and technology education-based program with Google.

relationships based on engagement, informed by rhetorical studies, and guided by an ethos of reciprocity to stakeholder communities will, in turn, lead to even larger research questions, projects, and knowledge.”

Jessica Enoch and Jean Bessette discuss these ideas at greater length in their 2013 essay “Meaningful Engagements: Feminist Historiography and the Digital Humanities.” They, too, see the potential our field possesses to foster and sustain relationships with the digital humanities. Although their essay addresses potential pitfalls of such a possibility, they acknowledge that this connection could “change the game” for historical work in our field because “[...] very few feminist historiographers have taken up digital methodologies or engaged digital humanist conversations” beyond “[...] digital environments from blogs and online chat rooms to video games and electronic writing classrooms.” Through connections with DH, historiography can continue to shape our field’s advances toward more diverse and inclusive practices that move us beyond traditional archival methods to digital spaces that take innovative forms and that continue to challenge notions of narrative primacy. If we are to “seize the methodological moment” as Enoch and Gold suggest, it is important to continue to think about history as a vehicle to mobilize our continued progression toward more participatory and inclusive engagement with methods, identity, and innovation. These acknowledgements further articulate the current progression of historiography for our field⁸² and allow me to locate and identify the richness of HBCU history within this progression.

Looking Ahead

⁸² See Rice; Enoch, “Feminist Historiography”; Shannon and Dent; Miller; Licastro and Belli

For my scholarly emergence, the above-mentioned progression takes me back to Tougaloo where I am able to enact the Sankofa energy described in the introduction and work alongside the Tougaloo community to continue to foster and sustain HBCU literacies. In an interview with my former “Mission: Involvement” instructor and now Director of Tougaloo’s First-Year Experience Program, Alfredlene Armstrong, I learned that *The View* is no longer included in the first-year orientation course. In fact, she mentioned that after Rogers stopped coming to the classes in the mid-2000s to discuss his role in the publication of the text and to emphasize the importance of learning and cherishing Tougaloo history, the emphasis to use the text for instruction waned. Disconcerted, she continued by recalling that my class may have been the last group of students to interact with the text at length. After sharing my findings surrounding *The View* and *Harambee*, she and I discussed the importance of revising the delivery of the institutional history and thinking of more interdisciplinary approaches to considering history and the future. From this exchange, a few things surfaced: (1) Rogers’s contributions around *The View* reached further than the seemingly opportunistic exchanges within his correspondence with Campbell; (2) Mrs. Armstrong was not pleased with the fact that Tougaloo history through *The View* was no longer included in the orientation course; (3) she was interested in exploring more innovative and accessible ways to include this historical information in future orientation courses. Those things considered, we have begun active consideration of what it might mean to have a digital and interactive text for students. The material history presented in “Shifting the View, Turning the Page” and the overall argument for enhanced engagement with the institutional narrative genre promote the necessity for such an undertaking. Ultimately,

the digital text would allow cross-disciplinary engagement with the already composed historical narrative while building on the already composed narrative.

The immediate importance of this interaction was most aptly seen through the points above. The more long-term importance, however, was more conceptual, but nevertheless present. As I listened to Mrs. Armstrong's concerns and contemplated the HBCU literacies present in my study, but also through my own experiences as a then-student and now-scholar, the importance of respect and reciprocity surfaced more urgently than ever before. These ethical considerations had been present throughout the study; but as I looked ahead to the future expansions surrounding the project, they were more pronounced. In the moments of discussion, I acknowledged how valuable this exchange was and how my concerns around my insider-outsider positionality might affect the future success of this project. More plainly, I didn't want my archival interrogations and digital suggestions to be read as malicious or antagonistic. Mrs. Armstrong asserted that my suggestions were welcomed and needed, ensuring me that she would be on the ground making certain that this work was possible. Her willingness to partner for next steps is important because the prioritizing of the Tougaloo community and students' needs must remain at the fore of this work. With that in mind, I shared the following plans for the further development of this study.

In 2019, Tougaloo College will celebrate its sesquicentennial Founders' Day. As this milestone approaches, it is befitting to think through the historical narratives that have shaped the institution and the curricular and digital futures for the institution. That considered, "Where History Meets the Future" functions also as a conceptual frame for critical attention to representations of student voices within future developments of the

institution's historical narrative. This alternate narrative, complete with multiple voices and perspectives, will not only be useful for the fast-approaching milestone celebration, but also for the future of instruction and institutional record at Tougaloo and possibly HBCUs more generally. In working to supplement these issues, my research first identifies the history behind the text to present one frame for understanding institutional histories. The locating of student voices activates those supplemental efforts. In this regard, my project brings to the table over and beyond what *The View* presents by employing student newspapers and the voices they represent as integral to the reframing of the now deconstructed narrative. Finally, my research gestures toward how I see this project's discoveries converting into new and active approaches that center on digital archival studies.

As the previous chapter explained, I encountered a large amount of rich representations of student compositions through my engagement with *Harambee* publications. I would like to build on the February 1969 sample provided here in a monograph aimed at forwarding my concept of HBCU literacies through interrogation of student writing across the seven-year span of the Black Campus Movement. It is my hope that this will provide a backdrop for the current conceptualization of the resurgence of a contemporary Black Campus Movement.

Additionally, it is my plan to use these findings as motivation for a larger long-term project, the HBCU Voices Project. The HBCU Voices Project is a digital collection of HBCU narratives. The project's origins are a direct response to the need to shift the national view of HBCU scholarship, as I mentioned earlier. My central focus in the creation of The HBCU Voices project is the archiving of voices of students who are

presently enrolled at HBCUs. Currently, the presence of contemporary HBCU students within archived spaces is minimal. HBCU Story, whose primary mission is “to preserve, present, and promote inspiring stories of the HBCU community’s past and present, for the future,” for instance, offers space for the sharing of, as the name suggests, HBCU stories. While I certainly think these efforts are remarkable and contribute to much-needed shifts, I argue that the constant overlooking of current students omits the most central part of the story. To which I offer a solution of turning to writing studies for curricular and digital approaches that promote composition instruction that actively contributes to a living archive. More plainly, I am interested in working with HBCU writing instructors and program administrators to design curricula centered around the composing, collecting, and circulation of HBCU student narratives, which will be housed in the larger digital archive. Currently, HBCU Story, founded by Dr. Crystal deGregory, highlights the voices of HBCU alumni with the intention of circulating HBCU experiences. This space would not be viewed as a competitor for the collection, curating, and circulating of voices associated with HBCU Voices. In fact, the archive I imagine does look to members of the HBCU community who have attended, are associated with, have contributed to, are interested in, and/or are affiliated with the institutions, but undoubtedly seeks to prioritize the voice of current students. These voices are vital to future presentations of the institution’s history. The Tougaloo Voices, then, will serve as a model that might be taken on by other HBCU institutions, which would place students at the center of histories meeting the future for these learning spaces. Acknowledging how US Higher Education has contributed to US American history is fundamental to understanding the importance of these historically black spaces. Further, attempts to

compose, circulate, and communicate these historical understandings is equally, and arguably more important. Moreover, for HBCUs, the importance of publishing these narratives is exponential, as HBCUs are unduly impacted by the shifting landscape of higher education.

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APPENDICIES

Appendix A

TOUGALOO COLLEGE
TOUGALOO, MISSISSIPPI 39174

OFFICE OF
THE PRESIDENT

January 4, 1967

Mrs. Clarice Campbell
P. O. Box 1638
University, Mississippi 38677

Dear Mrs. Campbell:

I was very pleased to get your telephone call the other day and to learn that you are making good progress towards the terminal degree. I am enclosing herewith the letter that you requested. I hope that it will be of some use.

As I stated in the letter to the Fund, I would very much like to have you return to Tougaloo. Therefore, please keep me informed about your plans and your progress.

Ruth joins me in good wishes to you for the new year.

Sincerely yours,



George A. Owens
President

GAO:gl

Enclosure

TOUGALOO COLLEGE
TOUGALOO, MISSISSIPPI 39174

OFFICE OF
THE PRESIDENT

January 4, 1967

Southern Fellowships Fund
P. O. Box 427
Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514

Gentlemen:

Mrs. Clarice Campbell was an esteemed member of our faculty from September, 1963 through May, 1965. She resigned her position at the end of this period to study for an advanced degree in history. Mrs. Campbell has all of those fine attributes that we look for in a faculty member and we are anxiously awaiting her return to Tougaloo. It is our plan to reemploy her as a member of our History Department.

We urge and recommend your approval of a grant to assist Mrs. Campbell in her graduate study because of what it will mean for her personal growth and development and because the greater service that she will be able to render will strengthen our faculty and thereby improve the effectiveness of this college.

Sincerely yours,



George A. Owens
President

GAO:gl

Appendix B

January 31, 1970

Harper and Row, Publishers
New York, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

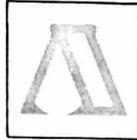
From the enclosed abstract and preface of my Ph.D. dissertation, can you determine whether or not you would be interested in publishing my history of Tougaloo College?

As presently written the story, including footnotes, bibliographical essay, and appendix, has 401 pages. These could be reduced somewhat, and the story improved for popular reading, if I were to eliminate footnotes on sources. A section at the end of the book could tell from what sources each chapter was developed without attempting to pinpoint every factual statement.

Because my friends at Tougaloo College and my advisers at the University of Mississippi are urging me to attempt publication while interest is still high in Tougaloo and other predominantly black schools, I would appreciate an early answer from you.

Sincerely,

Dr. Clarice T. Campbell



ABINGDON PRESS, 201 EIGHTH AVENUE SOUTH, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37202 TELEPHONE (615) 242-1621

EMORY STEVENS BUCKE, SENIOR EDITOR

April 8, 1970

Dr. Clarice T. Campbell
Rust College
Holly Springs, Mississippi 38635

Dear Dr. Campbell:

Thank you for your letter of April 5 concerning the revised version of your doctoral dissertation on the history of Tougaloo College.

My fear is that this would have a very limited market. On the other hand if it is dealing with universal history in common with other black institutions there may be a publishing possibility involved. I would be happy to see the outline and perhaps a few sample chapters of the material. The enclosed brochure will answer some of your questions about procedure. On the basis of that examination we would be in a better position to advise concerning publishing possibility. Thank you for letting us know of your work.

Very sincerely,



Emory Stevens Bucke
Senior Editor

ESB:js
enclosure

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PRAEGER PUBLISHERS, INC. • 111 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003 • (212) - 254-4100 • CABLE: PRABOOKS

9 April 1970

Miss Clarice T. Campbell
Division of Social Sciences
Rust College
Holly Springs, Miss. 38635

Dear Miss Campbell:

Thank you for offering us a revised history of your doctoral dissertation on the history of Tongaloo College.

Unfortunately it will not fit our present list and therefore I cannot pursue it by asking to see the introduction which you offer. It undoubtedly is a very well worthwhile project but one that will probably have only a limited readership. You may find the most encouraging response from one of the university presses. But thank you for thinking of us.

Yours sincerely,

William J. Weatherby
William J. Weatherby
Editor

WJW:nf



THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS

Box 2288, Chapel Hill, N. C. 27514

April 10, 1970

Miss Clarice T. Campbell
Division of Social Sciences
Rust College
Holly Springs, Mississippi 38635

Dear Miss Campbell:

We have given careful consideration to your proposal of a history of Tougaloo College, and I am afraid we have had to decide we should not encourage you to submit the manuscript to us. We have done a few institutional histories in the past, and frankly we have not been too happy with the results. Such works are almost impossible to sell and require extremely large subsidies. In addition, our program is fairly heavily committed for the immediate future, and I am not sure that we would be able to work in a publication such as this, even should it be approved editorially and should the financing be worked out satisfactorily.

We appreciate your thinking of us in connection with your work and regret that we cannot be more encouraging. Actually we feel that institutional histories can probably best be handled as a private publication of the school involved--a procedure through which a number of economies can be effected--and we would suggest that you explore the possibility. We wish you the best of luck.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Leslie E. Phillabaum", with a long horizontal line extending to the right.

Leslie E. Phillabaum
Editor-in-chief

LEP/bc

June 8, 1970

The Viking Press, Inc.
625 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10022

Sirs:

Would you be interested in publishing a revised version of my doctoral dissertation on the history of Tougaloo College?

It is more than a story of the college. Reconstruction personalities, race relations, and northern missionaries are all seen in a new light because of primary sources recently made available by the Amistad Research Center at Fisk University.

If you are interested, I will send you a copy of my introduction which gives a fairly good over-view of the story.

Sincerely,

Clarice T. Campbell
Assoc. Prof. of History

Perhaps I should have mentioned that Tougaloo is a predominantly black college near Jackson, Mississippi.



THE VIKING PRESS INC. PUBLISHERS

625 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK • N Y • 10022

Cable: Vikpress Telephone: (212) PL 5-4330

17 June 1970

Miss Clarice T. Campbell
Rust College
Holly Spring, Mississippi 38635

Dear Miss Campbell:

Thank you for offering us the revision of your dissertation on the history of Tougaloo College. While we appreciate your thinking of us, the work does sound too special for our rather general list, and I think you might be better advised to try a university press.

I hope you will bear us in mind if you have projects of a broader nature concerning which you would like to query a trade publisher. In any case, please accept best wishes in finding an outlet for your present work.

Sincerely,

Alan D. Williams
Editorial Director

ADW:jdc

December 18, 1970

Department of Archives and History
Jackson, Mississippi

Sirs:

Your Mississippi History Newsletter of October 1970 referred to the new University and College Press of Mississippi.

Would it possibly be interested in publishing my history of Tougaloo College? This is more than a college history as it throws new light on Reconstruction in Mississippi and subsequent race relations.

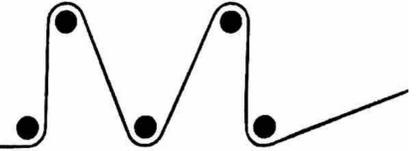
You may have a microfilmed copy of "The History Of Tougaloo College" (not to be confused with "The Founding of Tougaloo College"), my doctoral dissertation at the University of Mississippi. I would revise it somewhat for publication.

Please let me know if you think the idea worth pursuing.

Sincerely,

Clarice T. Campbell

UNIVERSITY & COLLEGE PRESS OF MISSISSIPPI



December 30, 1970

*Dr. Clarice T. Campbell
Division of Social Sciences
Rust College
Holly Springs, Mississippi 38635*

Dear Dr. Campbell:

Your letter of December 18 has been forwarded to me by Dr. R. A. McLemore who is the Director of Archives and History. We would be interested in your HISTORY OF TOUGALOO COLLEGE but there are a number of perplexing problems which will have to be solved before we could finally publish it.

The University and College Press of Mississippi is a non-profit corporation which is owned and operated by the three state owned universities and five colleges. Each university and each college puts up a certain amount of money for the operation of the Press for each year. Each university and each college has a publication committee and they approve any manuscript which has originated on their campus. With this approval we can go ahead and publish the manuscript with the understanding that the university or college will pay the cost of printing and binding. We in turn publish the book and promote sale of the book and return to the university or college a proportionate part of the sale price which is represented by the cost of printing and binding. In this way each university and college has a revolving fund for the use of faculty publishing.

I am enclosing a copy of our Policies and Procedures and if you will notice on page seven we have a paragraph about private colleges and private universities and private individuals who submit manuscripts. In your particular case you might have the manuscript sponsored by Rust College or Tougaloo College. The cost

•Dr. Robert C. Cook, Director
Univ. and College Press of Mississippi

•Dr. R. E. Waters
Alcorn A. and M. College

•Dr. Jack W. Gunn
Delta State College

•Dr. Oscar A. Rogers
Jackson State College

•Dr. Harvey C. Cromwell
Miss. State College for Women

•Dr. John K. Bettersworth
Miss. State University

•Dr. O. P. Lowe
Miss. Valley State College

•Dr. C. E. Noyes
University of Mississippi

•Dr. John E. Gonzales
University of Southern Mississippi

Dr. Clarice T. Campbell

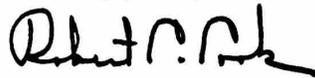
*Page 2
12/30/70*

of printing and binding would depend altogether on the size of your manuscript. We are publishing a number of doctorate thesis which have been shortened and condensed as monographs of 80 to 100 pages. These monographs are relatively inexpensive with 1,000 copies costing about \$900.00.

Two other suggestions about your manuscript: we would like for your major professor at the University of Mississippi to write us a letter about this manuscript. We would also like for someone in authority at Tougaloo College to read the manuscript and to write us a letter recommending it to us. One of the main problems you would have would be to get either Rust College or Tougaloo to sponsor your manuscript.

I will look forward to corresponding further about this matter, and with very best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,



*Robert C. Cook
Director*

RCC/yae

cc: Dr. R. A. McLemore

UNIVERSITY AND COLLEGE PRESS OF MISSISSIPPI
- Policies and Procedures -

The UNIVERSITY AND COLLEGE PRESS OF MISSISSIPPI is the publishing facility of the following colleges and universities under the jurisdiction of the Board of Trustees of Institutions of Higher Learning of the State of Mississippi: Alcorn A. and M. College, Delta State College, Jackson State College, Mississippi State College for Women, Mississippi Valley State College, Mississippi State University, University of Mississippi, and University of Southern Mississippi. Other colleges and learned professional societies in Mississippi may hold associate membership without representation on the Board of Directors. Individuals may hold Charter Memberships without representation on the Board of Directors. The University and College Press functions in much the same way as any other publishing house, although unlike commercial publishers it operates on a non-profit basis and its program is devoted largely to scholarly books.

The editorial, production, and sales offices of the Press are located presently on the campus of the University of Southern Mississippi. In the future the offices will be located in the Research and Development Building in Jackson. The publishing and procedural policies are determined by a Board of Directors, consisting of a representative from each of the member institutions.

I. GENERAL PHILOSOPHY

The basic purpose of the University and College Press of Mississippi is the publication of scholarly works. A university press does not compete with commercial publishers but concentrates its efforts on materials which contributes to knowledge and to the preservation and transmission of our cultural heritage. Special encouragement is given to works of national interest about the history, culture, or other aspects of Mississippi, the South, and the Mississippi Valley. The Press does not publish fiction or works intended to be used primarily as textbooks. The Press, therefore, cannot accept the profit motive as a primary consideration.

Members of the Mississippi university and college system are particularly encouraged to submit the results of their research and studies, but submission of scholarly manuscripts is welcomed from all sources. Manuscripts will be selected for publication with due consideration of the needs of the State of Mississippi and its institutions of higher learning.

The Press is interested in inaugurating new and promising publishing programs, and welcomes innovative proposals and suggestions from its academic constituency.

A. PAPERBOUND PUBLICATIONS. *The Press will occasionally publish books in paper covers. A Press Committee may make recommendations for the publication of paperback reprint books in the same manner as for manuscripts in hardbound covers.*

B. SCIENCE PUBLICATIONS. *The same policies and procedures as those employed for all other subject areas shall apply to scientific works, taking into*

account only such modifications as are required by the nature and subject matter of scientific writing.

C. OTHER PUBLISHING PROJECTS. Any proposal for a scholarly journal or a series of scholarly monographs should be presented to the appropriate institutional Press Committee in the form of a detailed prospectus, which must include a statement of the ability of the sponsoring department or agency to sustain the proposal, its planned editorial organization, sources of financing, and a proposed budget. Upon approval by the Press Committee and the President of the sponsoring institution, the prospectus will be forwarded to the Director of the University and College Press.

Upon the recommendation of the Director, the Board will assure itself that the sponsoring department can furnish responsible editorship and adequate financial support, and can maintain the scholarly value of the project (to be determined partly through review by out-of-state scholars), before voting to approve the project. A periodic review of all journals and series will be made by the Board, at which time a decision for continuance, improvement, revision, or discontinuance will be made.

As a general rule, dissertations or theses will not be considered unless they have been rewritten into acceptable book manuscripts.

II. PRESS COMMITTEES

Each of the participating institutions of the Press maintains a Press Committee consisting of from three to five members appointed by the college or university administration. The chief function of these committees is to recommend publication of acceptable manuscripts submitted by faculty members of their respective institutions.

The Chairman of each Press Committee is responsible for calling meetings of his committee, preparing an agenda for each meeting, arranging to have minutes kept of business transacted, and maintaining a regular liaison with the editorial offices of the Press. The Committee will review all manuscripts submitted to it by members of its faculty. It will also choose readers for those manuscripts it believes to be publishable; usually it will select this "first reader" from the faculty of one of the other member institutions of the Press. Should one of the Press Committee members desire to submit his own manuscript for publication by the Press, it is suggested that his work be sent directly to the Director of the Press, who will arrange the preliminary reading.

A. LIAISON WITH CENTRAL OFFICE. The Press Director will maintain liaison with institutional Press Committees. The Director will visit regularly the campus of each participating institution, where arrangements will be made for him to conduct interviews with prospective authors and to consult with Press Committee members and others on various research and publishing matters in which the institution is interested. Whenever possible and appropriate, the Press Director will attend meetings of Committees. Visits by the Director for editorial purposes will be scheduled well in advance, and the Chairman of each Press Committee will undertake to advertise the presence of the Director on campus through faculty newsletters or by other means and also to provide a centrally located office for use by the Director during his visits. Editorial interviews with prospective authors will be conducted in privacy, but the Director will write brief reports of all such interviews - copies of which will be sent to the chairmen of each institutional Press

IV. SCHOLARLY READERS

Manuscripts submitted by faculty members of participating institutions of the Press must undergo at least two critical readings before they may be recommended to the Board of Directors for publication. The first reading of a manuscript will be secured by the institutional Press Committee. Usually, it will choose a reader from the faculty of one of the participating institutions. If the preliminary reader's report is favorable---and the administration of the institution expresses a willingness to subsidize the publication of the work---the manuscript, together with the supportive documents, will be sent to the Director of the Press. The Director of the Press will then select a competent scholar - not connected in any way with the author, the participating institutions of the Press, or the staff of the Press - to review the manuscript. It is important to emphasize that at no time should the identity of the readers be known to the author. The services of eminent scholars as readers will be paid for by the Press. Occasionally, the report of a reader may seem to a Committee or to the Editorial Staff of the Press to be manifestly unjust. In such cases, a manuscript may be sent to a second or a third reader for evaluation. Some readers' reports are conditional; though they may approve of a manuscript in the main, they will suggest that certain additions, deletions, or other revisions be made before the manuscript is accepted for publication. If these suggestions are reasonable and acceptable to the author and he incorporates them into his manuscript, the work may then---with the concurrence of the reader---be recommended without qualifications to the Board of Directors for publication. The editorial staff of the Press will assist an author in every reasonable way to implement those changes suggested by the reader in the organization and content of his manuscript. All notifications to an author of acceptance, rejection, or recommendations for revision of a manuscript will be made by the Press Committee Chairmen at the level of preliminary readings and by the Director of the Press where the revision is based on final, outside readings. Such communications will be confidential.

It should be emphasized that all publications of the Press must be referred; no book, monograph, or journal can be published by the Press without the favorable endorsement of an expert and disinterested scholar not affiliated in any way with the University and College Press of Mississippi and its member institutions.

V. THE PUBLISHING FACILITY

The central office of the Press is supervised by the Press Director, who is accountable to the Board of Directors, the President's Council and the Board of Trustees of Institutions of Higher Learning. The functions of the Press are divided into four broad categories: the procurement of manuscripts, manuscript editing, book production, and the promotion and marketing of books. In the beginning, most of this work, with the exception of consulting editorial help and proofreading, will be the responsibility of the Director. The Director will call on many of the resources of the sponsoring universities and colleges for help in typographical design and layouts, in preparation of brochures and advertisements and in the design of jackets of books.

A. **SUBMISSION OF MANUSCRIPTS.** *The editorial staff welcomes inquiries by mail or telephone from prospective authors in the early stages of preparing manuscripts. The University and College Press of Mississippi has no "house style," but recommends to authors THE CHICAGO MANUAL OF STYLE (latest edition) as an excellent general guide to the preparation of manuscripts. Manuscripts should be submitted in ribbon copy and should be entirely double spaced---footnotes, quotations, and bibliographies as well as text. One copy of the manuscript is usually sufficient for Press consideration. Authors should always retain a duplicate copy.*

B. **EDITING OF MANUSCRIPTS.** *The Director through consulting editors has the general responsibility for the editing of all manuscripts once they have been approved for publication by the Board of Directors. The purpose of this editing is to see that the manuscript is in final form, both in substance and in style, and ready for the production department.*

The first stage of the editing process involves large, substantive changes in the manuscript, changes concerned with matters of organization, the deletion or addition of sections of the work, and major questions of emphasis or interpretation. These revisions will be based upon the readers' evaluation and upon the consulting editor's own recommendations after an examination of the manuscript; the final arrangements will, of course, be determined in consultation with the author. The Director may also consider with the author the desirability and selection of illustrations.

It is the author's responsibility to furnish all illustrative material in form suitable for reproduction (glossy prints of photographs, paintings, and engravings, finished drawings of charts, graphs, and maps); the editorial staff may, however, advise an author on the preparation of these materials and aid him in having them done in accordance with the Press's requirements. The author is likewise assumed to have full rights to all material that will appear in his book. Therefore, it will save time and possible difficulty for him to have secured all necessary permissions and clearances before the manuscript is edited. Copies of these documents will be required for the Press's files.

Once necessary substantive questions have been cleared with the author, the Director will assign the manuscript to an editor for copyediting. The copyeditor goes over the manuscript closely, correcting errors of grammar, faulty sentence structure, punctuation, and matters of fact; and he sees to it that the manuscript conforms to the usages adopted by the Press in capitalization, compound words, numbers, spelling, and documentation. The standard followed by the Press on these questions is A MANUAL OF STYLE (latest edition, University of Chicago Press), referred to earlier in this document. The use of this manual by prospective authors in the preparation of their manuscripts will make for considerable ease and saving of time in the handling of their work. The copyeditor also assures that all illustrations are coordinated with the text. A memorandum will be submitted with the edited manuscript containing questions and recommendations by the copyeditor.

When the final editing of the manuscript has been completed, the edited manuscript is sent to the author so that he may check it carefully and respond

to the questions and recommendations of the copyeditor. Inasmuch as changes in type are time-consuming and expensive, it is important that the author devote all possible care to his consideration of the manuscript at this point to assure himself that it is in final form. If this is done, there should be little reason for further changes once the manuscript has gone into production, the next stage in the process of publication.

C. PRODUCTION. *When the final editing of a manuscript has been completed, the production of books from "copy" (as the manuscript is now termed) commences. The designer prepares typographical layouts and specifications, which become the basis for marking copy for the printer. (The sometimes cryptic marks, usually in blue, that now appear on the copy are directions to the printer; the red marks are those made by the printer.) The copy is then sent to the printer, who prepares sample pages for approval. Once the final specifications have been settled, the printer begins composition - setting of type. The author will be sent a set of galley proofs, usually already read at least once, along with the "copy." He should read the proof carefully, comparing it with the copy, preferably with the help of another person, and he should mark his corrections clearly in black pencil in the right margin. He need not concern himself with proofreader's marks; his corrections will be transferred to the printer's galleys.*

The author's galleys will next be marked in red for pagination, with the page numbers indicated in the left margin at the bottom of each page division. This paged galley proof will then be returned to the author for the preparation of the index. Now the left margin may be used to jot down subject entries. The index copy is handled in the same manner as the text copy, except that sometimes the printer will skip the galley proof stage and go directly into page proof.

When page proof is sent to the author, he should check all the corrections that were marked in his galley proof. Too, this is likely the first chance that he will have to see all of the front matter (title page, contents, page, etc.) and the display lines. It is advisable at this stage to read the proof from beginning to end as many times as the author has friends willing to help him do so (and the publishing schedule will permit). Revised page proofs will be sent, if necessary, to show all but the last-minute corrections, but the author seldom will be allowed the time to report additional errors before the order to print and bind is given.

D. MARKETING BOOKS. *Before a book is published, the Director and his assistants prepare publicity releases designed to reach a wide range of newspapers, magazines, journals, and individuals as well as the standard bibliographic and book trade media. Review copies will be mailed to selected media. The mailing of this informational material is so timed as to gain the maximum publicity for the book when it is published. Much of the copy for these advertisements and announcements is based upon information supplied by the author in a questionnaire submitted to him by the Press. Advertising is also placed in selected professional and scholarly media to call the book to the attention of both libraries and individual buyers. Direct mail materials are also prepared and sent to selected lists of scholars in disciplines related to the subject of the book. Meanwhile, the domestic and international sales representatives of the Press call upon the retail bookstores and book wholesalers to insure that stocks of the books will be available for sale as the promotional measures affect the public.*

As reviews and comments on the book are received at the Press, new plans are formulated to maintain the momentum of the sales of the book. Copies of all

of the publications of the Press are exhibited regularly at scholarly meetings, and scholars in disciplines related to Press books are circularized on a continuing basis.

The Director also negotiates with foreign publishers for the sale of the rights for foreign language publication and advises the Board of Directors as to whether the issuance of the book in paperback format would stimulate its sale and enhance its usefulness.

E. NON-PARTICIPATING INSTITUTIONS, ORGANIZATIONS, AND INDIVIDUALS.
Publications of the Press from non-participating sources are classified as (a) those supported by non-public organizations, including private colleges, and (b) those originating with private individuals without specific institutional or organizational support.

Non-public, non-participating institutions wishing to subsidize a publication will be expected to follow a screening process similar to that followed by the state-supported universities and colleges, including a review of the proposed publication by a qualified scholarly critic. After approval by the private institution, the recommended manuscript, with accompanying documents of approval, including critical evaluations obtained by the screening group, shall be forwarded to the central office of the Press, which will submit it to a standing Screening Committee for Manuscripts from Non-Participating Sources, made up of three members on the Board, selected by the Director with approval of the Board. This committee, acting in concert with the Director of the Press, will determine the desirability of considering the manuscript for publication. If action is favorable, the manuscript will be submitted for scholarly review by the central office. Finally, after the reviewing process is completed, the Board Screening Committee will make a formal recommendation to the Board for action.

Private individuals will submit manuscripts directly to the central office of the Press, which shall follow the same process as outlined in paragraph 2 above, beginning with the reviewing process by the Screening Committee of the Board of Directors.

Financial arrangements, including expenditures for editing, production, sales, and royalties shall be the same as those prescribed for the participating institutions, except that overhead costs will be deducted from the income from all books originating from non-participating sources before the established percentage of return from net sales is allowed.

It will be necessary to impress upon all non-participating institutions and individuals who wish to enter into publication contracts with the University and College Press that the Press does not exist for the purpose of bringing into print manuscripts that are not of a scholarly or professional nature, or that have been deemed unacceptable by other University presses. Rather, the Press will expect to maintain the same rigid standards of excellence that obtain in the other university presses of the country.

* * * * *

Inquiries should be addressed to:

*Dr. Robert C. Cook, Director
 University and College Press of Mississippi
 Southern Station, Box 5164
 Hattiesburg, Mississippi 39401*

(Telephone: 601- 266-7384)

March 2, 1976

Dr. Barney McKee
Research and Development Center
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Dr. McKee:

I'm sorry to be so long in writing you my plans for revision but it took longer to finish some papers promised earlier than I anticipated.

If you have found time to read my story of Tougaloo College, you may be able to make some sense of the changes I am about to pin-point here.

1) I would change the title to:

MISSISSIPPI: *The View from Tougaloo*
~~As Viewed from the Cupola of~~
TOUGALOO COLLEGE

In keeping with this title, the cover could picture the original mansion--still in use--with the cupola an outstanding feature. This building is to Tougaloo what the Lyceum building is to Ole Miss.

2) If the abstract is used, I suggest changing the second paragraph to:

C "This is the story of one of these institutions, Tougaloo College, located just outside of Jackson, Mississippi, and the state in which it operates. From the year of its founding in 1869 until the end of this account in 1960, it had to find a "modus vivendi" in a region where whites considered blacks a lesser breed, where white resentment over "the lost cause" ~~had~~^{was} never been completely forgotten, and where whites lived in fear of "outside agitators."

3) I would remove all documentary footnotes and try to bring any content footnotes of human interest or of implications for state history into the main body of the story. I doubt it would be necessary to be any more explicit about the sources than the bibliographical essay is. Any person having an interest in exact sources could get the original dissertation.

4) The first chapter probably should be retained for its background in history, geography, and tradition. However, I have tentatively condensed it to about half the original length. I brought two footnotes about Huggins into the main body of the chapter. This is in keeping with our present inclination to give greater emphasis to the broader aspects of Mississippi history as indicated in the new title.

5) Though I am not sure how successfully I could do it, I am now thinking of condensing chapters 2 through 5 and chapter 14 (The Utilities Revolution) into one chapter (the second). This chapter might be introduced in something of the following manner:

"The early years of Tougaloo were marked by penury, makeshift, personal conflicts, and discord with the American Missionary Association. Before the advent of modern utilities, the school had to wrestle with wood-chopping and carrying, water procural and carrying, fire-building, washing by hand, carrying slops, bell-ringing, and lamp-lighting. Privies were unsanitary and odorous. Baths were occasional. The farm was at times an ordeal rather than an asset. There was little comfort, convenience, or safety. Unpleasant work was frequently used as penalty for infringement of rules. Yet the school progressed, with an indomitable persistence, in spite of unbelievable vicissitudes, to an arrival beyond dismay, with electricity lifting petty burdens and opening new vistas."

A paragraph such as this would open the way for a topical discussion of events rather than the chronological one presently used. This would eliminate the emphasis on administrations of the presidents to which the "reader" at Greenwood objected.

Aside from the above changes I think the story could stand as is except for lightening the language in places.

I would be interested to know what you think of these suggestions. Perhaps, if you have read the dissertation, you have suggestions of your own. I would be interested in hearing them.

Sincerely,

Clarice T. Campbell

P.S. Let me know if you would like to see the first chapter as I have re-written it.

C.T.C.

University Press of
MISSISSIPPI

3825 Ridgewood Road, Jackson, Mississippi 39211
(601) 982-6205

June 25, 1976

Dr. Clarice T. Campbell
Box 41, Rust College
Holly Springs, MS 38635

Dear Dr. Campbell:

Your letter of March 2 did arrive and I have reviewed the revisions to your manuscript that you described. I think all of the revisions listed will benefit the manuscript. I propose that you proceed with the revision work.

Please excuse my delay in providing you with this response. Your book has been placed in a category marked "Publication Possibilities for 1977." The demands of the titles that are currently in production sometimes preempt the attention that should be given those under consideration. I would like for you to finalize your manuscript and submit it to the Press so that we may begin the process of establishing this title as one that we are committed to publish. This process will consist of evaluation readings along with the necessary sponsorship arrangement.

I am returning at this time the xerox copy of your manuscript. Please keep me advised as the revision work proceeds.

Best regards,



Barney McKee
Director

BM:cs

Enclosure

SPONSORING INSTITUTIONS

Alcorn State University, Delta State University, Jackson State University,
Mississippi State University, Mississippi University for Women, Mississippi Valley State
University, University of Mississippi, University of Southern Mississippi

Appendix C

October 30, 1976

Dr. Oscar Allan Rogers, Jr.
1510 School View Drive
Jackson, Mississippi 39213

Dear Dr. Rogers:

It was good to meet you again and to talk with you briefly about Tougaloo College.

A note from Ms. Coleman this week mentions that you, at one time, had hoped to write the college's history. It occurs to me that you may have started the story. If so, and if you think we could work together successfully, I'd be happy to share authorship. My main purpose is to get this fascinating and inspiring story out where it can be helpful in giving a better understanding of the struggle to build a good college and something of the achievements of its graduates. I certainly do not want to "cut in" on the work you or anyone else has started.

My immediate purpose in writing this letter is to ask if you would be willing to write down or tape some of the details concerning the achievements of graduates. I want actual names where possible--not just a certain number of doctors, lawyers, professors, etc., though the number of each would be helpful, too. You may prefer to send me names and addresses of alumni whom I could write or interview. I will of course be in touch with the Public Relations office at Tougaloo, also.

Possibly you would like to send me some notes on the years when you were a student at Tougaloo.

If you would rather I visit you for an interview, I'll arrange for that--or, if you plan to be in northern Mississippi or Memphis sometime soon, you might stop to see me at Rust College. My home is at 700 N. Randolph Extension, really on the school's campus. My phone: 252-2534.

As for the purpose of our meeting in N.O. I have been instrumental in getting one "late entry" applicant. The name is Janis White. She was an outstanding student, has a master's from Ole Miss, and now teaches high school in Memphis. If you are on any committee which reviews the applicants, I hope you will pursue her qualifications. She is GOOD in all respects.

Sincerely,

Clarice T. Campbell



JACKSON STATE UNIVERSITY
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI 39217

GRADUATE OFFICE

November 2, 1976

Dr. Clarice T. Campbell
Rust College
Box 41
Holly Springs, MS 38635

Dear Dr. Campbell:

If you are willing to let me take second billings as a co-author of a History of Tougaloo College, I would gladly work with you on the history. Another condition must be that you will assign me specific essential tasks to perform based upon your present work. In addition to researching assignments, I can practically guarantee the publication of the book via the University Press of Mississippi. Either Jackson State or the Press, itself, will advance the \$6,000 needed in these times to produce 2,000 copies of a hard-cover book of 300 pages. Dividends will be paid on the first copy. Marketing is essential to having people read this exciting story....

I would appreciate discussing this further with you.

Sincerely,

O. A. Rogers, Jr.

O. A. Rogers, Jr.
Dean of the Graduate School

/e



• CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION •

November 11, 1976

Dr. O. A. Rogers, Jr.
Dean of the Graduate School
Jackson State University
Jackson, Mississippi 39217

Dear Dr. Rogers:

Thanks for your letter of November 2. Your terms would seem quite satisfactory, but before we come to a decision, you probably should read what I have done.

The L. Lenoir Coleman Library has a copy of the original dissertation. I revised it somewhat last summer, omitting a few parts, putting some of the body in the footnotes and footnotes that dealt with the state's history in the body. But in general it is the same so that you will be able to make some kind of a judgment on the work.

I consulted with Barney McKee. Like you, he felt the mechanics of publication would be facilitated if you, a member of a sponsoring institution, were to be a co-author. He asked for a definite date of completion. I suggested March 1st. I hope I'm not being overly optimistic.

You asked for specific tasks: Would you be willing to write the first chapter on "Has Tougaloo Made a Difference?" or something to that effect? This chapter of about 20 pages would cover not only achievements of alumni but of the college as an institution. For ex., it was the only place where an interracial group could meet. The rest of the book would then be a flashback to develop the story of how this first chapter was made possible.

I would appreciate your condensing chapters 2-6. I have tried but find it hard to strangle my own brain child. If we are to trim the story down to 300 pages something has to give. Most persons who have read the ms. critically conclude that these chapters could be cut to advantage, even. (There is some repetition which I have already attempted to eliminate in the rest of the work.)

Perhaps we could co-author the final chapter to round out the first century. I left the story at 1960 in my dissertation. I'd be willing to write a first draft and then you can make changes or suggestions as you see fit. Or, perhaps you know a better way to approach it.

Beyond these specific tasks, there would be the general editing for technical matters. That is a matter that will require the best efforts of both of us.

Returning to the first chapter on the graduates, it would be possible, I should think, for you to work on it before I complete my part on the rest of the book.

After you have had time to consider what I have written here and to read the dissertation, I'll be happy to hear from you again. I hope you will still feel that we can work together.

Sincerely,

Clarice T. Campbell
Professor of History

I should have mentioned that it is not my intention to have many footnotes. For the most part, the Bibliographical Essay should suffice. CTC



JACKSON STATE UNIVERSITY
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI 39217

GRADUATE OFFICE

November 18, 1976

Dr. Clarice T. Campbell
Professor of History
Rust College
Holly Springs, MS

Dear Dr. Campbell:

Aware that you will be away when this arrives, I am writing nevertheless to state that your letter of the 11th was received. We will comment later.

I will be tied up until December 15th.

Here's a document that was sent to me by Rev. King... It is interesting....

Sincerely,

Oscar

/e

Enclosure



• CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION •



The University of Massachusetts Press

MINNISON HALL, AMHERST, MASSACHUSETTS 01002

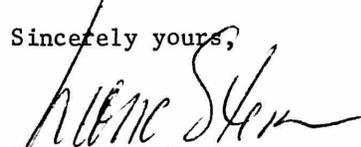
June 1, 1970

Dr. Clarice T. Campbell
Rust College
Box 55
Holly Springs, Mississippi 38635

Dear Dr. Campbell,

Thank you very much for giving us an opportunity to consider "History of Tougaloo College." I regret having to report that publication by this Press does not seem possible. Ideally, it should be published by Tougaloo itself, but we realize that is not likely to be possible.

Sincerely yours,



Mrs. Leone Stein
Director

LS/br
Ms. under separate cover

CURRICULUM VITAE

Khirsten L. Echols
2301S. 3rd Street, Louisville, KY 40292
www.khirstenlechols.com

Current Appointment

University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA
Assistant Professor of English
Fall 2018

Education

Doctorate: English—Rhetoric and Composition, May 2018
University of Louisville, Louisville, KY

Masters: English—Composition, Rhetoric, and English Studies, May 2014
University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, AL

Bachelors: English—Literature and Language; magna cum laude, May 2012
Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, MS

Publications

Peer-Reviewed

“On Multimodal Composing.” With Sara P. Alvarez, Michael Bauman, Michelle Day, Danielle DeVoss, Layne Gordon, Ashanka Kumari, Laura Matravers, Amy Nichols, Caitlin Ray, Jon Udelson, Rick Wysocki. *Kairos: A Journal of Rhetoric, Technology, and Pedagogy*. 21.2: Spring 2017. <http://kairos.technorhetoric.net/>

Contributing Section Editor. “Black Presence: African American Political and Philosophical Rhetoric.” *The Routledge Reader of African American Rhetoric: The Longue Duree of Black Voices: Debates, Histories, Performances*. Eds. Vershawn A. Young and Michelle Bachelor Robinson. Text in Production. Forthcoming Spring 2018.

“On Multimodality: A Manifesto.” With Alvarez, Sara P., Michael Bauman, Michelle Day, Danielle DeVoss, Layne Gordon, Ashanka Kumari, Laura Matravers, Amy Nichols, Caitlin Ray, Jon Udelson, Rick Wysocki. *Bridging the Gap: Multimodality in Theory and Practice* (Eds. Santosh Khadka and JC Lee). Forthcoming from University Press of Colorado.

Web Publications

“The Books We Need: Nuances of Black Writers.” With Sherita V. Roundtree and Louis Maraj. To be published in “The Books We Need Project,” *Studies in Writing and Rhetoric*. www.swreditors.org

Working Papers and Reports

“(T)racing Race: Mapping Power in Racial Property Across Institutionalized Writing Standards and Urban Literacy Sponsorship Networks.” Response with Jamila M. Kareem. Working Paper Series on Mobility Work in Composition: Translation, Migration, Transformation. Thomas R. Watson Conference on Rhetoric and Composition.

“Supporting Diverse Students on Campus, Post-College Readiness,” with Rachel Gramer and Mary P. Sheridan. Policy Analysis Initiative. National Council of Teachers of English, 22 Mar. 2016. Web. <http://www.ncte.org/policy-analysis-initiative?reportid=450>

Teaching Appointments

University of Louisville: Graduate Instructor, 2014-current

- Introduction to College Writing (6 sections)
- Intermediate College Writing (4 sections)
- Distance Education: Introduction to College Writing (2 sections)
- Business and Technical Writing (2 sections)

Kentucky State University: Adjunct Instructor, 2016-2017

- University Orientation (2 sections)

University of Alabama: Graduate Instructor, 2013-2014

- Introduction of College Writing (2 sections)
- Intermediate College Writing (2 sections)

Tutoring Appointments

- University of Louisville: Writing Center Consultant, May-July 2015
- University of Alabama: Athletic Student Service Academic Tutor, 2013-2014
- Shelton State Community College: SOAR Institute Writing Consultant, 2013-2014
- Tougaloo College: Writing Center Consultant, 2010-2012

Grants

- “Mississippi in the National Civil Rights Narrative.” National Endowment for the Humanities Institute for College and University Teachers. Jackson, MS, June 2017. (3,000, awarded)
- “Investigating the Efficacy of Culturally Relevant Teaching Approaches in a First-Year Writing Course.” NCTE Research Foundation, April 2017. (\$5000, not awarded)

- Dr. Michelle Bachelor Robinson, Margaret Holloway, Candace Chambers, and Khirsten L. Echols. “Hobson City Matters #blackgirls4change” CCCC Research Initiative Grant, 2016-2017 (\$4000, awarded)
- “Mining the Archives for Historiographic Evaluation of Tougaloo College’s Institutional History.” University of Louisville’s School of Interdisciplinary and Graduate Studies—Graduate Student Council Research Fund Grant, Spring 2017 (\$500, awarded)
- “Exploring Student Newspapers for a Revisionist Exploration of Mississippi: The View from Tougaloo.” University of Louisville’s College of Arts & Sciences—Research and Creative Awards Grant, Spring 2017 (\$500, awarded)

Fellowships

- Ronald E. McNair Graduate Fellowship. The University of Alabama, 2012-2013 AY (\$20,000)

Awards

- Faculty Favorite Nomination. University of Louisville. 2016-2017 AY
- Outstanding PhD Student. University of Louisville’s Department of English—English Graduate Organization, 2017 (\$100)
- Dr. M. Celeste Nichols Professional Development Award. University of Louisville’s Women’s Center, 2016 (\$500)

Research Appointments

- Research Assistant. Cooperative Consortium for Transdisciplinary Social Justice Research
Faculty Advisor: Shelley Thomas. University of Louisville. Louisville, KY, June 2017-May 2018
- Co-Investigator. Hobson City #blackgirls4change Photo Voice Project.
Principal Investigator: Michelle Bachelor Robinson. Hobson City, AL, June 2015-January 2017

Presentations

Refereed Conference Presentations

“DBLAC: For Us, By Us.” Conference on College Composition and Communication, Kansas City, MO. March 2018.

“DBLAC: Turning Individual Pain Into Collective Gain.” Interrogating Discourses and Representations of Anger Graduate Conference, Columbus, Ohio. February 2017.

“#blackgirls4change: Cultivating Community and Creating Change through PhotoVoice.” Conference on College Composition and Communication, Portland, OR. March 2017.

“Historiographic Participatory Action Research: Reciprocity and Benefits in ‘Sweet Home Alabama.’” Conference on College Composition and Communication, Houston, TX. April 2016.

#girls4change through PhotoVoice: Living Words and Worlds in a Southern Historic Black Town.” Journal of Language and Literacy Education Winter Conference, Athens, GA. January 2016.

“Circulation, Consumption, and Capitalism: #BlackLivesMatter and Protest Fashion.” Feminisms and Rhetorics, Tempe, AZ. October 2015.

“Black and Caribbean Women’s Migration Narratives and Transnational Identities.” College Language Association, Dallas, TX. April 2015.

“Approaches for Racial, Cultural, and Linguistic Diversity in Composition Instruction.” A.C.E.S. KY: Black & Latino Student Symposium, Louisville, KY. February 2015.

“Southern Culture and the Composition Classroom: Including Language Diversity and Afrocentric Teaching Practices in Composition Instruction.” College Language Association, New Orleans, LA. March 2014.

“Real Talk: Opening the Composition Classroom to Language Diversity and Afrocentric Teaching Practices.” Conference on College Composition and Communication, Indianapolis, IN. March 2014.

“Dem Boundaries Be Gettin’ in the Way: (Re) Writing the African American Experience in Post-Secondary Education.” Writing Across Borders Conference, Paris, France. February 2014.

“No One Man Should Have All That Power: Exploring the Role of Educational Linguistics for the African-American Student in American Colleges and Universities.” McNair Scholars Research Conference, Newark, DE. October 2011.

“To Tell A Free Story: Examining the Rhetoric Used in the Arsenal of Abolitionism.” Tougaloo College-Mississippi College Undergraduate Research Symposium, Tougaloo, MS. October 2009.

Poster Presentations

“#blackgirls4change: Using PhotoVoice to Cultivate Community and Create Change.” Communities Conference: Civic Conversations Concerning 21st Century American Life in Communities of Color at the 28th Annual Zora Neale Hurston Festival of the Arts and Humanities. Eatonville, FL. January 2017.

Invited Talks

“Digital Blackness, Resistance, and Composition.” Workshop Facilitator. Digital Media and Composition Institute. The Ohio State University, Columbus, OH. June 2017.

“Women Faculty of Color.” Panelist. University of Louisville, Louisville, KY. April 2017.

“African American Literary Tradition and Storytelling: Exploring J. Cole as Griot.” Virtual Guest Lecturer. University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, AL. January 2017.

Academies, Institutes, and Symposia

Grant Writing Academy. University of Louisville School of Interdisciplinary and Graduate Studies. Louisville, KY. (February-May 2017)

Faculty Women of Color in the Academy National Conference. Virginia Polytechnic University. Blacksburg, VA. (April 2017)

Digital Media and Composition Institute. The Ohio State University. Columbus, OH. (May 2017)

Professional Consulting Experience

Writing Across the Curriculum Consultant: Writing Curriculum, Support, Assessment, and Research Supervisor: Candice Love Jackson. Kentucky State University. Frankfort, KY. (February 2016-April 2016)

Professional Service

- National Council of Teachers of English Advancement of People of Color Award Selection. Appointed Committee Member. (April 2017-current)
- University of Louisville English Graduate Student Sustainability Committee. (December 2016-current)
- Digital Black Lit (Literacies and Literatures) and Composition (DBLAC). Co-Founder. (May 2016-current)
- General Education Curriculum Committee. Assessor of Written Communication. (April 2016)
- Cardinal Compositions, Print & Digital Undergraduate Journal. Co-Editor. University of Louisville. Louisville, KY. (August 2015-May 2016)
- Educational Testing Services. Advanced Placement Exam Assessor. (Summer 2015-current)
- Bynum Spring Speaker Committee. Co-Chair. University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, AL. (October 2013-February 2014)

Professional Memberships and Affiliations

- National Council of Teachers of English
- College Composition and Communication
- College Language Association