

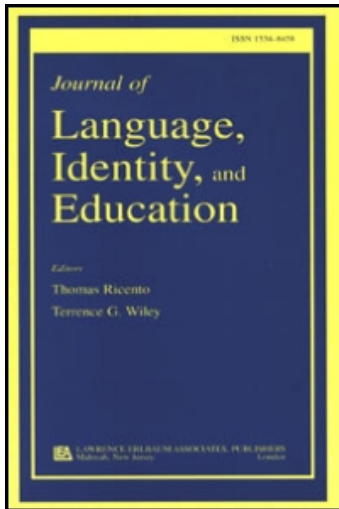
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The Brownies' Book (1920-1921): Exploring the Past to Elucidate the Future of Instructional Design

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ARTICLES

The Brownies' Book (1920–1921): Exploring the Past to Elucidate the Future of Instructional Design

Patricia A. Young

University of Maryland at Baltimore County

This article investigates culture-based instructional design in its purest form through *The Brownies' Book*, a children's periodical produced from 1920 to 1921. Methodologies of examination include historical analysis and critical discourse analysis grounded in a Foucaultian framework. The findings extrapolated from the design of *The Brownies' Book* and the philosophies of its designers reveal a treasure of cultural remnants. Cultural remnants are the racial, ethnic, cultural, linguistic, political, social, historical, educational, and economic artifacts embedded in discourses. The cultural remnants provide evidence of how culture was manifested in this historical artifact. Insights are offered for creating contemporary instructional products that integrate culture.

Key words: African Americans, discourse, culture, instructional design, critical discourse analysis, curriculum

In histories past, when schools and schooling failed to meet the needs of Black¹ children, African American intellectuals designed instructional products² to educate their own (Brawley, 1929; Cromwell, Turner, & Dykes, 1931; Payne, 1885). This literacy tradition seems almost nonexistent in the 21st century. With the standardization of curricula, mandated educational

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¹Throughout this paper several terms have been used to describe African Americans. They include: Colored, Black, Negro and African American. The terms Colored and Negro are used in their historical contexts, as a direct quotation or in providing further explanation consistent with the time.

²The term instructional product is used to provide a common reference for the term instructional technologies. Instructional Technologies are those products created from the merging of media and instructional content to aid in the acquisition of knowledge. They include: literature (e.g., children's and adult), periodicals (e.g., magazines & newspapers), curriculum units (e.g., teacher's manual, student work books, manipulatives), textbooks, educational videos, instructional films, educational software, instructional radio, educational audiotapes, web based environments, and so forth (Young, 1999).

standards, and systematic teacher preparation programs, educating the masses has become a hegemonic political agenda in which the manufacturing of knowledge supersedes its acquisition. That is, the politics of education remains assimilationist in its attempt to school, rather than educate (Shujaa, 1998). Thus, there is a need for counternarratives (Perry, 2003, Stepto, 1991) or folk literacies that seek to educate within a cultural context.

In 1920, William Edward Burghardt DuBois created *The Brownies' Book* (*TBB*; DuBois, 1920a), a children's periodical that emanated cultural context and technological ingenuity. This folk literacy counteracted the negative images and derogatory content about Black people that was prevalent in mainstream newspapers and magazines (Broderick, 1971, 1973). *TBB* was produced using some of the latest print technology of its time. It incorporated text, photographs, sketches, and color tints at a time in history when technological ingenuity was not associated with African Americans. *TBB* was instructional, culture-based, and technologically significant. (It should be noted that all instructional products are culture-based. However, some are more generic or culture-neutral and others more specialized and culture-specific to a particular target audience. In *TBB*, when analyzed piece by piece, there are both generic and specialized features of the design. Overall, *TBB* revealed itself to be more specialized [Young, 2009].)

This research is part of a larger study that sought to discover whether culture manifests in instructional products made by and for African Americans (Young, 1999). The study examined the instructional designs of three historical documents—*The Freedman's Torchlight*, *TBB*, and *Bridge: A Cross Culture Reading Program*. The findings of these instructional products revealed that the historical documents contained themes, ideas, and concepts consistent with African American culture and that these factors were cultural remnants left in the design of the products. Cultural remnants are the racial, ethnic, cultural, linguistic, political, social, historical, educational, and economic artifacts embedded in discourses. This article examines this historical journey and its implications for contemporary instructional designs.

This exploration begins with a historical analysis of the Black newspaper *The Crisis: A Record of the Darker Races* (DuBois, 1920b), produced by DuBois. *The Crisis* offers a historical portal into the social, political, economic, and educational happenings surrounding the years 1920 to 1921. Consistencies in *The Crisis* and *TBB* help to parallel and validate the historical time period on a macro and micro level. Next, a text and context analysis of *TBB* reveals the essence of the design and the desires of the designers. Last, there is a brief discussion of the findings and concluding thoughts. Given page requirements, the entire text and context analyses of *TBB* could not be presented.³

FOREGROUNDING THE RESEARCH

The analysis of *TBB* consisted of both a historical analysis that represented macro perspectives and critical discourse analysis (CDA) that provided a micro perspective of *TBB*. The 24-issue collection of *TBB* (1920–1921), and the 24 issues of *The Crisis* (1920–1921) were evaluated.

The historical analysis is consistent with Wodak's (2002a) discourse historical approach in that the "historical context" becomes an integral part of the examination and explanation of the instructional product (p. 70). The historical analysis of *The Crisis* provides a macro (outside)

³The complete historical, text and context analyses can be found in Young (1999).

overview of issues relevant to African Americans in 1920 to 1921. This outside examination of discourse (Foucault, 1972) is social, political, economic, and historical. Similarly, the text and context analysis provides a comprehensive examination of discourse that is micro or inside (Foucault, 1972). The text and context analysis is guided by CDA, and it is used to analyze written text and media. Using CDA, the text is read in an open-ended manner and without any interpretation or analysis. This “cold” reading allows the reader to survey the contents and gauge how to approach or organize the materials. In the second stage of the text analysis, the text is analyzed in the following areas: genre, omission and backgrounding, foregrounding, framing, and visual representations (Huckin, 1995). This inquiry provides an overview of the design; it is a broad or general analysis based on accessible information in the text. The last stage in approaching the text involves identifying the social, political (vanDijk, 1993), or economic occurrences within the text. This analysis is consistent with the aims of CDA, that is, to provide a

systematic theoretical and descriptive account of (a) the structures and strategies, at various levels, of written and spoken discourse, seen both as a textual “object” and as a form of sociocultural practice and interaction, and (b) the relationships of these properties of text and talk with the relevant structures of their cognitive, social, cultural, and historical “contexts.” (vanDijk, 1993, p. 96)

In sum, this is the study of “text in context” (vanDijk, 1993, p. 96). This analysis reveals what the designers of *TBB* felt were the important sociopolitical and economic issues of the time.

Biographies of the designers are included to balance the psychological (i.e., the authors’ objectives, presence of mind, intellect, concepts of obsession, life’s purpose and meaning), the relationships between statements (i.e., author is unaware of, created by another author); relationships between groups of statements (i.e., alike or unlike; formal or informal); and relationships between statements, groups, and events that are different (i.e., economic, political, social; Foucault, 1972). These biographies were gathered from *TBB* and a variety of secondary sources. In interpreting the data, I had to consider that “meanings are produced through interpretations of texts and texts are open to diverse interpretations” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 89). This is one researcher’s interpretation of *TBB*.

TBB, a monthly periodical, was published from January 1920 to December 1921. It sold for 15 cents per issue or \$1.50 per year. There are a total of 24 publications, and each issue has a 32-page format, with 8 to 10 pages of visual representations. The magazine is divided into columns that include *The Judge*, *The Jury*, *Playtime*, *As The Crow Flies*, *Little People of the Month*, *Playtime*, and *The Grown-Ups Corner*. Other materials analyzed in the magazine included poems, fiction and nonfiction, graphics (i.e., sketches, photographs), and advertisements.

In 1920, educating Black people was an agenda shared by the elite in the community. The findings reveal the involvement of educated African Americans in shaping the education of Black children. Discovered in the analyses are the cultural remnants that speak to the desires of the designers and the design of *TBB*; that is, creating a cultural context requires a desire to replicate culture by the designers and the inclusion of culture-specific content.

DuBois, the Cultural Theorist

DuBois (1868–1963) received his AB degree (bachelor of arts) from Fisk University and then a BA (philosophy), MA (history), and PhD from Harvard College. DuBois (1940) gained his political knowledge from reading outside the curriculum. He taught himself knowledge schools

failed to offer or did not think to offer. He wrote, “I therefore watched outside my textbooks and without reference to my teachers, the race developments throughout the world” (DuBois, 1940, p. 29). DuBois understood that the curriculum he learned in school would satiate only a part of his intellectual thirst. He knew that his acquisition of knowledge was limited by the curriculum content and pedagogical practices of those in the dominant society, so he sought knowledge outside his visual range and physical space.

DuBois (1903) defined education in a broad perspective in that he saw education beyond subject matter or content areas. He viewed education as “a whole system of human training within and without the school house walls” (p. 58). DuBois elaborated on this educational philosophy in his essay on the “Talented Tenth”:

Human education is not simply a matter of schools; it is much more a matter of family and group life—the training of one’s home, of one’s daily companions, of one’s social class. Now the black boy of the South moves in a black world—a world with its own leaders, its own thoughts, its own ideals. In this world he gets by far the larger part of his life training, and through the eyes of this dark world he peers into the veiled world beyond. Who guides and determines the education which he receives in his world? His teachers here are the group-leaders of the Negro people—the physicians and clergymen, the trained fathers and mothers, the influential and forceful men about him of all kinds; here it is, if at all, that the culture of the surrounding world trickles through and is handed on by the graduates of the higher schools. (p. 61–62)

This “culture training” is indicative of the life-based curriculum DuBois espoused (p. 62). Learning is holistic, not decontextualized. The acquisition of knowledge is fed by many avenues, but first by family and group interactions. Children learn in their interactions with their community and the people in their community. In one’s community, children learn how to be a man or a woman. The community is where children learn how to acquire and apply knowledge. In the community, children learn about compassion, character, history, and world relations. Community learning is the foundation to all learning. The education of children must be guided by group leaders; they must prepare children for survival in the dominant society. Therefore, the culture training of Black children must come from Black people in the community. The entire community must thrive and perform as an educational unit. Learning is decontextualized when the units (i.e., parents, schools, community leaders, Black professionals) stand alone or are isolated from the whole (Young, 1999).

Fauset, the Female Force

Jessie Redmon Fauset (1882–1961) was a novelist, poet, essayist, and journalist; she attended Cornell University, where she received a bachelor’s degree in 1905. From July 1918 to July 1919, Fauset did some freelance writing for *The Crisis*. By July 1919, DuBois had offered Fauset \$100 per month and the position of literary editor of *The Crisis* and *TBB*. Fauset was literary editor from 1919 to 1926. She ran many of the publication duties, such as corresponding with subscribers, members of the NAACP, and writers. Fauset nurtured the many writers and artists who submitted material to *The Crisis* and *TBB*. In particular, Fauset assisted notables such as Langston Hughes, Claude McKay, Countee Cullen, and Jean Toomer (Sylvander, 1981). Fauset’s success was limited not by inabilities in her profession, but by her race and her gender.

Dill, the Silent Partner

Augustus Granville Dill (1881–1956) was the business manager of *The Crisis* and *TBB*. His educational endeavors earned him a bachelor's degree from Atlanta University in 1906, a bachelor's degree from Harvard in 1908, and a master's degree from Atlanta University in 1909. Dill joined DuBois in New York and formed DuBois and Dill Publishers (DuBois, 1913). The publication efforts of DuBois and Dill Publishers demonstrated their commitment to improving the education of Black children (Johnson-Feelings, 1996). They published magazines (*TBB*, 1919–1920), biographies (Elizabeth Haynes' *Unsung Heroes*, 1921), fiction (Mary White Ovington's *Hazel*, 1913), and poetry (Paul Lawrence Dunbar's *The Complete Poems of Paul Lawrence Dunbar*, 1913). Dill's silent partner relationship seems to have downplayed his contributions as a business manager and educator; moreover, little is known about the specifics of Dill's role.

THE CRISIS: A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

The Crisis newspaper was created by DuBois under the auspices of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). It was published monthly from 1910 to 1996 and then it emerged again in July 1997⁴ (Wilson, 1997). This newspaper was often referred to and seen as a magazine because of its cultural content; however, academic literature references it as both a newspaper and a magazine (Sylvander, 1981). *The Crisis* publication exposed the “danger[s] of race prejudice” directed toward Black people (*The Crisis*, November, 1920, p. 5). This newspaper critiqued public opinion and the opinions of the Black and White press; the editorial staff sought to maintain an honest purpose, whether representing persons from the North or South or who were White or Black. The publication was very much devoted to the review and documentation of Black literature (*The Crisis*, November, 1920).

DuBois believed that the Black race was in a bad condition and at risk of being destroyed. He felt that, through a united effort, Black people should be provided education for the long term. His idea was to provide a journal, not just a newspaper, for Black intellectuals that would acknowledge the actions of themselves and their community, explain the news of the world in relation to Black people, and motivate Blacks to achieve (DuBois, 1940). *The Crisis* fulfilled this idea. Several important themes were revealed in *The Crisis*, including racial uplift and racial prejudice and discrimination.

Racial Uplift

DuBois documented any and all information about the accomplishments of Black men and women. He saw this reporting on the Black experience as a form of racial uplift. Theoretically, if one Black person was successful, that would motivate others to succeed (Young, 1999).

DuBois believed that if Blacks migrated to the North, it would improve their opportunities for success, thereby uplifting the race. He pressed this issue in *The Crisis*, urging Blacks to come North. In the North, Blacks would be able to vote, hold office, earn a good wage, and acquire both a good home and a good school environment for their children. Opportunities for Black

⁴DuBois was editor of *The Crisis* from 1910–1932 (Wilson, 1997).

labor were endless, urged DuBois (*The Crisis*, January, 1920). Approximately 250,000 Blacks migrated north in search of a better life and increased opportunities. The reasons for this massive migration included economics, demands for laborers, outbreaks of violence, and discontent with the poor conditions in the South. Recorded accounts cite the following conditions as the cause of migration: low wages; oppression; denial of the right to vote; fear of lynchings; unemployment; curtailment of civil rights; bad treatment; lack of protection of life, liberty and property; Jim Crow cars; and poor educational facilities (DuBois, 1917).

DuBois perceived the ratification of The Women's Suffrage Act as an uplifting event for Black women, as it gave Black women the right to vote in presidential elections. He participated in spreading the news in the monthly editorial section of *The Crisis*; he urged women in the North and South to form study clubs with teachers and to gather reading materials. DuBois told them to educate themselves on the government, district, county, and state, followed by mastering the qualification laws, registering and paying any taxes. "Get ready," he urged (*The Crisis*, March, 1920, p. 234).

The Crisis reported monthly on Black men—and less frequently women—in the "Men of the Month" department. These men and women, deceased and living, had in some way contributed to the Black experience. The accomplishments of these people were recorded based on personal achievement, educational attainment, social class, religious association, or political affiliation. One example in the "Men of the Month" department reported on Joseph S. Cotter, Jr., a young man who died at 23 years of age. At 17 his health began to fail, and he spent the next 6 years bedridden. During his illness he wrote 32 sonnets and lyrics, a book of one-act plays, and a volume entitled *The Band of Gideon* (*The Crisis*, January, 1920).

"The Horizon"⁵ section of *The Crisis* defined Black progress as it happened throughout the world. The editor, Madeline G. Allison, compiled snippets of news and departmentalized them into monthly columns. In essence, the news presented in *The Crisis* covered every aspect of Black life; its reporting was holistic. The "Music and Art" column of "The Horizon" covered subjects like the establishment of music or art organizations, announcements of graduates from music or art institutions, musical and theatrical performances of Black people, and the building of new theaters (*The Crisis*, 1920–1921).

On the economic scene, the "Industry" column documented increases in property investments, number employed in businesses, and revenues earned. The column reported on the accomplishments of Blacks who worked over 25 years on a job (most without losing many days of work). Although it may be seen as mostly a social institution, the Black church provided financial support in many ways. The "Church" column of "The Horizon" gave several examples of churches' involvement in uplifting the race. There were reports of purchases of edifices and organs, monies spent on Black education, and monies raised to sustain the church (*The Crisis*, 1920–1921).

Political reports on the happenings in the National Urban League appeared regularly in "The Horizon" section. The National Urban League was actively involved in the health (sponsoring child health centers, organizing athletics for boys, and implementing family rehabilitation), employment (providing job placements, monitoring the employment and unemployment of Blacks), and education (offering educational scholarships; reducing juvenile delinquency; and

⁵Excluded from this analysis are the *Crime* and the *Ghetto* sections of *The Horizon* because the topics covered were not consistent with the theme of racial uplifting.

conducting courses in race relations, sewing, needlework, beading, folk dance, and social hygiene) of Black people (*The Crisis*, 1920–1921).

Socially, many things were happening for Blacks around the country, and these progressive happenings were reported in the “Meetings” column of “The Horizon.” Black women’s clubs, churches, “beauty hair culturists,”⁶ and associations devoted to improving the conditions of Black people (i.e., dressmaking, dentistry, and teaching) announced ongoing events in their organizations (*The Crisis*, 1920–1921).

DuBois saw racial uplifting as a global community event. The success of Black people in one part of the world influenced all Black people, but more important, Black history. DuBois hoped to spark in others the same desire for success. No accomplishment was too small or too unimportant.

Racial Prejudice and Discrimination

Racial prejudice and discrimination were an integral part of the social fabric of the 1920s; as in any newspaper, these issues were reported on as they happened. The most newsworthy topics repeated throughout the selected 2 years (1920–1921) of *The Crisis* included the South’s racial prejudice, reports about the NAACP, racial prejudice around the world, critiques of the White press, and Black identity.

DuBois condemned the South’s racial prejudice and discrimination and viewed it as the primary place of anarchy. That is, the South had the highest rate of murder, poorest quality of education (e.g., short school terms, fewest children enrolled), and highest percentage of child labor. Further, the South had engaged in lynchings, burnings, and the torture of its citizens for more than 50 years. The attitudes of White people contributed to the racial prejudice in the South. As an example, some White people in the South assumed that all land was their property. Others believed that they gave Blacks work, allowed Blacks to walk their streets, and paid for Black schools. The political power of Whites was further exhibited in their ability to pool together their political constituency and deny Black men seats in Congress. Examples of discrimination as described by DuBois included the South’s denial of thousands of Black laborers the right to an education, the prevention of Black participation in public organizations, and the refusal to let Blacks contribute to the discourse on private property (*The Crisis*, 1920).

Another example of discrimination was portrayed in the May 1920 issue of *The Crisis*. The NAACP had been accused by Blacks of being a White association instead of a “Negro” association. DuBois responded that there will never be a time where Blacks will not need the help of Whites and to exclude Whites from the organization would be an act of discrimination; doing so would indicate that Blacks refuse to or cannot work with White people. At that time, there were 80,000 Blacks and 10,000 Whites in the NAACP. DuBois expressed the organization’s plans to work with people of different racial and ethnic backgrounds, nationally and internationally. “We cannot refuse to cooperate with White Americans and simultaneously demand the right to cooperate!” (p. 8).

The designers of *The Crisis* also devoted another section, entitled “The Looking Glass,” to news that included national and international information about Blacks throughout the world from the Black and White press. Racial prejudice was a world phenomenon, not just a domestic problem, as exhibited in these examples. In terms of international news, one report questioned why Black soldiers were good enough to fight for France but not good enough to guard France.

⁶Beauty hair culturists refers to people who cut and style hair.

This statement was followed by several excerpts from national and international newspapers; one report was supportive while the other three were negative. For example, the press (The New York *Globe* and The London *Nation*) characterized Black men as being “primitives,” “imperfectly civilized natives of Africa,” and “mercenaries” for a government to which they had no allegiance (*The Crisis*, July, 1920, p. 141–142). A second example of racial prejudice was written by an unknown person to the *Daily Baltimore American* newspaper. The reader made the observation that the American White woman had been “duped” into believing that the Black man was a prurient and malicious “creature” (p. 28). However, the Black man had no more proclivity to commit crimes against women than any other man. Of note, stated the commentary, was the over 4,000,000 mulattos in the United States. White men advised White women about “Negro rapists,” yet the White man violated the Negro woman. A White woman asked, “Why are our men not punished for intimate relations with colored women? No! This would interfere with the white man’s social freedom” (*The Crisis*, November, 1920, p. 28).

DuBois also spoke about Black identity as it relates to Black people and their prejudices. During a speech by John Haynes Holmes, a White man described two children, “one as fair as the dawn—the other as beautiful as the night” (*The Crisis*, October, 1920, p. 263). The listening audience laughed amusedly; the audience was a group of Black people. DuBois found this incident pathetic. He argued that the Black man had been taught to be ashamed of his color and to laugh at himself. The world had abhorred and mistreated the Black man for 500 years. DuBois added that “colored folks” were afraid to see White-generated caricatures of themselves, those depicting Blacks grinning, happy, and looking like “Aunt Jemimas.” Because of this character portrayal, stated DuBois, when “*The Crisis* puts a black face on its cover our 500,000 colored readers do not see the actual picture—they see the caricature that White folks intend when *they* make a black face” (*The Crisis*, October, 1920, p. 263). DuBois believed that colored folk feared images of Black people because they reminded them of the “crimes of Sunday ‘comics’ and ‘Nigger’ minstrels” (*The Crisis*, October, 1920, p. 266). DuBois advocated that Blacks free their minds and learn to see “Black” as beautiful (*The Crisis*, October, 1920). This is consistent with Perry’s (2003) argument that counternarratives, like *TBB*, should assist in building personal identities for Black people.

These examples of how racial uplift, racial prejudice, and racial discrimination manifested in *The Crisis* speak to the sociopolitical conditions prevalent in 1920 and 1921. Although these issues conjure negative connotations, in this context of this retelling of history, they should be viewed as facts that constructed the period that became known as the Harlem Renaissance.

TEXT ANALYSIS

Consistent with CDA, the text analysis is divided into the areas of genre; framing; omission and backgrounding; and foregrounding and visual representations. In this reading, the focus should be on the historical and technical or technological aspects of *TBB* and how these aspects aid in revealing the cultural remnants.

Genre

Genre represents “text types,” and these text types “manifest a characteristic set of formal features serving a characteristic purpose” (Huckin, 1995, p. 98). The characteristic features of *TBB* visually

represent the magazine genre. It has a cover page (see Figure 1), contains a consistent series of monthly publications, includes a table of contents, requires a fee for purchase, solicits the work of writers in-house or outside, and seeks subscribers. *TBB* appears to be a magazine because it was a spin-off of DuBois's earlier newspaper/magazine, *The Crisis*. *The Crisis* had published one issue per year devoted to children; then the concept for the children's issue became a monthly serial known as *The Brownies' Book*. Further, each interior cover of *TBB* includes the words "a monthly magazine," which indicates the designers' perception of the genre they were creating.

TBB appears to represent the layout of its text type (i.e., a magazine). However, the content of *TBB* differs from traditional magazines. DuBois visually represented it as a magazine but thought of it as an instructional text. This "magazine" is in fact titled as "a book"; DuBois could have called it *The Brownies' Magazine*. The term *book* suggests longevity. Magazines are usually kept on the shelf for a period of months, whereas a book may be on a shelf for years. Books are usually passed on to others and read or reread for their content. They serve repeatedly to instruct and entertain. Magazines are typically read within a certain time period and discarded

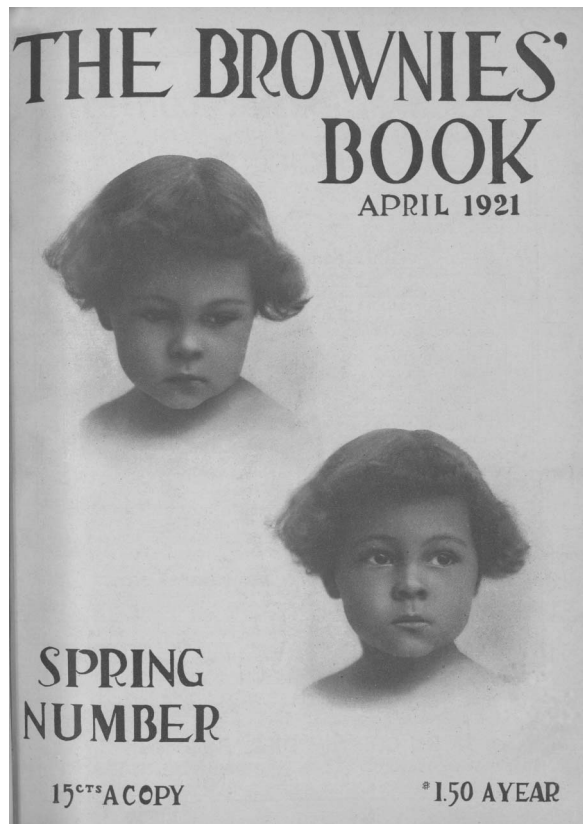


FIGURE 1 Cover page of the April 1921 issue of *The Brownies' Book*.
Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

once the material is outdated. This evidence suggests DuBois envisioned the longevity and historical significance of his work.

Framing

Framing is another aspect of the text analysis that determines how the content of the text is presented (i.e., does it have an angle or slant?; Huckin, 1995). The slant of *TBB* is its status as a magazine created by college-educated Blacks. The magazine was founded on Black culture-specific ideologies, and it was designed, in particular, with a focus on Black children as the target audience.

The interior covers of the first four issues (January, February, March, and April, 1920) read as follows:

THIS IS
The Brownies' Book
 A Monthly Magazine
 For the Children of the Sun
 DESIGNED FOR ALL CHILDREN.
 BUT ESPECIALLY FOR *OURS*

It aims to be a thing of Joy and Beauty, dealing in Happiness, Laughter and Emulation, and designed especially for Kiddies from Six to Sixteen.

It will seek to teach Universal Love and Brotherhood for all little folk—black and brown and yellow and white.

Of course, pictures, stories, letters from little ones, games and oh—everything!

The framing of the magazine focused on its design for children, especially Black children. This is represented visually by large type size and its placement on the inside cover. The word “brownies” represents the color or race of people that the magazine is geared toward. The word “ours” is in italics, emphasizing the reference to Black children.

DuBois wanted children to experience feelings of happiness, to laugh and to challenge themselves as they experienced *TBB*. In the article “The True Brownies” from *The Crisis* magazine, DuBois (1919) retells a story from a 12-year-old Black girl who writes that she hates the “white man” as much as he hates her. DuBois felt that “to educate them [Black children] in human hatred is more disastrous to them than to the hated; to seek to raise them in ignorance of their racial identity and peculiar situation is inadvisable—impossible” (p. 285). DuBois sought to intervene in this type of race hatred by publishing *TBB*.

DuBois’s (1919) mission was in part to entertain but to also teach about self-love, racial identity, Black history, race pride, character, conscience, happiness, love, education, and self-sacrifice. He laid out his goals in “The True Brownies”:

1. To make colored children realize that being “colored” is a normal, beautiful thing.
2. To make them familiar with the history and achievements of the Negro race.
3. To make them know that other colored children have grown into beautiful, useful and famous persons.
4. To teach them delicately a code of honor and action in their relations with white children.
5. To turn their little hurts and resentments into emulation, ambition and love of their own homes and companions.

6. To point out the best amusements and joys and worth-while things of life.
7. To inspire them to prepare for definite occupations and duties with a broad spirit of sacrifice. (DuBois, 1919, p. 286)

DuBois had these very specific developmental goals for Black children—all of which bordered on the improvement of character, consciousness, identity, and self. This type of positive academic, moral, and character education for Black children was unique for its time.

Omission and Backgrounding

Omission is defined as the best form of backgrounding because what lies in the background is what has been intentionally or unintentionally omitted (Fairclough, 1995b; Huckin, 1995). The most prevalent omission in *TBB* is the lack of opposing views to the publication. In *The Crisis*, opposing points of view contributed to the creative dynamics of the publication. It provided a springboard for opposing perspectives about the Black experience. This omission is not known to be intentional or unintentional. DuBois wanted the content and image of *TBB* to remain as pure as possible. He did not incorporate hardcore adult versions of racial prejudice, discrimination, and civil rights but instead offered a tamer view of these issues. DuBois seemed to want children to be informed, but not overwhelmed, with the politics of injustice.

Foregrounding and Visual Representations

Foregrounding means to emphasize specific concepts and de-emphasize other concepts. In particular, those things in the foreground may be distinctive (Huckin, 1995). In *TBB*, written text and graphic images were emphasized as elements in the magazine. The visual representations took the form of sketches, photographs, colored illustrations, and tinted photography. Cover pages contained images of Black children or Black art. The frontispiece, the page following the title page, usually featured a variety of graphic images. In every issue, the inside layout of *TBB* situated one or two photographs per page or as many as 24 photographs per page (see Figure 2).

DuBois was captivated by the beautiful skin color of Blacks. *TBB* displayed 8 to 10 pages of photographs of Black people, but especially children, throughout each issue (DuBois, 1940). He writes, “from my childhood I have been impressed with the beauty of Negro skin-color” (DuBois, 1940, p. 272). Examples of the written text were emphasized in a variety of typefaces (bold, print, italics), sizes, and fonts. The combination of graphic images and written text visually emphasized concepts or ideas the designers thought were important.

Graphic images also assist in framing text (Fairclough, 1995b; Huckin, 1995) and the design of text aids in comprehending its meaning (Purves, 1998). One of DuBois’s goals was to encourage the use of graphic images in newspapers, magazines, and books. His focus was to represent images (i.e., faces, bodies) of Black people. He chose to use photography in his periodicals because one rarely saw images of Black people represented in the media in 1910. Black newspapers seldom used photography and White papers never published photos of Black people (DuBois, 1940). According to DuBois (1940), it was a given or rule that no Black images were to appear in American newspapers. Whenever he could afford to, DuBois included positive graphic images of Black people.

The graphic images stood out based on the novelty of published photographs of Black people. The text, however, was de-emphasized, not because it was unimportant, but because images



FIGURE 2 Visual representations of Black children. March 1920 issue of *The Brownies' Book*. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

of this nature took visual preference by default. The graphic images were emphasized based on their modernity in the world of publishing. The images of happy, upper-middle class, educated Black people were an uncommon representation in mainstream newspapers and magazines. Therefore, an entire magazine devoted to capturing hundreds of photographs of Black people made *TBB* a cultural and technological marvel.

Table 1 compiles the cultural remnants of the complete text analysis. The text analysis areas on the left correspond with the extrapolated ideas, themes, and concepts on the right. This type of analysis allows for a surface assessment of media.

CONTEXT ANALYSIS

The last stage in approaching the text is the context analysis. All columns in *TBB* were analyzed—"The Judge," "The Jury," "Playtime," "As The Crow Flies," "Little People of the

TABLE 1
Cultural Remnants of the Text Analysis—*The Brownies' Book*

<i>Areas of Analysis</i>	<i>Ideas, Themes, and Concepts</i>
Genre	Magazine (children)
Framing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Created by college-educated Blacks - Founded on Black culture-specific ideologies - For Black children - DuBois wanted to teach: universal love and brotherhood - DuBois believed “Education must teach life”-theme throughout context analysis - Mission: entertain and teach self-love, racial identity, Black history, race pride, character, conscience, happiness, love, self-sacrifice. - Promoted the moral and character development of children
Omission and backgrounding	Opposing points of view to the publication (e.g., hardcore adult versions of racial prejudice, discrimination, civil rights)
Foregrounding	
Emphasized	Photographs of Black men, women, and children
De-emphasized	Written text
Visual representations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Graphic images of Black people, written text - Layout (positioning of materials)

Month,” “Playtime,” and “The Grown-Ups Corner.” Other categories analyzed included poems, fiction and nonfiction, graphics (i.e., sketches, photographs), and advertisements. This analytical process revealed what the designers felt were the important social, political (vanDijk, 1993), and economic occurrences within this historical artifact. Given the brevity of this article, one representative example of the context analysis is presented, followed by the complete table of the analyses.

“As The Crow Flies”

“As The Crow Flies” was written by DuBois, and this section usually ran two to three pages in length. In “As The Crow Flies,” the crow is the main character; he is described as a black bird who shines with “dark blues and purples, with little hints of gold in his mighty wings” (January, 1920, p. 23). The crow is anthropomorphized with the human characteristic of speech. In most of the publications, the crow introduces two subsections—the international news and the domestic news; these introductions are brief, usually consisting of one to two paragraphs with two to five sentences per paragraph. The introductions are followed by a listing of historical facts. The crow flies around the earth and reports what he sees on his journeys. He informs readers of the social, political, and economic happenings around the world. The format provides a brief snippet of historical facts on national and international news and events.

The news provided readers with an avenue to current events not yet available in schoolbooks. This point is supported in the first appearance of “As The Crow Flies” (January, 1920). The crow engages in a conversation with a character called Little Boy with the Big Voice; this character appears only in this issue. They briefly discuss the destructiveness of the war⁷ and then

⁷Although it was never explicitly stated, it may be assumed that the war discussed was World War I (1914-1918).

move into describing 1919 as the year of great peace. In the following conversation, the crow informs the reader of the instructional purposes of “As The Crow Flies”:

“O me, O my” said the Little Voice with the Big Boy,⁸ “I hadn’t heard of 1919.”

“That’s because it’s so near.”

“Well, tell me quick before they stick it into my history and make me study it three times a week at 2:45 p.m. and examination Thursdays, with dates.”

“I don’t remember dates,” said the Crow, “but here are the facts.” (January, 1920, p. 23)

“As The Crow Flies” was meant to provide children, students, and learners with facts on the current events of the time period. These current events were timely in that they reported what was happening in the years 1919 (January 1920 issue only), 1920 (February–December 1920 issues), and 1921 (January–December 1921). The information is based on facts; however, DuBois does offer his own perspectives in several examples.

DuBois imparted information on the economy that included issues such as cotton prices, the high cost of living, food prices, and the national debt. He noted international news that included stories about peace relations with Russia, hunger strikes in Belfast, a revolution in Nicaragua, world hunger, a worldwide crime wave, and the debts owed by England and France. Domestic reports covered the president’s health, deaths of famous people, American soldiers killed and wounded, women’s right to vote, liquor prohibition, race riots, lynchings, the 8-hour workday, child labor, railroads, and assassinations.

Most of the historical facts were just reported; however, several included DuBois’s opinions. In the September 1920 issue, DuBois expressed his thoughts on Japanese people in the United States:

In the United States there are 80,000 Japanese in California. They are thrifty and honest and are the best farmers in the state. For this reason the whites hate them and are trying to keep them from buying land and working. Their excuse is that the Japanese want to marry the whites, which is, of course, untrue. (p. 274)

First, the fact that “there are 80,000 Japanese in California” is stated. Next, this excerpt moves into DuBois’ opinion or unsupported information about Japanese people. DuBois states that Japanese people are honest, thrifty, and good farmers, and therefore Whites hate them. White people, DuBois adds, are trying to prevent Japanese people from progressing economically; miscegenation is presented as a false assumption of White people. Given the brevity of the historical facts presented, these assumptions are not supported through statistics or other research. I gathered that DuBois made these assumptions based on patterns of behavior or patterns of documented or undocumented facts. In this example, there is no pattern of facts to support DuBois’s opinion. This historical fact exemplifies how the ideologies of the designers become a part of the instructional products. It is not only important to recognize what is presented, but how it is presented.

Initially, I viewed the reporting of these historical facts as a negative influence on the education of children. I thought it contradicted DuBois’s educational philosophy, which included providing an education in which children could be happy. These events did not seem to invoke feelings of happiness; on the contrary, they seemed disheartening. Thereby, DuBois’s

⁸In the January 1920 issue of *The Brownies’ Book*, the character is referred to as the “Little Boy with the Big Voice” and as the “Little Voice with the Big Boy” (p. 23).

educational philosophy sees good and bad as complementary versus opposing factors. For example, as the Crow, DuBois expresses his beliefs about happiness in the July 1921 issue. He states, "Happiness is not something to seek, it is something in us. I am happy, yet as I fly and fly, I cannot find happiness" (p. 206). DuBois believed that happiness is not found in the world, but within ourselves. Although there are negative things happening in the world, we must find happiness in ourselves. We must learn how to make ourselves happy. On the other hand, "sorrow," states the crow, "is not in us, but about us. I find sorrow everywhere, but there lies no sorrow in my light and flying heart" (July, 1921, p. 207). Sorrow, therefore, is reproduced by our interactions with society and whether we buy into it determines our level of happiness. How then can we teach children to view happiness and sorrow as circumstances of life? Children's literature attempts to address these issues, but how can these important humanistic issues be supplanted in the K-12 curriculum without espousing any one group's political, social, moral, or religious values? In any instructional product, some group's ideologies are always expressed, and they are usually those of the dominant culture.

The Crow also symbolized intellectual freedom—in particular the freedom of thought and the freedom to acquire knowledge. This intellectual freedom is tied to knowledge of the world and the people in the world. Through an anthropomorphic character, the Crow, DuBois was able to narrate the history of the world. He saw the acquisition of knowledge parallel to how the mind can travel vicariously to different places in the world through the act of reading. DuBois characterized this intellectual freedom for children in this column. In a paragraph introducing the international news, the Crow says

How wonderful it is to be a crow? But how much more wonderful it is to be a little Brownie? And may I take you on a flying trip, Brownie-dear? There are so many things of interest across the sea. Caw! Caw! Caw! (October, 1921, p. 296)

In this excerpt, the Crow adopts a positive stance on being himself and on the Brownies being themselves. The Crow can go anywhere on earth and experience freedom. It is also wonderful to be a Brownie, but more important, it is wonderful to be alive and free. The Crow offers to take the Brownies with him on his journey across international waters. They can explore parts of the world they are unable to physically visit. The Crow presents the Brownies with the opportunity to leave their present state of affairs and engage in intellectual freedom. Through the act of reading, the Brownies can travel the world. They can be free.

The same vicarious intellectual experience is offered as the Crow journeys back to the United States. Crow introduces the domestic news: "And now that we are home again, shall we see what has been going on here? America, you know, is a very important place. Caw! Caw! Caw!" (October, 1921, p. 297). Again, the children journey to places in their country through the power of words and their imagination. They can experience what is happening in other states and enjoy the knowledge they have acquired. DuBois viewed knowledge of national and international events as important for intellectual development.

Responses to "As The Crow Flies" are exemplified in this letter written by a child in "The Jury" column:

When I grow up, I am going to have a newspaper or a magazine—I don't know which, yet. I think *The Brownies' Book* has a lot of class and I'm awfully glad you started it. I am sure it will be a success, because so many colored folks want to read the things colored people do and say. The part I like, though, is *As The Crow Flies*; you can learn such a lot about the whole world in those little

paragraphs. We have a class in Current Events in our high school, and if you always publish that part, I'd be willing to buy it just for that. You bet I'm going to shine along the line of Current Events. (March, 1920, p. 83)

Evidently, DuBois' use of "As The Crow Flies" inspired this young man to pursue a career in the publishing industry where he could report on world events. "As The Crow Flies" contained information that this student could use as intellectual fuel to become motivated and a leader in his community.

Table 2 outlines the cultural remnants discovered through the complete context analysis. On the left of the table are the categories of organization and on the right are phrases that capture the cultural remnants embedded in *TBB*. This analysis offers a more detailed inquiry of the media.

DISCUSSION

The Crisis provided the historical context for the period of 1920 to 1921. Specifically, the historical analysis provided a macro (outside) examination of discourses (Foucault, 1972) that were social, political, economic, and historical. In particular, DuBois situated all of the news within the African American cultural experience and his educational philosophy. Every story, every word, every photograph sought to impact African Americans, his target audience. *The Crisis* spoke the "truth" about the tragedies and triumphs of Black people. DuBois controlled the content and any outside influence. *The Crisis* was a grapevine, in plain sight, where news about work, migration, discontent, lynchings, unemployment, civil rights, and Jim Crowism danced free from White folk interference. Black life in every venue graced *The Crisis* (e.g., church, industry, music, art, education, health, employment, and society life). The truth about racial prejudice and discrimination in its rawest form was publicly reported, criticized, and critiqued. The truth, according to Black folk, was allowed a venue to breed and breathe.

Throughout the analyses, knowledge of the biographies of DuBois, Fauset, and Dill brought what Foucault (1972) describes as a psychological balance between people and statements. Throughout the text and context analyses, DuBois's educational philosophies were repeatedly referenced and revealed. Understanding the designers aided in understanding relationships between statements; relationships between groups of statements; and relationships between statements, groups, and events that were different (Foucault, 1972). For example, DuBois expressed a fascination for the color of Black people and just Black people in general, as exhibited in his personal writing. Given this, he also had a humanitarian compassion and love for all groups of people. Only through an understanding of DuBois, the man, can one begin to understand his actions. That is, the creation of *TBB* and *The Crisis* were not motivated by racism, but by both his desire to educate all people and his love for humanity.

The limitations of this study may be the choice of methodology; however, I have chosen CDA because it is frequently used as a methodology to assess media (i.e., print, television, film; Fairclough, 1995a; Wodak, 2002b). Further, the methods of text and context analysis can be applied to any form of technology. For instance, CDA has been used by high school students to analyze their local newspaper (Huckin, 1995). Therefore, I believe this method is accessible across contexts and groups, which is needed in the analysis of media.

TABLE 2
Cultural Remnants of the Context Analysis—*The Brownies' Book*

<i>Categories of Organization</i>	<i>Ideas, Themes, and Concepts</i>
"The Judge"	Acknowledgement of women's rights; DuBois's educational philosophy; teaching of a diversity of topics (social, political, economic); language use (Black Dialect is accepted in its written form); curriculum materials; teacher-child dynamics (question-answer model); Black culture, language, and literature; support for gender equity; taught children about life [social issues (working together, equality among races of people, and gift giving), educational issues (choosing books to read, Black history, and acquiring knowledge), personal issues (pain, good hygiene and appearance), and political issues (wealth and politics)]
"As the Crow Flies"	The content described sociopolitical and economic world events, children needed to acquire knowledge of current events (national and international), promoted freedom of thought (intellectual freedom), freedom to acquire knowledge about the world; reading offers a freedom unsurpassed by any other thing
"The Jury"	Self-sacrifice, race pride, racial identity, work ethic; reading acquisition promoted through the content of the magazine; motivated children to work to purchase the magazine; need to identify with other Black children and connect with their culture; motivated children
"The Jury" (classroom use)	Classroom use of <i>TBB</i> motivated children to learn (children generated ideas, vocabulary, and English-language skills)
"The Jury" (children's feelings about <i>TBB</i>)	Race pride; Black history; happiness; racial identity; real stories that authenticate children's race, history, culture, and communities; children who wrote in exhibited strong self-confidence; children established a love of reading and expressed feelings of enthusiasm and appreciation for <i>TBB</i>
"Grown-Ups Corner"	Parents wanted children to learn about race pride, love, and racial identity; magazine financially underprepared; editors sought parental support in the content and/or providing topics for the magazine (e.g., raising Black children, meeting the needs of Black children, where to spend one's vacation, and children's literature suggestions).
"Little People of the Month"	Promoted achievements (academic and extracurricular) of grammar school and high school graduates; reported the accomplishments of Black people throughout the world; contained obituaries of young children
"Playtime"	Promoted happiness, race pride, racial identity, Black history and literature (i.e., poetry, African riddles and proverbs); game activities tied to the school curriculum; focused on unity, dance, and music
Literature	Provided exposure to good literature in standard English and Black English (e.g., fiction [African folktales, African myths, fairytales, plays, legends], nonfiction [community news articles and biographies], and poetry); exposure to Black heritage, language, and culture
Advertisements	Educational establishments (e.g. the Stenographers Institute; classes in shorthand, typing, and bookkeeping); literature written by Black and White authors (books to purchase); cosmetic products (from Madam C. J. Walker); and ads for financial assistance from the editors of <i>TBB</i>
Graphics	Presented in many forms (sketches, colored drawings, and black and white photography); images of Black people: racial pride, racial identity, self-love, pride in racial heritage and a positive self image; educational attainment (photographs of graduates in their regalia); Black politics (images of a silent protest parade)

The text and context analyses provided an inside examination of discourses (Foucault, 1972) focusing on social, political, economic, and historical happenings within *TBB*. The text analysis deconstructed the 24 issues into the categories of genre, framing, omission and backgrounding, and foregrounding and visual representations (see Table 1). This analysis offered a broad look at

the overall structure of *TBB*. *TBB* is defined as a magazine created by college-educated Blacks that incorporates culture-based ideologies. Some of these ideologies were generic or culture-neutral, but most were specialized and culture-specific to Black people. Throughout, DuBois's educational philosophies and sociopolitical and economic ideologies were espoused in the context of helping Black people help themselves. DuBois used "multisemiotic" discourses (i.e., written, spoken, and visual; Fairclough, 1995a, p. 58) to spread literacy throughout the national and international African American community. The text analysis revealed these multisemiotic discourses as photographs of Black people, the written text, and editorials from children and parents.

The context analysis detailed relationships between the text and context. Specifically, the columns (e.g., "The Judge," "As The Crow Flies," etc.) of *TBB* were examined for their social, political, economic, and historical contexts (see Table 2). This analysis revealed the many ideas, concepts and themes that DuBois wanted to impart and his desire for an interactive relationship with his readers. Most prevalent in the analysis are DuBois's ideologies about developing and instilling racial pride in Black people; incorporating authentic examples of Black people's stories, histories, language, and community; promoting literacy acquisition through literature; educating the whole person; and developing one's Black identity. The context analysis allowed a more in-depth and rigorous examination of *TBB*.

The cultural remnants extrapolated from *TBB* and represented in Tables 1 and 2 begin to identify how culture manifests in instructional products. Table 1 indicates that instructional products maintain the ideologies of their designers and are repositories of histories and information. In this case, the design of *TBB* is for a specialized audience, incorporates an accessible media format, situates the frame of the magazine based on the audience's needs, provides a variety of perspectives, and emphasizes the assets of the community. As shown in Table 2, "As The Crow Flies" represents the instructional ideologies of the designers. Children are encouraged to learn the social studies of national and international peoples, develop themselves intellectually, and engage in the practice of reading. The cultural remnants are the remaining pieces of this artifact waiting to tell or retell its history.

In 1920 DuBois sought to provide an instructional product that better met the needs of Black children through the development of *TBB*. DuBois's ability to control the content "inside" and "outside" of *TBB* demonstrates his power as a cultural and intellectual icon. At a time in history when middle- and upper-middle class Black people were finding their way into the upper echelons of higher education and society, DuBois carved a space for the distribution, production, and consumption of his ideologies through print technology. His confidence and fearlessness produced a positive Black children's magazine in an era when Black images were defamed and ridiculed. DuBois's belief in self was powerful. His belief in Black people was even more empowering.

TBB is a technological marvel in its ability to speak differently to the many researchers who have examined its pages (Harris 1986; Johnson-Feelings, 1996; Lee, 2000; McKissack & McNair, 2008; McNair, 2003; Sinnette, 1965; Vaughn-Roberson, 1989; Young, 1999). It is evident that the meanings produced through interpretations of texts (Fairclough, 1992) are as diverse and unique as the needs of the research and researcher. This means that historical artifacts never die; they continue to live through reinterpretation and rediscovery.

There was a sense, then as now, that mainstream instructional products cannot meet all of the language and literacy needs of Black children. Therefore, African Americans created and supplemented with culture-specific instructional designs to educate their own. This may seem extreme in the 21st century, but it may be necessary.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

The integration of culture in the design of information and instructional products is not a new idea. However, it is a concept that has not maintained any longevity or support. Young's (1999, 2001) research has identified primary source documents created through print technology, dating back to 1792, as evidence that African Americans created culture-based information and instructional products and many were specialized to educate Black people. These early documents were produced in many forms, such as newspapers, magazines, religious matter, and, later, textbooks used in historically Black colleges. These materials exemplify the feasibility of creating specialized instructional products. More contemporary examples are the Rough Rock English-Navajo Language Arts Program, which focused on improving student achievement through bilingual and bicultural language arts instructional strategies, and the 1977 Bridge: A Cross-Cultural Reading Program, which was developed as an intervention reading curriculum to improve the reading levels of Black junior and senior high school students.

The same technological ingenuity of the past should exist today, as there are many learners who would benefit from instructional designs with a cultural context (Gay, 2000). Specialized designs may better meet the needs of learners. The specialization of instructional content has been explored in the field of human-computer interaction, in which the cultural needs of users are considered in the design of user interfaces (Aykin, 2005). Similarly, there is a need to adopt these design practices in contemporary instructional products and in the field of instructional design and technology. Generic instructional products have not met the needs of all learners. Therefore, more specialized instructional products are greatly needed across disciplines and educational settings. In this case, there is a need for history to repeat itself.

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