

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources

Angell, Pauline K. "Julius Rosenwald." *American Jewish Yearbook*, vol. 34, 1932 - 1933, pp.

141-76, www.jstor.org/stable/23601521?read-now=1&seq=2#page_scan_tab_contents.

Accessed 5 Mar. 2019. This article, written the same year the Rosenwald died, describes his personal philosophy, his approach to business, and his personality. I enjoyed reading it because it presents a more intimate portrait of who he was and how he thought, as well as how he ran Sears. The article also describes the high-regard with which he held his employees and his customers. While much of the article was not directly related to my project on the schools and the Fund, these descriptions further solidified my view of Mr. Rosenwald as a genuinely good and generous person.

"Atlanta Mob Kills Ten Negroes." *The New York Times*, 23 Sept. 1906,

timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1906/09/23/101798904.pdf. Accessed 6 Apr.

2019. This article in the New York Times describes the racial violence Atlanta in 1906. I used this as evidence of the constant threat to life and property experienced by African-Americans in the Jim Crow South.

Bond, Julian. Interview. By Aviva Kempner. This interview with Julian Bond was conducted by filmmaker Aviva Kempner. He describes the life of his parents, the positive impact the Rosenwald Fund had on his father's life as a Rosenwald Fellow, and his thoughts about the work that Rosenwald and Washington did. Mr. Bond was a legendary civil rights leader, and I used a quote from this interview to highlight his perspective - that he saw a direct connection from the schools and the fellowship programs, to the civil rights movement, to the election of Barack Obama.

Brown, Henry Billings, and John Marshall Harlan. "Plessy v. Ferguson." *Legal Information Institute*, Cornell University Law School, www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/163/537. Accessed 11 Nov. 2018. This page contains the text of the Plessy v. Ferguson Supreme Court decision, both the opinion of the majority and the single dissenting opinion. This provided me with valuable insight into how even the highest court in the land viewed the rights of African-Americans. It was shocking to me, even though I had learned about it previously, but it emphasized the sense of powerlessness that many African-Americans must have felt, especially in the South, if the justice system was not standing behind the 13th and 14th amendments.

"Building Schools for Negroes." *The New York Times*, 10 Nov. 1923. *New York Times*, timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1923/11/10/106018116.html?action=click&contentCollection=Archives&module=LedeAsset®ion=ArchiveBody&pgtype=article&pageNumber=12. Accessed 7 Nov. 2018. This article is an overview of what Rosenwald was doing for African-American students in the South. This source gave a valuable insight into the positive light in which Rosenwald and Washington's partnership was viewed, even at the time. The article describes the impact on thousands of African-Americans, particularly in areas where their education had been neglected and provides important statistics I cite in my work.

Chisholm, Frank P. "Negroes Lose a Friend." *The New York Times*, 20 Jan. 1932, timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1932/01/20/105770160.html?action=click&contentCollection=Archives&module=LedeAsset®ion=ArchiveBody&pgtype=article&pageNumber=18. Accessed 7 Nov. 2018. This letter written at the time of Rosenwald's death demonstrates the affection people had for Rosenwald, particularly African-

Americans, and the respect that individuals held for his achievements. This source was useful as I was also able to better understand how many people were aware of his achievements and contributions to the African-American community across the United States.

"Constitution of the State of Georgia, 1877." *Georgia Archives*, vault.georgiaarchives.org/digital/collection/adhoc/id/8247. Accessed 31 Mar. 2019. This site contains the original Constitution of Georgia following the Civil War. I use it as one example of the southern states mandating segregation in schools as part of their constitution.

"Cut \$20,000,000 Melon." *The New York Times*, 30 Jan. 1915, timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1915/01/31/301774792.html?action=click&contentCollection=Archives&module=LedeAsset®ion=ArchiveBody&pgtype=article&pageNumber=1. Accessed 2 Jan. 2019. This short article from the NY Times, which I display on my website, shows the enormous success of Sears from the time that Rosenwald took over as president. I cited this as evidence of his incredible business talent, despite his modesty in this regard.

Digital Public Library. dp.la/primary-source-sets/the-great-migration/sources/529. Accessed 12 Feb. 2019. I used this site for images of the South. The photographs provided visual context for the viewer.

"Drawing 1: Community School Plans, Bulletin No. 3, the Julius Rosenwald Fund. 1924." *National Park Service*, www.nps.gov/Nr/twhp/wwwlps/lessons/159rosenwald/159visual1.htm. Accessed 12 Dec. 2018. This site had wonderful images of plans for the Rosenwald Schools. I enjoyed

studying the layouts, and incorporated some into my website, to show how carefully the schools were planned for the benefit of students and teachers.

DuBois, W.E.B. Letter. 24 Sept. 1885, www.loc.gov/exhibits/naacp/prelude.html. This letter was written by W.E.B. DuBois congratulating Booker T. Washington on his Atlanta Exposition speech. Initially, DuBois admired Washington for his rise to leadership in the African-American community, but DuBois later sharply criticized Washington for what he considered his accommodationist approach to race relations. I used this as a reference for how highly-regarded Washington was as he became a national spokesperson for blacks after the Civil War.

---. "Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others." *History Matters*, 1903,

historymatters.gmu.edu/d/40/. Accessed 5 Feb. 2019. This is the text of an essay written by W.E.B. DuBois about the approach of Booker T. Washington to race relations and education. DuBois and Washington clashed over how to deal with racism and Jim Crow. Washington took an approach of appeasement while DuBois believed in fighting for more rights. This essay was useful for me to understand DuBois's thinking as an African-American scholar and activist living at that time. It gave me a different perspective on Washington's work, although I still greatly admire him and believe he was working as hard as he could on behalf of African-Americans within the confines of the South and what he believed was a practical path forward. I used this essay as a counterpoint opinion to Washington's on my website.

"85 Whites and Negroes Die in Tulsa Riots and 3000 Armed Men Battle in the Streets." *The New York Times*,

timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1921/06/02/98699480.html?action=click&cont

entCollection=Archives&module=LedeAsset®ion=ArchiveBody&pgtype=article&pageNumber=1. This is a headline from the New York Times during the Tulsa Riots. This was one of the worst incidents of racial violence in an American city in history and epitomizes the constant state of fear in which African-Americans had to live in the South and other states where lynching and racial violence was prevalent. This was important evidence to demonstrate how difficult and frightening life was for African-Americans and the environment in which the Rosenwald Schools were being constructed.

Embree, Edwin R., and Julia Waxman. *Investment in People - The Story of the Julius Rosenwald Fund*. Harper & Brothers, 1949. This book was an invaluable resource. Written by Edwin Embree, whom Rosenwald hired to manage the Rosenwald Fund, and a research assistant, Julia Waxman, the book provides a detailed account of the Fund's activities, how it operated, how decisions were made, and a complete accounting of all expenditures. I used this extensively on my site for information on the investments the Fund made and the perspectives of Rosenwald and those who worked for him.

"Gives \$1,000 for Negroes." *The New York Times*, 18 Aug. 1916, timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1916/04/18/100203691.html?action=click&contentCollection=Archives&module=LedeAsset®ion=ArchiveBody&pgtype=article&pageNumber=13. This brief article recounts one of many donations given by Rosenwald to African-American institutions, and the requirement that additional money be raised. I used this source as evidence for not just the money given by Rosenwald, but also for the techniques he used to bring attention to problems experienced by African-Americans.

Gray, LaVerne. Interview. By Matthew Palatnik. 22 Mar. 2019. This is an interview I conducted with a graduate of the Ridgeley Rosenwald school. Being able to speak with her gave me

the opportunity to understand the impact that the schools had on people's personal lives. Ms. Gray was very influenced by the architecture of the school. Additionally, Ms. Gray was able to recall a number of interesting stories from her time as a Rosenwald student, which provided a lot of insight. Her mother is Ms. Mildred Ridgeley Gray, whom I also interviewed, and her grandmother donated the land for the school.

"History in Photos." *History in Photos*, historyinphotos.blogspot.com/. Accessed 12 Feb. 2019.

This site contains a large collection of historical photos, including of the South in the early 1900s, which were a great contribution to my website.

"Hoover Mourns Passing." *The New York Times*, 7 Jan. 1932,

timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1932/01/07/105936460.html?action=click&contentCollection=Archives&module=ArticleEndCTA®ion=ArchiveBody&pgtype=article&pageNumber=18. Accessed 7 Nov. 2018. This source describes the statement made by President Hoover after Rosenwald's death, which is highly sympathetic, and describes the Rosenwald Schools in a very positive light. I used this source to support the levels of publicity and positive press given to Rosenwald during his life, even at a time of pervasive racism.

Huston, Luther A. "1896 Ruling Upset - 'Separate But Equal Doctrine Held Out of Place in

Education." *The New York Times*, 17 May 1954,

timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1954/05/18/83333214.pdf. Accessed 18 Nov.

2018. This New York Times article describes the Supreme Court victory of Thurgood

Marshall and his team in *Brown v. BOE*, an incredibly significant landmark in civil rights

and the culmination of many years' of work by Marshall, his team, and others, including

many Rosenwald Fellows. I used this as evidence of the impact of the Rosenwald School-Building Program and the Rosenwald Fellowships.

Jackson, Walter Clinton. *A Boys' Life of Booker T. Washington*. 1922. *WikiSource*, en.wikisource.org/wiki/A_Boys%27_Life_of_Booker_T._Washington. Accessed 9 Feb. 2019. This is an online reproduction of a book written about Washington shortly after his death. It provides an overview of his life by a contemporary of his who admires his approach to education and to helping African-Americans become self-sufficient. I used this as a reference for how he was viewed by many (although not all) African-Americans at that time, and for photos of his life.

"Julius Rosenwald Has 65th Birthday Chicago Merchant-Philanthropist, Celebrating With Family, Lays Wealth to 'Luck.'" *The New York Times*, 13 Aug. 1927, timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1927/08/13/98506305.html?action=click&contentCollection=Archives&module=LedeAsset®ion=ArchiveBody&pgtype=article&pageNumber=23. Accessed 7 Nov. 2018. This article quotes Mr. Rosenwald as considering himself "lucky" which demonstrated his humility, despite his enormous success.

"Julius Rosenwald Papers." *Jane Addams - Digital Edition*, digital.janeaddams.ramapo.edu/collections/show/545. Accessed 14 Oct. 2018. This digital archive of letters sent by or to Jane Addams provided insight into other areas of philanthropy in which Rosenwald was engaged. Jane Addams was an activist focused on working conditions in Chicago, and while she and Rosenwald often didn't agree on the approach to labor management, he still supported her work. It was fun to read handwritten notes from Mr. Rosenwald to Ms. Addams, and to recognize that his charitable work went beyond African-Americans to many causes he felt were worthy.

"Lauds Rosenwald for Aid to Negro." *The New York Times*, 16 Jan. 1932, timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1932/01/17/100820428.pdf. Accessed 14 Jan. 2019. This article, written shortly after Rosenwald's death, describes the enormous impact of the Rosenwald Schools. The article quotes Jacob Billikopf extensively, a man who worked on philanthropy with Rosenwald for many years. He shares his belief that the schools not only helped educate children, but influenced the entire public education system as well as race relations in America. I used this as evidence for the impact of Rosenwald Schools beyond just the obvious benefits of education.

Lewis, John. *Walking with the Wind*. Simon and Schuster, 1998. This is a memoir of Congressman John Lewis. While the bulk of the book focuses on his involvement with the civil rights movement, he discusses his early years, including his attendance at a Rosenwald School and his family's attitudes towards education which provided useful evidence of the importance of schools for the Black community in the South.

"Man's Wealth Depends on Chance." *The New York Times*, 20 Jan. 1918, www.nytimes.com/1918/01/20/archives/mans-wealth-depends-on-chance-says-rosenwald-merchant-who-is.html. Accessed 7 Nov. 2018. Julius Rosenwald is quoted in this article as describing his talent for business as pure chance. He also refers to acquisition as a vice. I used this piece to demonstrate the character of Mr. Rosenwald - humble, magnanimous, and generous. He downplays his own talent and hard work, and his view on his lucky life is clearly one reason he felt the obligation to give back to communities in need.

"The Migration Series." *The Phillips Collection*, www.phillipscollection.org/collection/migration-series. Accessed 12 Feb. 2019. This site

contains high-quality images of the Migration Series by Jacob Lawrence, a Rosenwald Fellow. The site provides a lot of background, and also video of interviews with Jacob Lawrence describing his life and work. It was fascinating to hear him speak about his own family's migration and struggles, and how that translated into his paintings. I used this for an understanding of how the African-American experience was translated into art, as well as for images of his work.

"Nation-Wide Tribute Paid to Rosenwald for his Useful and Beneficent Life." *The New York Times*, 7 Jan. 1932,

timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1932/01/07/issue.html?action=click&contentCollection=Archives&module=LedeAsset®ion=ArchiveBody&pgtype=article.

Accessed 7 Nov. 2018. This full-page spread in the New York Times at the time of his death describes Rosenwald's life, his philanthropy, his impact on the lives of African-Americans and American Jews, his contributions during the First World War, and the many people who mourned his loss. It showed how he highly was regarded, and the loss that was felt by so many across the country. Because his mode of philanthropy was to give away his money to meet current needs rather than establish an endowment, most people today don't know about the enormous impact he had.

"Negro College Fund Now Total \$160,000." *The New York Times*, 22 June 1928,

timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1928/06/22/91529173.html?action=click&contentCollection=Archives&module=LedeAsset®ion=ArchiveBody&pgtype=article&pageNumber=23. Accessed 7 Nov. 2018. This article was useful as it gave me an idea of the wide news coverage given to Rosenwald's cause, and the publicity it received. I have used this as a source to show the general perspective of the media at the time.

"Pioneers Honored at Business Dinner." *The New York Times*, 25 Oct. 1928,

timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1928/10/25/91542052.html?action=click&contentCollection=Archives&module=LedeAsset®ion=ArchiveBody&pgtype=article&pageNumber=26. Accessed 7 Nov. 2018. This article describes an event honoring businessmen, including Julius Rosenwald. I used this to demonstrate his enormous success and how he was viewed in the business world, despite his humble self-image.

Ridgley-Gray, Mildred. Interview. By Matthew Palatnik. 22 Mar. 2019. I was so fortunate to conduct an interview with Ms. Mildred Ridgley Gray, who is 97 years-old and is a Rosenwald school graduate. She also worked as a teacher and principal of the Ridgeley Rosenwald School. The school is named for her family because her mother donated the land for the school. Being able to speak with her gave me several surprising insights into what being educated at a Rosenwald school was like and the relationship between community and school. She is extremely proud of her family's connection to and leadership position in the community back during the time the school was built. Additionally, Ms. Gray's grandmother, whom she knew personally, was a slave. This knowledge gave me a deeper understanding of the closeness of slavery to the opening of the schools and allowed me a more complete lens through which to view my project and research.

Rosenwald, Julius. Letter to Booker T. Washington. 24 Nov. 1911. *Theodore Roosevelt Center*, www.theodorerooseveltcenter.org/Research/Digital-Library/Record/ImageViewer?libID=o72785&imageNo=1. Accessed 7 Mar. 2019. This is a letter from Julius Rosenwald to Booker T. Washington accepting the invitation to become a member of the Tuskegee Board. I provided this as a primary document on the

site. I enjoyed reading how Mr. Rosenwald signed his letter, "With assurances of my highest esteem," an attitude towards Mr. Washington that would only grow over time.

"Rosenwald Aids Montclair Y.M.C.A." *The New York Times*, 16 Sept. 1928,

timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1928/09/16/95836045.html?action=click&contentCollection=Archives&module=LedeAsset®ion=ArchiveBody&pgtype=article&pageNumber=32. Accessed 7 Nov. 2018. This article describes one of Rosenwald's fundraisers for African-American YMCAs, and offers a positive perspective on its effects in the community. I used this as a description of the beginning of Rosenwald's philanthropy for the African-American community, and as an extra piece to fill gaps I had in other research relating to the topic of the YMCA donation.

"Rosenwald Gets Medal." *The New York Times* [New York], 19 Mar. 1928. *New York Times*,

timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1928/03/19/95562457.html?action=click&contentCollection=Archives&module=LedeAsset®ion=ArchiveBody&pgtype=article&pageNumber=13. This short article describes a medal being presented to Mr. Rosenwald by the Commission on Race Relations for bettering relations between the African-American and White communities. This was another demonstration of how his philanthropic work was viewed as tremendously impactful by so many people, and how obvious his contributions to interracial relations and black education were even at the time. This article served as good support for Rosenwald's morality and the recognition of his philanthropy.

"Rosenwald Laid Duties on Children." *The New York Times*, 8 Jan. 1932,

www.nytimes.com/1932/01/08/archives/rosenwald-laid-duties-on-children-deathbed-directions-to-carry-on.html. Accessed 7 Nov. 2018. This article shows that even on his

deathbed, Rosenwald wanted to be sure that his legacy of philanthropy was continued. He gave this responsibility to his children. I used this to demonstrate Rosenwald's complete devotion to the causes he held dear, including those of African-Americans, whom he viewed as kindred spirits to Jews like himself.

"Sears-Roebuck Earned \$9,000,000." *The New York Times*, 30 Jan. 1914, timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1914/01/30/101915510.pdf. Accessed 2 Jan. 2019. This brief article demonstrates the huge amount of money Sears Roebuck earned under Rosenwald's direction, which in turn led to his immense wealth - which in turn led to his far-reaching philanthropy.

"Separate But Equal: West Memphis, 1948." *Arkansaw Traveller*, www.arkansawtraveler.com/2012/01/separate-but-equal-west-memphis-1948/. Accessed 12 Feb. 2019. I used this page for photos.

"Separate Coaches - Important Decision by the Supreme Court." *The Owensboro Messenger*, 18 May 1896. *Newspapers.com*, www.newspapers.com/clip/22432645/plessy_v_ferguson_results_in_separate/. Accessed 8 Feb. 2019. I cited this article in relation to the Supreme Court decision upholding segregation as Constitutional. This decision had huge ramifications on how African-Americans were treated in the South, including the atrocious education system for Blacks, which was directly pertinent to my topic.

"Series of Fierce Combats." *The New York Times*, 2 June 1921, timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1921/06/02/98699491.pdf. Accessed 6 Apr. 2019. This article describes the horrible scene of violence and destruction that occurred

in Tulsa in 1921. I used this as evidence of the continuing threat and terror under which African-Americans lived in the South during the Jim Crow era.

"Torch Yearbook 1942." *Archive.org*, 1942, archive.org/details/torch19421942harl. Accessed 11 Jan. 2019. This site contains a digitized version of the yearbook for Harlan High School in Kentucky, a Rosenwald School. It was wonderful to be able to see the graduates, their activities, and the obvious affection for and attachment to their school displayed in the yearbook. Reading through this gave me a sense of how tight-knit the students and teachers were and why that must have affected the entire community, as many graduates of Rosenwald Schools report. This gave me a very personal insight into the schools.

"Urges Training of Negroes Here." *The New York Times*, 12 May 1933, timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1933/05/12/105134155.html?action=click&contentCollection=Archives&module=ArticleEndCTA®ion=ArchiveBody&pgtype=article&pageNumber=18. Accessed 7 Nov. 2018. This article describes a study, funded by the Julius Rosenwald Fund, that finds discrimination against African Americans in vocational schools in NYC. The article details the prejudice faced by African Americans when seeking admittance to schools, even in the city of New York. I used this to demonstrate Mr. Rosenwald's multi-faceted commitment to bettering the lives of African Americans and their access to education. As he continued to fund grants and the construction of schools, and donated to African American colleges, he also sought to make public the disparities between blacks and whites.

Walls LaNier, Carlotta, and Lisa Frazier Page. *A Mighty Long Way*. One World Books, 2009.

This book by Carlotta Walls LaNier describes her early life in segregated Little Rock, Arkansas, and what it was like to be one of the nine children who integrated the High

School. While she was a student, her family home was bombed. Ms. LaNier was a Rosenwald graduate, and I use her book as evidence of the impact of the Rosenwald schools on Civil Rights. As Ms. LaNier points out, the civil rights movement had charismatic leaders like Martin Luther King, but it took the efforts of thousands of ordinary people to progress the movement forward.

Washington, Booker T. "50-year advance." *The New York Times*, timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1913/01/02/100246041.pdf. Accessed 14 Jan. 2019. This letter to the NY Times from Booker T. Washington demonstrates his clear-headed optimism about the future of African-Americans. He emphasizes the need for fundamental skills, and while not specifically mentioning industrial education, it is clear he is focused on acquisition of these skills, particularly for rural Blacks from the South, who previously had no economic or educational opportunities.

---. *My Larger Education*. E-book, Doubleday, Page and Company, 1911. This is one of the books written by Booker T. Washington after *Up From Slavery*. He describes his work at Tuskegee and his continued belief, through his observations and experiences, that industrial education was of utmost importance for African-Americans at that time in history.

---. Speech. Atlanta Exposition, 18 Sept. 1895. This is the text of Washington's famous Atlanta Exposition speech, typewritten by Washington himself. The speech propelled him to prominence, but later became the source of conflict between him and other African-American leaders due to its accommodationist approach. I used this as a source to explain the debate between DuBois and Washington, which is an important one and which I

provide for context, but one that does not change Washington's role in the creation of the Rosenwald Schools.

---. "Underpaid Negro Teachers." *The New York Times*, 22 Dec. 1913, timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1913/12/22/100669983.pdf. Accessed 14 Jan. 2019. This letter from Booker T. Washington provided evidence of the difficult state of affairs for teachers in the South during Jim Crow, which I used as evidence for the tremendous need filled by the Rosenwald Schools.

---. *Up From Slavery*. E-book, Public Domain. This autobiography of Booker T. Washington was completed before he met Mr. Rosenwald. He describes his early life, and his experiences after the end of slavery. Because Mr. Washington had such a big influence on how Mr. Rosenwald approached schools for the African American community, it was very helpful for me to understand thinking and how his experiences influenced him.

---. *Working with the Hands*. E-book, Doubleday, Page and Company, 1904. This book by Washington similarly confirms his conviction of the benefits of industrial education. Washington's writings were important for me to read so I could understand his thinking and how that wound up influencing Rosenwald, although Rosenwald did diverge with Washington in that he supported academics and higher education as well.

Secondary Sources

Aaronson, Daniel, and Bhashkar Mazumder. *The Impact of Rosenwald Schools on Black Achievement*. Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, Sept. 2011. This statistical analysis, conducted using rigorous research methodology, provided a detailed analysis of the impact of Rosenwald schools. I cited this as evidence of the significant influence

Rosenwald schools had in the educational trajectory of the African-American community.

The African American Registry. aaregistry.org/. Accessed 27 Nov. 2018. This website is a registry of influential African-Americans, and was tremendously useful for my research into the many people who graduated from Rosenwald Schools or who received fellowships from the Rosenwald Fund. The site gives an overview of the accomplishments of each person in the registry which I reference in my site and which provided me with excellent information and understanding of the impact these people had in America and how Rosenwald Fellowships helped them achieve their goals.

"The American Experience - Jim Crow Laws." *PBS - WETA*, www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/freedom-riders-jim-crow-laws/. Accessed 2 Dec. 2018. This article, which I cite on my website, gave me an overview of Jim Crow in the South, which I used as a basic framework for other research and to gain an understanding of how African-Americans were treated after Reconstruction and during the first half of the 20th Century. The article links to more academic research, which also proved useful.

"America's First Spectacle Lynching." *This Cruel War*, 31 Jan. 2017, www.thiscruelwar.com/americas-first-spectacle-lynching-1/. Accessed 31 Mar. 2019. This page describes the lynching of Henry Smith, an African-American accused of a murder he most certainly did not commit. The overall website is a detailed account of the Civil War, both the events leading up to it and its aftermath for the United States. I used this as a general reference about the Civil War and also for photos and details about what Blacks experienced in the South after the end of slavery.

"America's Reconstruction." *Digital History*, www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/exhibits/reconstruction/.

Accessed 16 Dec. 2018. This website provides a detailed overview of Reconstruction, which provided useful context for my research. I used this to gain insight into the challenges faced by former slaves, and how White oppression continued long after the end of the Civil War. I also used photos from the site.

Anderson, James D. *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860 - 1935*. Chapel Hill and London, University of North Carolina Press, 1988. This book is detailed scholarly investigation into the state of education for African-Americans. It was a valuable resource for the context of my research, information about how African-Americans viewed their circumstances and their desire for education, and for the Rosenwald Program.

"Anderson Rosenwald Schools." *Welcome to Madison County, North Carolina*, www.visitmadisoncounty.com/explore/areas/town-of-mars-hill/anderson-rosenwald-schools. Accessed 18 Dec. 2018. This page is an article about one of the many Rosenwald Schools in North Carolina. The history of the school, including the fact that it was named for a former slave, was touching to read. I used this for evidence on how these schools were viewed by the community as a source of pride and a chance for equality for their children.

Ascoli, Peter M. Interview. By Matthew Palatnik. 24 Jan. 2019. Mr. Ascoli is the grandson of Julius Rosenwald, and he also spent several years researching and writing a book about his grandfather. He graciously agreed to speak with me on the phone, since he lives in Chicago. Speaking with him was hugely useful and interesting. He provided some personal details of his family, but mainly shared his research and insights into the life and philanthropy of Mr. Rosenwald. Rosenwald's approach to his Fund, that the money be

spent and then the Fund dissolved, was a key point Mr. Ascoli made in our discussion, which was important for understanding how Rosenwald thought and his vision for philanthropy.

---. *Julius Rosenwald - The Man Who Built Sears, Roebuck and Advanced the Cause of Black Education in the American South*. Indiana University Press, 2006. This book, written by his grandson, is a detailed biography of Julius Rosenwald, including his early life, his family life, his success at Sears and his approach to his business, and his philanthropic work with Booker T. Washington. This work provided me with a lot of the background and detail I needed to understand the arc of Mr. Rosenwald's life and his views on his experiences and sense of obligation to give to charity. I used this as a reference as I did my research and to get more details about events I read about elsewhere.

Askew, Rilla. "A Secret History: The Tulsa Race Riot." *The Coil*, 1 July 2016, medium.com/the-coil/a-secret-history-the-tulsa-race-riot-rilla-askew-cebc7b7509b1. Accessed 7 Apr. 2019. This article by novelist Rilla Askew, who studied the Oklahoma Riots and wrote a novel about them, describes the terror and destruction visited on the city. I used this for additional information about the riots, as well as photos of the aftermath.

Barber, Elizabeth. "Remembering the Colossal Maya Angelou." *The Christian Science Monitor*, 27 May 2014, www.csmonitor.com/USA/USA-Update/2014/0528/Remembering-the-colossal-Maya-Angelou-But-still-like-air-I-ll-rise. Accessed 8 Feb. 2019. This article describes the life of Maya Angelou, a Rosenwald graduate. I used this as just one piece of evidence of the enormous impact the fellows had on the arts in America, through her poetry, activism, performance, and persona.

Beilke, Jayne R. "The Changing Emphasis of the Rosenwald Fellowship Program, 1928-1948."

Journal of Negro Education, vol. 66, no. 1, Winter 1997. This research piece reviews how the philanthropic choices of Mr. Rosenwald and the Rosenwald Fund changed over time. Initially, the Fund was very focused on building Primary, Middle, and High Schools for Southern Black children. In later stages of the Fund's life, the focus was more on higher education and on the Rosenwald Fellowships. This information was very useful in explaining the many ways the Fund worked to support all aspects of African-American endeavors.

"Biography." *Pauli Murray Project*, paulimurrayproject.org/pauli-murray/biography/. Accessed 6 Mar. 2019. This website gives an overview of the life of Pauli Murray, a Rosenwald Fellow who was very influential in the Civil Rights movement and also the Women's Rights movement. She is yet another example of the many people Rosenwald supported who had a big impact on American society by contributing to the right for equal rights.

"Black Codes and Pig Laws." *PBS - WETA*, www.pbs.org/tpt/slavery-by-another-name/themes/black-codes/. Accessed 2 Dec. 2018. This article gave me a picture of the incredible discrimination against African-Americans in the South, which peaked during the time when Rosenwald schools were being built. I used this as a preliminary source for deeper research into laws that discriminated against African-Americans.

"Booker T. Washington and the 'Atlanta Compromise.'" *National Museum of African-American History and Culture*, The Smithsonian, nmaahc.si.edu/blog-post/booker-t-washington-and-atlanta-compromise. Accessed 5 Mar. 2019. This page from the Smithsonian describes the debate between Washington and Du Bois. It was a good starting point for me to understand the different ways of thinking of each of the men at that time in history,

and this led me to read much more on the topic, even though it was only tangentially related to my topic.

"A Boost for Black Education in the Early 20th Century." *Texas Almanac*, texasalmanac.com/topics/history/rosenwald-schools-texas. Accessed 5 Dec. 2018. This article describes the work of Mr. Washington and Mr. Rosenwald in Texas, and the many schools that were built in that state. I used a photo from this site, and found it interesting to read about how far superior Rosenwald Schools were to other schools for African-Americans, which I quote on my website.

"A Brief History of Jim Crow." *Constitutional Rights Foundation*, www.crf-usa.org/black-history-month/a-brief-history-of-jim-crow. Accessed 6 Feb. 2019. I used this website for information about how Jim Crow affected every part of African-Americans' lives, from work to schools to where they could live. This context was important as the backdrop for Washington's work, as well as Rosenwald's desire to help and to build schools. I also quoted the web site in my site.

Brown, Curt. "Judge L. Howard Bennett, grandson of slave, broke race barriers in Minnesota, Minneapolis." *Star Tribune*, 29 Apr. 2017, www.startribune.com/judge-l-howard-bennett-grandson-of-slave-broke-state-and-city-race-barriers/420821923/. Accessed 8 Mar. 2019. This is an article describing the life of Lowell Howard Bennett, a Rosenwald Fellow who became a judge and civil rights activist. He is another example I included in my gallery of a fellow who made a big contribution in his field.

Bunn, Curtiss. "10 Slave Codes That Were Designed To Oppress And Humiliate Black People." *Atlanta Black Star*, 22 Dec. 2014, atlantablackstar.com/2014/12/22/10-slave-codes-that-were-designed-to-oppress-and-humiliate-black-people/. Accessed 24 Jan. 2019. While I

used this site primarily for imagery, reading about the techniques white Southerners used to oppress African-Americans informed my understanding of Jim Crow and the horrors faced by Blacks during that time in history.

Bush, Lawrence. "February 12 NAACP." *Jewish Currents*, 12 Feb. 2010, jewishcurrents.org/jewdayo-grid/february-12-naacp/. Accessed 23 Jan. 2019. This brief article describes the founding of the NAACP, including the fact that Emil Hirsch, Rosenwald's rabbi, was a signatory who was part of the group launching the organization. I reference this fact on my web site as evidence of Hirsch's commitment to furthering social and political progress of African-Americans and his influence on Rosenwald from the earliest days of his philanthropic work.

Calello, Monique. "School was refuge in segregated Waynesboro." *News Leader*, 10 Nov. 2016, www.newsleader.com/story/news/local/history/2016/11/10/rosenwald-school-waynesboro-julius-rosenwald-black-history-segregation-racism/93465236/. Accessed 12 Nov. 2018. This article contains interesting interviews with Rosenwald School graduates, describing the important place the school held in their community. This helped me understand not only the schools significance for education, but as a center of community life and pride.

Carroll, Rebecca, editor. *Uncle Tom or New Negro? African Americans Reflect on Booker T. Washington and Up From Slavery One Hundred Years Later*. E-book, Harlem Moon, Broadway Books, 2006. This book is a collection of essays by African-American scholars, journalists, and thinkers debating the ideas and approach of Booker T. Washington. It was very informative for me to read these essays. I am an admirer of Booker T. Washington, and several of the authors in this set of essays are, too. But

several are very critical of his approach to the white community and the fact that he did not publicly make a stand for equal rights for Blacks. The famous conflict between Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois is referenced in many of the essays. I use some of these authors' views to show that there were conflicting opinions about Washington, even at the time he lived. The debate about Washington versus Du Bois is not directly related to my project, since it is irrefutable that Washington introduced the need for schools in the South to Rosenwald, and Rosenwald then took those schools and his Fund in the direction that aligned with his personal beliefs. However, since Washington is prominently featured on the site, I thought I should include something about this debate between him and Du Bois for completeness.

Causey, Donna R. "Tuskegee Institute Was Started by a Former Slave and a Former Plantation Owner." *Alabama Pioneers*, www.alabamapioneers.com/tuskegee-institute-was-started/. Accessed 12 Dec. 2018. This web page contains a brief but interesting history of Tuskegee, including information about two men, one white and one black, who helped start the Institute, of which Washington would become the first principal. Washington mentions Lewis Adams, who was an African-American leader in his community, and George Campbell, a local white businessman, in *Up From Slavery*, but not the specifics of how they worked to persuade the State of Alabama to provide the money for the school. However, the funds were only for teachers, so it was critical that Washington managed to get a loan (which was repaid) to purchase the land to expand the school. The article also mentions an MIT-educated African-American architect, Robert Robinson Taylor, who designed the school, whom Washington does not mention. It was interesting to learn the history of the school prior to Washington's arrival, and I used the site for

photos and also a information about Washington's approach to disseminating education in the Black community.

"Civil Rights Advocate Carlotta Walls LaNier Visit Leads UAlbany MLK Celebration."

University of Albany, 18 Jan. 2016, www.albany.edu/news/66277.php. Accessed 12 May 2019. This article briefly describes Ms. Carlotta Walls LaNier and her work to integrate Central High School in Little Rock, AR. I used this primarily for photos of Ms. LaNier.

Collins, Sibrina Nichelle. "Unsung: Dr. Evelyn Boyd Granville." *UnDark*, 13 June 2016, undark.org/article/unsung-african-american-contributions-mathematics/. Accessed 17 Mar. 2019. This page describes the work of mathematician Evelyn Boyd Granville, a Rosenwald Fellow. One of the many African-Americans funded by the Rosenwald Fund who made major contributions to their field. In her case, she worked for NASA on the efforts to send man into space. I used this as one of the many pieces of evidence of the impact of the Rosenwald Fund and the African-Americans the Fund supported.

"Debates in History: The Poem 'Booker T. and W.E.B.' by Dudley Randall." *Black History Heroes*, www.blackhistoryheroes.com/2015/08/debates-in-history-poem-booker-t-and.html. Accessed 9 Feb. 2019. This is a blog of articles, poems, and photos related to famous African-Americans. I used this primarily as a source of photos. I wound up reading the poem on this page by Dudley Randall, however, which portrays Washington as being opposed to education for African-Americans and as preferring Blacks to continue working on plantations. The opposing view in the poem is presented as the view of W.E.B. DuBois, who insists that Blacks should pursue higher education and fight for civil rights. Based on my research, this is an unfair, "partial-truth" portrayal of Washington, although it seems to be one that is quite prevalent. Washington clearly

wanted African-Americans to learn industrial skills so they could find work and be self-sufficient, and he had more of an attitude of appeasement towards Whites, but he also believed in education, as is clearly demonstrated by his partnership with Rosenwald and his work on the Tuskegee Institute.

Del Russo, Don. "Marker to Commemorate County's Rosenwald Schools." *Fauquier Now*, 14 June 2018, www.fauquiernow.com/index.php/fauquier_news/article/fauquier-marker-to-commemorate-countys-rosenwald-schools-2018. Accessed 10 Feb. 2019. This is an article about historic markers being placed at sites of Rosenwald Schools in Virginia to commemorate their contribution to African-American education in the state. I primarily used the site for photos.

Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. *We the Americans: Blacks*. By Claudette E. Bennett et al., edited by Roderick J. Harrison, Government Publishing Office, Sept. 1993. This report by the U.S. Census provided interesting statistics about the African-American population in America. I cited this when discussing the numbers of African-Americans living in the South at the time Washington and Rosenwald were working together to create the Rosenwald Schools.

Deutsch, Stephanie. Interview. By Matthew Palatnik. 25 Jan. 2019. Ms. Deutsch is married to the great-grandson of Mr. Rosenwald, and is also the author of a book about the Rosenwald Schools. She kindly spent time talking with me in her home in Washington, D.C., and provided tremendously useful information about the Fellowship Program and the role many fellows played in the cases leading up to *Brown v. BOE*. She also described her research into the schools and her thoughts on the impact they had on African-American

history. I followed-up on her research suggestions, which was very fruitful, especially in the area of civil rights.

---. *You Need a Schoolhouse*. Northwestern University Press, 2011. Ms. Deutsch, who is married to one of Mr. Rosenwald's great-grandsons, provides an excellent overview of the lives of Booker T. Washington and Mr. Rosenwald, specifically as relates to their partnership on behalf of African-American education. This book was hugely useful in that I gained an understanding of their relationship and how they worked together, specifically to build the Rosenwald schools. The book also contains photographs which I use in my site.

Diner, Hasia R. *Julius Rosenwald - Repairing the World*. Yale University Press, 2017. This book focuses on Mr. Rosenwald's philanthropy from a Jewish perspective, and how his religious background influenced his desire to give. The book also describes how he saw the African-American community in the United States during his lifetime as similar to the Jewish communities in Europe, and how he wanted to give them a fair chance at success. I used this to understand Mr. Rosenwald's thinking and what motivated him to be such a major philanthropist.

Dobrasko, Rebekah. "Northern Money, Southern Schools: The Rosenwald School Fund." *South Carolina Department of Archives and History*, 2012, [scdah.sc.gov/sites/default/files/Documents/Historic%20Preservation%20\(SHPO\)/For%20teachers/NorthernMoneyCurriculum.pdf](https://scdah.sc.gov/sites/default/files/Documents/Historic%20Preservation%20(SHPO)/For%20teachers/NorthernMoneyCurriculum.pdf). Accessed 15 Nov. 2018. This is a lesson plan for teachers in South Carolina. It contains an extensive background of the situation in South Carolina in the early 1900s, the lack of education for Black children, and the initiative of Rosenwald and Washington to ameliorate the problem. This was useful context for me, and also allowed me to see how the history is being presented in schools

in the South today. It also contains architectural diagrams and photos which were useful for my website.

Donn, Leila. "The Legacy of the Rosenwald Schools." *Sustainable City Network*, 13 Apr. 2016, issuu.com/scitynetwork/docs/1607_sustainable_dig-pgs. Accessed 4 Jan. 2019. This article points to a study about the impact Rosenwald Schools had on their communities, including higher IQs, longer life expectancy, and more earning power. I used these facts as evidence of the lasting impact the schools had on the students and the communities.

Edelman, Marian Wright. "Rosenwald Schools: Reclaiming a Legacy." *Children's Defense Fund*, 19 Feb. 2010, www.childrensdefense.org/child-watch-columns/health/2010/rosenwald-schools-reclaiming-a-legacy/. Accessed 19 Dec. 2018. This article by Marian Wright Edelman, president of the Children's Defense Fund, makes a compelling argument for the importance of the Rosenwald Schools, and compares them to the contemporary Freedom Schools Program which provides after-school and summer programs for African-Americans in the neighborhoods of greatest need. I found this perspective from a modern, African-American advocate and educator very informative.

Emanuel, Gabrielle. "Built A Century Ago, 'Rosenwald Schools' May Still Have Lessons To Teach." *NPR*, 17 Oct. 2015, www.npr.org/sections/ed/2015/10/17/436402544/rosenwald-schools-built-a-century-ago-may-still-have-lessons-to-teach. Accessed 2 Dec. 2018. This piece describes some of the continuing effects that Rosenwald Schools have today, and what can be learned from them. The piece contains an interview with a former Rosenwald School student, who describes the pride community felt at the new, modern school that was created just for the African-American community. The piece also describes what can be learned from the schools today, particularly in developing

countries. Statistics about the positive impact on the students' lives were important data I used in my project. This piece gave me a better understanding of the continuing influence of Rosenwald's schools, and the thought that went into creating them.

"Eugene Robinson (1970, SC)." *U.S. Presidential Scholars Foundation and Alumni Association*, www.presidentialscholars.org/2018-winners/2018/2/1/eugene-robinson-1970-sc. I used the photo from this site, but also found it interesting to read about Eugene Robinson's life and many accomplishments, providing further evidence of the accomplishments of Rosenwald School graduates.

Farzan, Antonia Noori. "Sears' Rradical' Past: How Mail-order Catalogs Subverted the Racial Hierarchy of Jim Crow." *The Seattle Times*, 18 Oct. 2018, www.seattletimes.com/business/sears-radical-past-how-mail-order-catalogs-subverted-the-racial-hierarchy-of-jim-crow/. Accessed 14 Jan. 2019. This article describes how the Sears approach, selling via mail using a catalog, was transformative for African-Americans in the south, who could purchase what they needed from the catalog and avoid the overt racism and humiliation at local stores. I found it fascinating that even Rosenwald's corporate work helped African-Americans, although that wasn't his main focus in how he ran the business. I used this article as evidence for Sears, and Rosenwald's, immense success and the impact it had on retail in the United States.

"February 2015 Gospel Choir." *The Historic Mars Hill Anderson Rosenwald School Rehabilitation Project*, Feb. 2015, andersonrosenwaldschool.com/2014/february-2015-gospel-choir/. This page is part of a website about a school in North Carolina that the community is restoring. I used this primarily for images.

"Finding Pauli Murray." *National Organization for Women*, 24 Oct. 2016, now.org/about/history/finding-pauli-murray/. Accessed 6 Mar. 2019. This article describes the life of Pauli Murray, Rosenwald Fellow. She was very influential in civil rights, women's rights, and in religious rights (she became a priest). She was one of the many fellows I researched to demonstrate the impact of the Rosenwald Fund on civil rights and on American culture.

"First Rosenwald School - Loachapoka, AL." *Waymarking*, www.waymarking.com/waymarks/WMHPR8. Accessed 11 Jan. 2019. This site had some interesting photos of the first Rosenwald School.

Fisk University Rosenwald Fund Card File Database. Fisk University, rosenwald.fisk.edu/index.php?module=search. Accessed 3 Feb. 2019. This site provides an exhaustive list of all Rosenwald Schools, many with photos. I used this as a reference, and also for pictures. It was also useful to be able to search for specific schools I read about to get more details about the construction or design.

"The Freedmen's Bureau." *The National Archives*, www.archives.gov/education/lessons/freedmen.html. Accessed 16 Dec. 2018. This web page provides information about the Freedmen's Bureau, established to help African-Americans after the Civil War, and how it was disbanded, leaving Blacks to fend for themselves. It provided me with context for the situation facing African-Americans and their struggle for equality in all areas, including education.

Gibbs, Adrienne Samuels. "100 Years of Hope: University Alum Timuel Black Awarded for Life of Civic Engagement." *The University of Chicago*, 23 Oct. 2018, civicengagement.uchicago.edu/features/100-years-of-hope-university-alum-timuel-black-

awarded-for-life-of-civic-en/. Accessed 18 Dec. 2019. This article is about the civic work of Timuel Black, a Rosenwald Fellow. While I don't cite this on my website, it was one of the many articles I read that further convinced me of the significant impact Rosenwald Fellows have had on American history in general and African-American history in particular.

Green, David B. "This Day in Jewish History 1851: The American Rabbi Who Moved the Sabbath to Sunday Is Born." *Haaretz*, 22 May 2016, www.haaretz.com/jewish/1851-rabbi-who-moved-sabbath-to-sunday-is-born-1.5385289. Accessed 21 Jan. 2019. This article in Haaretz, a prominent newspaper in Israel, describes the life of Emil Hirsch. Aside from his impact on Rosenwald, Hirsch was a very influential leader in the Reform Movement in the United States. This brief article gave me insight into the man who inspired Rosenwald.

Grossman, Ron. "Chicago Philanthropist Julius Rosenwald's Dollars and Sense." *The Chicago Tribune*, 30 Oct. 2015, www.chicagotribune.com/news/history/ct-julius-rosenwald-philanthropist-per-flashback-20151029-story.html. Accessed 23 Jan. 2019. This article describes the life and work of Mr. Rosenwald and his approach to philanthropy. The piece includes a quotation about his intention to help African-Americans however he can, demonstrating his early commitment to the black community.

Hanchett, Thomas W. "The Rosenwald Schools and Black Education in North Carolina." *The North Carolina Historical Review*, vol. 65, no. 4, Oct. 1988, pp. 387-444, www.jstor.org/stable/23520778?read-now=1&seq=36#page_scan_tab_contents. Accessed 2 Feb. 2019. This extensive article reviews in great detail the history of Rosenwald Schools in North Carolina, the state with the most Rosenwald Schools. The

author discusses the benefits of the program, and laments the fact that desegregation did not occur as an outgrowth of the program, but rather from legal challenges presented by the NAACP. However, the intention of the schools was to educate, not to politically agitate, and this is why Rosenwald built the schools and also supported higher education and the NAACP. I used this article for balance in my research, and also for images for my site.

Heller, Karen. "The Enlightening Legacy of the Rosenwald Schools." *The Washington Post*, 30 Aug. 2015, www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/style/the-enlightening-legacy-of-the-rosenwald-schools/2015/08/30/946b72ca-4cc6-11e5-bfb9-9736d04fc8e4_story.html?utm_term=.02d28df0d000. Accessed 2 Dec. 2018. This article offers a brief description of the schools and some of the alumni from the Ridgeley Rosenwald School in Maryland. The alumni describe the positive influence the school had on their lives, and how they were expected to be achievers and contribute to society. The article also explains that the school remained open for many years after *Brown v. Board of Ed*, since many states continued to resist integration. This was useful, as it allowed me to see the personal impact on the students, including several major figures in politics (John Lewis) and the arts (Maya Angelou). The article also describes the grants Rosenwald provided to African- American artists in addition to the schools he built, furthering his enormous influence on the African-American community.

Hoffschwelle, Mary S. *Preserving Rosenwald Schools*. National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2012. This report contains useful information about Rosenwald Schools across the country and the efforts to preserve them. Ms. Hoffschwelle begins with an overview of Rosenwald and Booker T. Washington, and delves into the creation and design of the

schools. It provided me with good contextual information for how the schools were designed and how they are being used by communities today, as well as an approach to determine if a building is actually a Rosenwald School.

---. *The Rosenwald Schools of the American South*. 2006. University Press of Florida, 2014. This detailed volume approaches the story of the Rosenwald Schools from the perspective of their impact on the material and social culture of African-Americans. The author meticulously researched the schools and the social and political backdrop fo Rosenwald's work and legacy. I used this book to gain insight into how the schools were built and the challenges faced when they were created, including difficulty in getting state funding and the destruction (burning) of some of them by White protestors who didn't want African-Americans to have any education.

"Horace Mann Bond Papers." *UMass Amherst*, scua.library.umass.edu/ead/mums411. Accessed 8 Mar. 2019. This site contains a wealth of information on Horace Mann Bond, who was a Rosenwald Fellow, and who also worked for the Fund. He was a well-known civil rights activist, as was his son. I included this information on my site as evidence of Rosenwald's impact on the civil rights movement through his support of the men and women who became leaders in the movement.

Ifill, Sherrilyn. "If Judicial Nominees Don't Support 'Brown v. Board,' They Don't Support the Rule of Law." *The Washington Post*, 12 May 2019, www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/if-judicial-nominees-dont-support-brown-v-board-they-dont-support-the-rule-of-law/2019/05/12/d12c542a-734d-11e9-8be0-ca575670e91c_story.html?utm_term=.a2e6822777ec. Accessed 13 May 2019. This Op Ed piece in the Washington Post is written by the chief counsel of the NAACP. She

describes the fact that some judicial and executive nominees have been refusing to affirm the Brown v. BOE and indicate their agreement with it. I was shocked to read this since it is not getting the attention it should in the press. This demonstrated to me the continued relevance of the decision and the fact that vigilance is always required to protect the constitutional rights of all Americans.

Irons, Peter. "Jim Crow's Schools." *The American Federation of Teachers (AFT)*, www.aft.org/periodical/american-educator/summer-2004/jim-crows-schools. Accessed 10 Jan. 2019. This site provided me with a useful overview of the horrific state of African-American schools in the South after Reconstruction. It helped me understand and illustrate how significant and transformative the contribution of the Rosenwald Schools were to the communities who struggled for even basic rights and education.

"John Hope Franklin - Imprint of An American Scholar." *Duke University Libraries*, Oct. 2014, library.duke.edu/exhibits/2014/john-hope-franklin-imprint. This page gives a brief overview of the influential work of John Hope Franklin, which provided me with more context and evidence of the influence of Rosenwald Fellows.

Johnson, Steve. "'Chicago 1919: Confronting the Race Riots' Looks to Bring City to Terms with a Chilling Summer 100 Years Ago." *The Chicago Tribune*, 18 Jan. 2019, www.chicagotribune.com/entertainment/museums/ct-ent-chicago-1919-race-riots-project-0122-story.html. Accessed 31 Mar. 2019. This article describes the terrible race riots in Chicago, Rosenwald's home, in 1919. I used this to provide context for Rosenwald's life and work on behalf of African-Americans, and also used some of the photos.

Kappatos, Nicole. "Rosenwald Schools." *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 3 Sept. 2015, www.richmond.com/from-the-archives/rosenwald-schools/article_cb983706-4758-11e5-b562-0b3943bb259a.html. Accessed 8 Jan. 2019. This article about the Rosenwald School program in Virginia features a reprint of a letter from their archive that lists all the schools built in the state, which I used on my site. The summary statistics were also important because they show how much the states contributed to the schools because of the insistence of the Rosenwald Fund. Virginia Commonwealth University created an online exhibit about the Rosenwald Schools, which I was happy to read about since I want more people to know about the program.

"Katherine Dunham Biography (1909 - 2006)." *KDCAH - Katherine Dunham Centers for Arts and Humanities*, kdcah.org/katherine-dunham-biography/. This brief biography of Catherine Dunham gave me a vivid picture of her dance and choreography talent. As a Rosenwald Fellow, she is another example of the impact of the Fund on African-American arts.

"Katherine Dunham in New York City." *Museum of the City of New York*, blog.mcny.org/2017/03/28/katherine-dunham-in-new-york-city/. Accessed 10 Jan. 2019. This blog post describes the work of Katherine Dunham, Rosenwald Fellow. Being from New York City myself, I enjoyed reading about her debut at the 92nd Street Y, and how she incorporated anthropology into her choreography. I used this site for photos of Ms. Dunham and for further context of the impact of the Rosenwald Fellowships.

Kelleher, Kevin. "The Rise and Fall of Sears: A Timeline From Its Founding to Its Bankruptcy." *Forbes*, 15 Oct. 2018, fortune.com/2018/10/15/the-rise-and-fall-of-sears-a-timeline-from-its-founding-to-its-bankruptcy/. Accessed 2 Feb. 2019. This article gives a timeline from

Sears early days to its current financial woes. I used this mainly for the pictures of the Sears buildings created by Rosenwald. Remarkably, this article does not even mention Julius Rosenwald, even though he was responsible for the company's incredible growth.

Kelley, Blair L.M. "Rethinking Booker T. Washington." *Ebony*, 18 Jan. 2012,

www.ebony.com/news/rethinking-booker-t-washington/. Accessed 5 Mar. 2019. Ms.

Kelley is an African-American professor at North Carolina State University with a PhD in African-American studies. In this article, she defends Booker T. Washington's achievements in the face of tremendous racism and white opposition, but also presents the view that he should have been supportive of W.E.B. Du Bois's Niagra movement, too. This was a balanced essay that effectively describes Washington as a man of great accomplishment who was also fallable, which I thought was balanced and fair, as I tried to be on my site.

Kempner, Aviva. Interview. By Matthew Palatnik. 12 Jan. 2019. Ms. Kempner is a documentary filmmaker who made a film about Julius Rosenwald. She spent several years researching his life. Ms. Kempner graciously spent an hour with me in her home in Washington, D.C., describing her research, how she discovered Rosenwald, and the process of making her film. Many of the details she shared about Mr. Washington and Mr. Rosenwald provided context and color for my research and which I included in my website.

"Kenneth B. and Mamie P. Clark Fund." *American Psychological Foundation*,

www.apa.org/apf/funding/clark-fund.aspx. Accessed 4 Feb. 2019. This the web site the American Psychological Association describing the important work done by Mamie and Kenneth Clarks, both of whom were Rosenwald Fellows. Their research proved the detrimental effects of segregation on African-American children, and the research was

conducted under the fellowship. I used this information in conjunction with other evidence to demonstrate the substantial impact the Fund had on desegregation and *Brown v. BOE*

"KKK Founded." *History.com*, www.history.com/this-day-in-history/kkk-founded. Accessed 1 Mar. 2019. This page describes the founding of the KKK, which I used for context of the South during the time Washington was working to build Tuskegee and then during the construction of the Rosenwald Schools.

Lane, Jim. "William Edouard Scott." *Art Now and Then*, 25 Sept. 2015, art-now-and-then.blogspot.com/2015/09/william-edouard-scott.html. Accessed 5 Feb. 2019. This blog post describes the work of Scott, who was a Rosenwald Fellow. It was interesting to read about his life, including the fact that he had done a mural for the Wabash Y, which was also built by Rosenwald. The mural was recently restored. I used the site primarily for images, but enjoyed reading the history, too.

"Lynching in America." *Equal Justice Initiative*, lynchinginamerica.eji.org/. Accessed 18 Jan. 2019. This very well-researched and extremely upsetting website provides a history of lynching in America in great detail. This provided me with meaningful context and also comprehensive information I used to emphasize the terror experienced by African-Americans in the Jim Crow South. Understanding this context was crucial to explaining the significance and importance of the Rosenwald Schools for the African-American community, as well as the great challenges that were overcome to build them.

"Lynching in America." *PBS*, www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/emmett-lynching-america/. I used this article to understand the history of lynching in the American South, and the way it was used to terrorize African Americans. This was

another important piece of contextual evidence of the critical importance the Rosenwald Schools played, providing a safe place for African-American students to learn.

"Lynching, Russellville, Kentucky, 1908." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*,

www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/283258. Accessed 11 Feb. 2019. This page from the Met is part of a collection of photos and information about life in the South during Jim Crow. The information about how lynching was used to terrorize and intimidate African-Americans was horrifying and also important to my topic to demonstrate the terrible state in which Blacks were forced to live after Reconstruction.

"Marion Post Wolcott – 'Mississippi Delta Plantation Life' (1930s)." ASX,

www.americansuburbx.com/2014/06/marion-post-wolcott-mississippi-1930s.html.

Accessed 11 Feb. 2019. This site contains a variety of photographs, including of the South during the early 1900s, which provided useful visuals for my website.

Martin, Zena. "Julius Rosenwald - Benefactor of 5,000 Black Schools." *Books and Belonging: A History of Black Education and Association*, 13 Feb. 2013,

zblackhistorymonth2013.blogspot.com/2013/02/julius-rosenwald-benefactor-of-5000.html. Accessed 14 Nov. 2018. This extensively-researched blog summarizes

Rosenwald's life and work on behalf of African-Americans, including philanthropy I was unable to include, such as the Michigan Garden Apartments and the Museum of Science and Industry in Chicago. While there was not a lot of new information on this page for me, there were some very interesting images I hadn't come across. The site also includes a history of the legal battle for desegregation, which many sites about Rosenwald do not include, and which I appreciated reading.

Masghati, Emily. "Jim Crow Philanthropy." *US History Scene*, ushistoryscene.com/article/jim-crow-philanthropy/. Accessed 7 Jan. 2019. This detailed article about Jim Crow, the state of African-American education in the South, and the work of Washington and Rosenwald was a very useful overview for my research. The article details how Rosenwald used the matching grants program to exert pressure on the state and local governments to contribute to the schools, which was a very important point to emphasize about the approach he took to the school program.

McNeill, Leila. "How a Psychologist's Work on Race Identity Helped Overturn School Segregation in 1950s America." *Smithsonian Magazine*, 26 Oct. 2017, www.smithsonianmag.com/science-nature/psychologist-work-racial-identity-helped-overturn-school-segregation-180966934. Accessed 4 Feb. 2019. This article describes in some detail exactly how the Clarkes' research affected the outcome of *Brown v. BOE*. This was important for me to demonstrate the connection between the Rosenwald Fund and the end of segregation, as well as the progress toward the civil rights movement.

Memmott, Mark. "Judge Robert Carter, An 'Architect Of Desegregation,' Has Died." *National Public Radio*, 4 Jan. 2012, www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2012/01/04/144692211/judge-robert-carter-an-architect-of-desegregation-has-died. Accessed 14 Feb. 2019. This is an article about Robert Carter, who passed away in 2012. Carter was a Rosenwald Fellow and a key member of the legal team for *Brown v. BOE*, as well as many other civil rights cases. I used this as evidence for the impact of the Rosenwald Fellowship on rights for African-Americans.

Munro, Robert. "John Aubrey Davis, Sr. (1912 - 2002)." *Black Past*, 19 July 2011, www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/davis-john-aubrey-sr-1912-2002/. Accessed

8 Mar. 2019. This is an obituary for John Aubrey Davis, a Rosenwald Fellow who was directly involved in civil rights and many cases leading to integration, including *Brown v. BOE*. I used this as further evidence of how the Rosenwald Fund's support for African-American higher education led directly to triumphs in civil rights.

National Trust for Historic Preservation. "Rosenwald Schools." *National Trust for Historic Preservation*, savingplaces.org/places/rosenwald-schools#.XBIH7VxKjcs. Accessed 18 Dec. 2018. This site describes the work done to preserve the Rosenwald Schools, which gave me perspective on how they were valued as well as the continuing impact of the buildings, which are used in a variety of ways in communities across the country.

Neale, Rick. "Shuttered Rosenwald Schools Still Have Lessons to Teach." *USA Today*, 3 Feb. 2017, www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation-now/2017/02/03/rosenwald-school-education-segregation-era/97423432/. Accessed 4 Jan. 2019. This article refers to the number of students impacted by Rosenwald Schools and the architectural significance of the buildings. The author also quotes experts referring to the significance of the education provided by Rosenwald Schools. These were important points for my research and my website.

Newkirk II, Vann R. "How Martin Luther King Jr. Recruited John Lewis." *The Atlantic*, 4 Apr. 2018, www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2018/02/john-lewis-martin-luther-king-jr/552581/. Accessed 13 Jan. 2019. This article describes John Lewis's meeting and working with Martin Luther King, Jr. Since Lewis attended a Rosenwald School and is such a legendary figure in the civil rights movement, I wanted to understand more about his life. This informed my thinking and gave me context for the impact of the schools on their graduates.

Norrell, Robert J. "Booker T. Washington: Understanding the Wizard of Tuskegee." *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, vol. 42, Winter 2003 - 2004, pp. 99-109, www.jstor.org/stable/3592453?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents. Accessed 5 Mar. 2019. This article defends Booker T. Washington's approach to race relations in the South, considering the historical context and horrific racism he faced. The author believes for Washington to achieve his goal of providing education to Southern Black children, he had no choice but to take a non-confrontational stance. This was one of many essays I read to understand more about Washington and the many challenges he faced.

Page, Clarence. "Remembering Black America's 'Silent Partner' at Sears, Julius Rosenwald." *The Chicago Tribune*, 2 Nov. 2018, www.chicagotribune.com/news/opinion/page/ct-perspec-page-julius-rosenwald-robert-woodson-pittsburgh-synagogues-1104-20181102-story.html. Accessed 14 Nov. 2018. This article contained useful quotes from Rosenwald that demonstrated his deep respect for Washington and the connection he made between the plight of African-Americans in the U.S. and Jews throughout history. These were important themes I use in my web site to give the readers and understanding of Rosenwald as a person and what motivated him.

Perkins, Alfred. "Welcome Consequences and Fulfilled Promise: Julius Rosenwald Fellows and 'Brown v. Board of Education.'" *Journal of Negro Education*, vol. 72, no. 3, Summer 2003. This article by scholar Alfred Perkins discusses the impact Rosenwald Fellows had on the achievement of Brown v. Board of Ed. He points to the work of psychologists and lawyers as directly impacting the case, as well as the development of Black leadership to effect social change in general. This article provided important evidence for my thesis that Rosenwald and the Rosenwald Fund contributed to the end of segregation.

Perry, Regenia A. "Augusta Savage." *Smithsonian American Art Museum*, americanart.si.edu/artist/augusta-savage-4269. Accessed 27 Jan. 2019. This bio of Augusta Savage, a sculptor and Rosenwald Fellow, describes her life and mentions that the Rosenwald Fellowship allowed her to study art in Paris. This was yet another example of the Fund's influence on and support for African-American art. I also came to appreciate how many African-American women were given fellowships, another sign of Rosenwald's and Embree's progressive attitudes.

"Portrait of Edwin R. Embree." *The Rockefeller Foundation: Digital History*, rockfound.rockarch.org/digital-library-listing/-/asset_publisher/yYxpQfeI4W8N/content/portrait-of-edwin-r-embree?inheritRedirect=false. Accessed 12 Jan. 2019. This site provides the history of the Rockefeller Foundation, where Edwin Embree worked prior to becoming President of the Rosenwald Fund. I used this site for his portrait.

"President and Director-Counsel - Sherrilyn Ifill." *Legal Defense Fund*, www.naacpldf.org/about-us/staff/sherrilyn-ifill/. Accessed 13 May 2019. This page provides the biography of Sherrilyn Ifill, who works for the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. I used this page for her photo, but I also enjoyed reading her biography.

Reed, Roy. "Julian Bond, Charismatic Civil Rights Leader, Dies at 75." *The New York Times*, 16 Aug. 2015, www.nytimes.com/2015/08/17/us/julian-bond-former-naacp-chairman-and-civil-rights-leader-dies-at-75.html. Accessed 13 May 2019. This article in the Times, published when Julian Bond passed away, describes his prodigious achievements in civil rights. Mr. Bond's father was a Rosenwald Fellow who also worked for the Fund, and

Julian Bond felt strongly about the positive impacts of the Fund. I used this article for context about Mr. Bond's life, and also for the photo of him with Dr. King.

"Representative John Lewis." *Congress.gov*, www.congress.gov/member/john-lewis/L000287.

Accessed 13 Jan. 2019. I used this site primarily for photos of Congressman John Lewis, but it was also interesting to read about the legislation he has sponsored, including one to "reauthorize the Historically Black Colleges and Universities Historic Preservation program."

Rybczynski, Witold. "Remembering the Rosenwald Schools." *The Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, www.architectmagazine.com/design/culture/remembering-the-rosenwald-schools_o. Accessed 7 Nov. 2018. This article by renowned architect and professor, Witold Rybczynski, describes the architecture of the Rosenwald Schools and the focus placed on the design to encourage learning and create multi-use spaces. This was helpful to me to understand the thinking behind the buildings and the care taken by Rosenwald and Washington in their construction.

Schleier, Curt. "Julius Rosenwald Built Sears, Roebuck And 5,000 Schools." *Investor's Business Daily*, 16 Sept. 2016, www.investors.com/news/management/leaders-and-success/julius-rosenwald-built-sears-roebuck-and-5000-schools/. Accessed 1 Feb. 2019. This article describes Rosenwald's business acumen and the innovations put in place under his leadership. I used this as evidence of his business talent and abilities, and to show how he was primarily responsible for the huge success of Sears.

"School Was Refuge in Segregated Waynesboro." *News Leader*, 10 Nov. 2016,

www.newsleader.com/story/news/local/history/2016/11/10/rosenwald-school-waynesboro-julius-rosenwald-black-history-segregation-racism/93465236/. Accessed 2

Dec. 2018. This article offers a retrospective on the effects that Rosenwald schools had in their communities. I have used this article to gain a better understanding of how these schools influenced their communities and their continuing legacies in many places.

Schulman, Daniel, editor. *A Force for Change: African American Art and the Julius Rosenwald Fund*. Northwestern University Press, 2009. This beautiful book is a collection of essays and reproductions of artwork that accompanied an exhibit of artists who received Rosenwald Fellowships. Viewing the art in the book really brought home to me the tremendous impact on African-American arts that the fellowship had. Some of the essays emphasize the social issues that were highlighted in fellows' art, such as the Great Migration series by Jacob Lawrence, and talk about art as an instrument of change, and important piece of evidence that contributed to my thesis. I used information from the essays, the artwork, and photos in my site, which made it more visually rich and demonstrated the varied talents of Rosenwald Fellows.

Schulz, Kathryn. "The Many Lives of Pauli Murray." *The New Yorker*, 17 Apr. 2017, www.newyorker.com/magazine/2017/04/17/the-many-lives-of-pauli-murray. Accessed 6 Mar. 2019. This article, which I cite on my website, describes the life and accomplishments of Pauli Murray, a Rosenwald Fellow who was a civil, women's, and gay rights activist. I used this site as evidence of the impact she had on Brown v. BOE and other areas of American society.

"Selma Burke." *Temple University Digital Collections*, digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p15037coll17/id/447. Accessed 5 Feb. 2019. This website, maintained by Temple University, is a database of photographs and

information. I used this to find photos of some of the Rosenwald Fellows and to learn about their achievements.

"Separate is not Equal: Brown v. Board of Ed." *National Museum of American History*, Smithsonian Institution, americanhistory.si.edu/brown/index.html. Accessed 2 Dec. 2018. This web page is an in depth description of the history and social effects of reconstruction and segregation in the American South on the lives of Black Americans up until Brown v. Board of Education. I used this source to obtain valuable background knowledge which serves as a frame for further research into segregation and the lives of African Americans in the South.

"Southern Landscape." *The Brooklyn Museum*, www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/2732. Accessed 13 May 2019. I used this site for images of Rosenwald Fellows' art, in this case, a painting by Eldzier Cortor.

"Tankersley Rosenwald School." *Goat Hill History Blog*, 14 July 2016, www.goathillhistory.com/blog/2016/7/14/tankersley-rosenwald-school. Accessed 6 Feb. 2019. This brief blog post describes the history of Rosenwald Schools in Montgomery County, AL and the effort to restore them. I used this site primarily for images.

"Teaching Guide on Rosenwald Schools, YMCAs, and More." *Teaching for Change*, www.teachingforchange.org/rosenwald-teaching-guide. Accessed 10 Jan. 2019. This site has some interesting information on how to teach young people about the Rosenwald School Program.

Thomsen, Elizabeth. Weblog post. *Digital Commonwealth - Massachusetts Collections Online*, 9 June 2015, blog.digitalcommonwealth.org/?p=725. Accessed 31 Mar. 2019. This short piece commemorating the passing of Booker T. Washington. I used this primarily as a

source for some specific dates and for two photos of Washington giving a commencement address at Worcester Polytechnic Institute shortly before he died.

"Tulsa Race Riot." *History.com*, 8 Mar. 2018, www.history.com/topics/roaring-twenties/tulsa-race-riot. Accessed 6 Apr. 2019. This page describes the 1921 race riot in Tulsa, OK, which I used as evidence of the mob violence that broke out against African-American communities.

"Tuskegee Institute - Training Leaders." *Library of Congress*, www.loc.gov/exhibits/odyssey/educate/bookert.html. Accessed 28 Oct. 2018. This page in the Library of Congress gives an overview of the Tuskegee Institute, which provided me with context and background for my research.

Valentine, Curtis. Interview. By Matthew Palatnik. 8 Mar. 2019. Mr. Valentine is a teacher in Prince George's County, MD, a predominantly African-American community, and is also a member of the school board. He is a leader in education reform. His grandfather attended a Rosenwald School, and he gave me his perspective on the schools, the influence of Rosenwald and the lessons his approach to philanthropy have to teach us today. It was a fascinating interview and it gave me a perspective on the challenges that African-Americans and other out-groups continue to face in America.

"Wabash Avenue YMCA." *Chicago Architecture and Cityscape*, chicago-architecture-jyoti.blogspot.com/2010/03/wabash-avenue-ymca.html. Accessed 5 Feb. 2019. This site has a brief history of the Wabash YMCA, explaining how it accommodated African-Americans during the Great Migration. It makes no mention of Rosenwald, despite his gift being the impetus for its construction.

Walker, Dorothy. "Rosenwald Schools: 100 Years of Pride, Progress, and Preservation."

Alabama Heritage, 7 July 2018, www.alabamaheritage.com/from-the-vault/rosenwald-schools-100-years-of-pride-progress-and-preservation. Accessed 19 Jan. 2019. This page commemorates the 100th anniversary of the Rosenwald School Building Program in Alabama. The author of this page, Dorothy Walker, coordinates the documentation of Rosenwald Schools for the Alabama Historical Commission and serves as Alabama's representative on the National Trust for Historic Preservation Rosenwald School Initiative and Task Force. It was nice to see the care and effort going into remembering and restoring Rosenwald Schools in Alabama. I used this site primarily for photos.

"W. Allison Davis '24 and John A. Davis '33 Who is the Davis Center named for?" *Williams*

College, davis-center.williams.edu/w-allison-davis-24-and-john-aubrey-davis-33/.

Accessed 19 Mar. 2019. This site provides information about two graduates of Williams College, W. Allison Davis and John Aubrey Davis, both of whom, coincidentally, were Rosenwald Fellows. I used this for a photo of John Aubrey Davis and information about his work with Thurgood Marshall on the Brown v. BOE team.

Wells, Jeremy. "Booker T. Washington (1856–1915)." *Encyclopedia Virginia*,

www.encyclopediavirginia.org/washington_booker_t_1856-1915. Accessed 31 Mar.

2019. This page provides a nice overview of Washington's life which were a useful reference for my work. It also contains dates and photos I incorporated into my website.

"What is the Julius Rosenwald Foundation?" *The Sears Archive*,

www.searsarchives.com/people/questions/rosenwaldfoundation.htm. Accessed 29 Jan.

2019. This brief web page describes the Rosenwald Fund, started by the former Sears

president. This provided me with some context as to how Mr. Rosenwald's philanthropy was viewed by Sears, with a lot of pride.

Zick, William J. "Lenora Lafayette (1926 - 1975): First African-American to Sing at the Royal Opera House." *Africlassical*, 16 Oct. 2012, africlassical.blogspot.com/2012/10/john-malveaux-lenora-lafayette-1926.html. Accessed 17 Mar. 2019. This article describes the life of Lenora Lafayette, an opera singer and Rosenwald Fellow. The fellowship allowed her to study at Julliard, Ms. Lafayette was one of the many Rosenwald Fellows who achieved greatness in their fields, and I include her in my gallery of fellows.