WE BUILT THIS JOINT FOR FREE: COUNTER-STORIES OF BLACK AMERICAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO HIGHER EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT

Aim/Purpose	Black contributions to higher education are frequently marginalized by some of the field's most commonly cited historians. The purpose of this conceptual paper is threefold: to demarginalize the role of Black Americans within the higher education history narrative; to demonstrate the need to reconsider the course reading selections used to facilitate learning in this area; and, to emphasize the importance of higher education history as vehicle for understanding current issues across the postsecondary landscape.
Background	Sanitized historical accounts often shape Higher Education and Student Affairs students' learning of the history of American higher education. This is important due to the role historical knowledge plays in understanding current issues across the postsecondary landscape.
Methodology	This conceptual paper juxtaposes commonly used higher education history texts against works that center Black higher education history. Elements of Critical Race Theory (CRT) frame this paper and serve as an analytic tool to disrupt master narratives from seminal history of higher education sources.
Contribution	This paper contributes to literature on the history of higher education and offers considerations for the implications of course reading selections.
Findings	We found that countering the master narratives shows how our contemporary experience has been shaped by colonial processes and how the historical role of Black Americans in higher education is often minimized.

Recommendations for Practitioners	Citing how higher education and student affairs instructors' choices around scholarship have implications for classroom learning and for the future of research and practice, this work recommends diversifying history of higher education course reading selections to help students gain better understanding of the historical impact of white supremacy, systemic oppression, and racism on postsecondary education.
Future Research	Further research is needed to understand the impact of course reading selections on HESA student learning and empirically identify frequencies of text usage in history of higher education classrooms
Keywords	higher education, history, Black, African American

INTRODUCTION

In response to an ahistorical take on slavery presented by HUD Secretary Ben Carson, CNN Political Commentator and NPR Political Analyst, Angela Rye famously reminded viewers of CNN's Anderson Cooper show that "we built this joint for free" (CNN, 2017). Rye used 'we' in reference to her ancestors – enslaved Africans and African Americans whose involuntarily labor efforts helped develop the foundational economic infrastructure America (Franklin & Moss, 2000)– while speaking truth to power in the face of Carson's speech where he falsely paralleled the enslavement of Africans to the experiences of America's early immigrant populations (Stack, 2017). Counter-stories – literary devices used to tell the stories of persons often erased from the dominant discourse (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002) – such as this illustrate the necessity of refuting the master narratives surrounding our nation's history. Following Rye's CNN commentary, "we built this joint for free" became a popular refrain for citing the contributions of enslaved Africans African Americans to the structural development of the United States (U.S.). In this paper, we explore how the sentiment expressed through this pop culture reference also rings true for the U.S. higher education system, exploring how African Americans have fostered postsecondary progress since the country's earliest beginnings.

Within this work, we explore how whiteness prevails in postsecondary education settings. The conception of whiteness was established on the theoretical work of W.E.B. Du Bois who posited that the "wages of whiteness" include whites benefiting economically, socially, and psychologically due to their race (Du Bois, 2007). The seminal works of Roediger (2007) were built on the foundation of W. E. B. Du Bois' work and furthered it by explaining how whites could use racial privilege and status to soften the perceived degrading impacts of low-class status. Pinder (2011) defines whiteness as the sociocultural and racial construct of individuals phenotypically associated with European decent which grants dedicated rights and privileges to status and entitlement. Even though racialized whites are not a monolithic group, whiteness in general has effectively shaped systems and structures within the United States, including the country's educational systems (Zamudio, Russell, Rios, & Bridgeman, 2011). More specifically, whiteness has dominated the U.S. higher postsecondary landscape, resulting in the silencing and marginalization of racially and ethnically diverse historical narratives (Marable, 2000).

Of the various courses offered in higher education programs, this notion of whiteness dominating historical narratives is perhaps most visible in the curriculum and readings associated with the history of higher education. The history of higher education has been identified as a "commonly taught core course" in tertiary education focused PhD and EdD programs (Card, Chambers, & Freeman, 2016, p.134). Further, history is viewed by many in the field as "central to the understanding of higher education as a field of study" (Card et al., 2016, p.141). However, in many of the field's major or seminal history texts, the contributions and experiences of Black people and other people of color are often parceled out, compartmentalized, or simply unacknowledged (e.g., Lucas, 2006). Contrary to what is shown in these texts, Black Americans have maintained significant involvement in the development of the United States postsecondary education system. For centuries, Black people have given much in

the form of labor and knowledge to build the present-day educational scheme operating in the United States (Fleming, 1976; Wilder, 2013).

PURPOSE

With this context in mind, we assert that Black Americans have significantly contributed to the foundations of American higher education. This conceptual paper serves to reframe some of the common historical narratives offered in the higher education history source text, *American Higher Education* (Lucas, 2006). Using Critical Race Theory (CRT) counter-storytelling, we argue specific ways that Black Americans, both men and women, have contributed to the advancement and development of the American postsecondary system. With illustrations spanning the 17th-20th centuries, we historically contextualize specific elements within higher education. The purpose of this conceptual paper is threefold: 1) to demarginalize the role of Black Americans within the HE history narrative, 2) to demonstrate the need to reconsider the course reading selections used to facilitate learning for HESA graduate students, and 3) to emphasize the importance of higher education history as vehicle for understanding current issues across the postsecondary landscape. The paper proceeds with an overview of the theoretical framework, including applied literary examples of how CRT and counter-storytelling have been used in education research and scholarship. This is followed by a section titled, *Demarginalizing the Counter-Narratives*, in which we contrast literary selections from master narratives with counter-stories to demonstrate how Black American stories are often omitted or marginalized in major sources. The paper concludes with a discussion, conclusion, and implications for practice in HESA programs.

RESEARCHER POSITIONALITY

Both authors come to this work, not as historians, but as Black women doctoral students in a higher education graduate program who have experienced the history of postsecondary education through a Eurocentric lens and approach. While engaging in literature outside of our assigned course readings, we were reminded of something that we already knew: there was more to the story of American Higher Education than we were offered in our main text. Like many Black students, we noticed the absence of people who looked like us and decided to 'write back' against this lack of representation. Thus began the journey of bringing Black historical narratives to the forefront of the American higher education narrative. The following reflects our effort to use CRT counter-storytelling as a vehicle to offer some examples of Black history in higher education. The paper proceeds with an overview of the framework that guides this conceptual paper and is followed by a selection of applied literary examples that demonstrate how CRT has been used to reframe narratives in education.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Critical Race Theory guides this paper, particularly, the tenant that acknowledges racism as a normalized, omnipresent, and permanent component of American society, systems, and structures and the concept of revisionist history (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Also central to this work, is the CRT methodological tool known as counter-storytelling, which serves as a mechanism to disrupt the marginalized nature of higher education history and reintegrate Blacks into the dominate historical discourse (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).

CRITICAL RACE THEORY

Originating from legal scholarship, Critical Race Theory (CRT) uses a racialized framework to challenge the dispassionate realties of legal analysis and interpretation (Parker, 1998). Central to CRT, is the notion that whiteness maintains a normative position in U.S. society and serves as a mechanism to subjugate and erase the experiences of marginalized racial groups (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) introduced this theoretical perspective to the field of education and Patton (2016) posited the usefulness of this lens in higher education more specifically. Ladson-

Billings and Tate (1995) proposed CRT as a theory for education to address inequities in property and education and examine their role in creating a "racialized society." Further, Patton (2016) speaks to the ways that whiteness is both rooted and integrated well within specific areas of the academy, including curriculum and policy, demonstrating how the white hegemonic power structure that exists within society is also present in higher education.

Racism as a societal norm

The first tenet of CRT claims racism as an "ordinary, not aberrational" feature of society (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012, p. 8). This speaks to both the normality of racism in society, particularly the ways in which it permeates the daily lives for people of color in a salient manner not acknowledged by the White majority. Delgado and Stefancic (2012) assert this to be "the usual way that our society does business" (p.8) to emphasize the regularity with which racism permeates all aspects of American life. Further, CRT creates a lens for researchers and historians to examine the experiences of people of color and reveals the underlying racialized undertones in everyday policies and practices to generate awareness of ingrained societal racism existing within our social structures and institutions (Berry & Candis, 2013; Hiraldo, 2010).

The Black postsecondary experience is better understood through the lens of this CRT tenet because it creates a paradigm through which we can acknowledge racism in the social, political, and economic structures of higher education. Patton (2016) posits three propositions that demonstrate how white supremacy encapsulates the postsecondary setting:

Proposition 1: The establishment of U.S. higher education is deeply rooted in racism/White supremacy, the vestiges of which remain palatable.

Proposition 2: The functioning of U.S. higher education is linked to imperialistic and capitalistic efforts that fuel the intersections of race, property, and oppression.

Proposition 3: U.S. higher education institutions serve as venues through which formal knowledge production rooted in racism/White supremacy is generated.

Once we acknowledge that racism is woven into the fabric of American higher education, we can examine the ways in which Black contributions and experiences are often omitted and marginalized. In fact, CRT has been utilized by scholars to not only disrupt White supremacy in the education system, but also to give voice to the marginalized Black experience throughout the American education landscape. Along with the recognition of the Black student experience, there has also been the creation of racially informed education practices (Ledesma & Calderon, 2015). The following section discusses, in more detail, the ways in which CRT has been used to elevate and better understand the experiences of Black students in higher education.

Revisionist history

CRT scholars, specifically Derrick Bell, established the practice of reframing America's historical narrative by replacing the sanitized histories presented by the majority with more accurate experiences of ethnic minorities. Known as revisionist history, this tenet serves to expose less recognized facts and features of the American struggle with race and racism (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). This principle is central to the idea of demarginalizing Blackness in higher education history narratives. Several higher education scholars have addressed this issue (Patton, 2016; Stein, 2018), demonstrating how the marginalization of histories permeates the past and present state of the post-secondary landscape. By combining a revisionist historical approach to counter-storytelling, we excavate lesser known and less frequently cited narratives of Black contributions to postsecondary education.

Counter-storytelling

Counter-storytelling is defined by scholars Solórzano and Yosso (2002) as a literary method or device used to tell the stories of persons often erased from the dominant discourse. According to Delgado

and Stefancic (2012), writers who utilize a critical frame often use counter-storytelling as a tool to challenge or disrupt commonly held beliefs or misconceptions. Delgado (1984) presents storytelling as a formidable method of combating the myths purported by the privileged mass. Additionally, Delgado and Stefancic (2012) considered counter-storytelling a useful mechanism to challenge ahistoricism by sharing historical narratives that amplify the voices of those who experience oppression in various forms. In an effort to demarginalize Black contributions to American higher education, we offer opposing narratives that assert the presence of Blackness throughout history and present a more historically accurate depiction of the development of the American higher education system over time.

Master narratives

According to Acuff, Hirak, and Nangah (2012), master narratives are scripts that rely on specific mythologies and ideological creeds to maintain "a sanitized version of history" (p. 5). Moyers (1990) asserts that this type of narrative is "imposed by the people in authority on everybody else" (para. 4). And Huggins (1991) adds that a master narrative has a strong influence on what is considered historically significant. In this piece, we have chosen to use master narratives to depict the Eurocentric ways in which the history of postsecondary education is commonly taught in higher education and student affairs graduate programs.

Historians van Alphen and Carretero (2015) show how master narratives serve two central functions: 1) to influence historical understanding and 2) impact national identity construction. In this way, master narratives function as 'cultural tools' that shape identity (van Alphen & Carretero, 2015). In the context of this paper, the identity considered is that of the higher education leaders – and more specifically – higher education and student affairs (HESA) graduate students. We contend that the relationship between the past and present of postsecondary education is in many ways understood by HESA students' engagement with master narratives.

As one of the most common pedagogical tools, textbooks often serve as the vehicle through which master narratives travel to masses (Gay, 2010; Haynes, Stewart & Allen, 2016). In this case, history textbooks mobilize the master narrative that centers whiteness in the academy and marginalizes others. These notions are translated to HESA students, thereby shaping their understanding of higher education history and the identity of the U.S. higher education system. By analyzing excerpts from frequently used higher education history textbooks, we shine a light on the white heteropatriarchal narratives that dominate teaching and learning in HESA settings, effectively shaping the identity of and perpetuating inequality within American higher education leadership and systems.

APPLIED LITERARY EXAMPLES OF CRT COUNTER-STORYTELLING

One of the major tenets of CRT is the awareness of racism as a pervasive component of American society that is incorporated in all systems (Mitchell & Stewart, 2013). While there is room for growth in terms of the use of critical race theories in higher education (Harper, 2017), researchers are increasingly using CRT as a guide for inquiries across the American educational system, resulting in various applied literary examples that demonstrate how CRT is used to convey the true lived experiences of Black people, people of color, and other racially marginalized and ethnic populations. After the introduction of CRT to the educational field by Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995), researchers and practitioners in the field of education began to apply CRT to examine and challenge the ways race and racism have informed systems in education. For example, Solórzano and Yosso (2002) examine how education research methodology has historically been racially biased and how researchers can use CRT to produce race critical methodologies that would provide a more balanced depiction of what occurs educationally in communities of color. They posit that social scientists maintain the belief that they are conducting 'objective' research, and choose not to use a critical lens that may lead to the reinforcement of deficit and racialized conceptions about communities of color (Solórzano &

Yosso, 2002). When employing a critical race methodology, the authors describe how scholars can produce counter-stories that contest historically ingrained aspects of racism and foster efforts to produce literature in the context of social justice (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).

Mitchell and Stewart (2013) use their research to combat negative master narratives regarding Black male academic achievement due to racist ideologies of Black male intelligence. In their study, the researchers use CRT to apply a critical lens to the education of young African American males in the United States. The authors recommend single gender education since historically unproductive initiatives have actually aided in the continual social stratification of African American males and led to master narratives of Black male intellectual inferiority. The authors suggest applying CRT to single gendered curricula to encourage and enhance "high achievement, scholarly identity, and scholastic attainment" which "requires addressing historical racial, class, and gender hierarchies in school systems that inherently 'diseducate' African American males" (p. 386). They take the previously conducted deficit-based research and statistics and use CRT based literature along with single gender pilot programs to make a case for a strength-based approach to educating young African American males in a society that has historically oppressed this population of students. At the conclusion of the study, the counter-narrative provided depicts the societally unfilled educational needs of African American males and combats harmful deficit-based terms such as "at risk" and "endangered species" that further dehumanized this group of students. The critical race lens allows the authors the opportunity to conduct and reveal research grounded in the proficiencies and experiences of people of color (Mitchell & Stewart, 2013). The work of these scholars is another example of how the application of CRT establishes a more accurate empirical account that contests racist conceptions of marginalized groups.

Amah (2012) also highlights the inequitable use of research methodologies by using CRT to demonstrate how students labeled as "non-high performing" and/or "non-college bound" are removed from the discussion of high school to college access. In her study, the researcher documents the experiences of two African American students as they navigate the switch from high school to college. She not only discusses the students' own personal and academic challenges, but also demonstrates institutional weakness that enhance barriers to success for African American students. She also elucidates the significance of demonstrating how students that have been negatively labeled and institutionally oppressed handle the complexities of their circumstances.

Hubian, Allen, Harris, and Linder (2016) use counter-storytelling to illuminate the experiences of students of color in HESA graduate programs. In their review of HESA graduate programs, the authors find that these types of programs boast of their adherence to social justice, diversity, inclusion and equity as well as create the illusion that they are racially welcoming spaces. However, the authors develop counter-stories from the experiences of 29 students of color from 21 master's programs to reflect another truth regarding HESA programs. Overarching themes discovered included students feeling tokenized, disappointment at the lack of faculty guidance, frustration, lack of sense of belonging, anger, microaggressions, and racial battle fatigue (Hubian et al., 2016). The authors are able to use the experiences and voices of students of color to challenge the ways in which HESA programs market structural diversity to assert systemic equity within their programs.

USING CRITICAL RACE THEORY TO HIGHLIGHT BLACK POSTSECONDARY EXPERIENCES

CRT scholarship provides visibility and voice to the experiences of Black students in the education system. Although the scope of this paper focuses on higher education, it is important to highlight that the omission and misrepresentation of the Black experience encompasses the entire P-20 system and beyond (Ledesma & Calderon, 2015; Lewis, Ginsberg, Davies, & Smith, 2004; Teranishi & Briscoe, 2008). Ledesma and Calderon (2015) use CRT to demonstrate how students of color are socialized beginning in the P-12 landscape to accept ostracizing curriculum and schooling practices. This socialization does not subside as students' progress to the postsecondary arena. As undergraduate

students, students are expected to accept colorblindness, race neutrality, and marginalizing campus climates (Ledesma & Calderon, 2015). Colorblindness and race neutrality are typically viewed in higher education as progressive practices that impede racism; however, these concepts further White supremacy and privilege while faulting students of color for any shortfalls (Diggles, 2014).

This argument can be extended through an example of how CRT is used to combat race neutrality and similar race-blinding practices that strip Black students of their voice in higher education. Yosso, Parker, Solórzano, & Lynn (2004) use CRT to expand the discussion of affirmative action in student admissions. Interest convergence theory, a tenet of CRT, provides a rationale for the allowance of affirmative action in higher education due to the diversity benefits that campuses receive (Bell, 1980; Ledesma & Calderon, 2015). However, affirmative action and similar race conscious practices have been threatened through the guise of race neutral admissions practices. Yosso et al. (2004) postulate that arguments for race neutral admissions practices typically advance inaccurate narratives that students of color are admitted into institutions without merit and take spaces from White students. Conversely, CRT can be used to express Black students experiences of an inequitable education system and historically hindered admissions to higher education which provides merit to the need for race conscious solutions to admissions processes (Yosso et al., 2004).

Even after Black students are admitted through the gates of higher education, CRT is still needed to accurately express their experiences. College campuses are generally perceived as welcoming to students from all backgrounds, but Black undergraduates typically experience micro and macro aggressions as well as overall hostile campus environments (Love, 2018; McCoy & Rodricks, 2015; Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000). Black doctoral students also report struggles as they ascend the ivory tower including feeling dehumanized, culturally isolated, and tokenized (Gildersleeve, Croom, & Vasquez, 2011). These racially marginalizing factors are also linked to retention disparities for Black students at the undergraduate and graduate level (Gildersleeve, Croom, & Vasquez, 2011; Love, 2018).

These examples of CRT scholarship not only recognize the existence of race and racism, but unveil the racism engrained in concepts like colorblindness and race neutrality in the education landscape. The implications of CRT scholarship inform higher education faculty and administrators of the specific challenges and needs of Black students including, but not limited to, the need for diverse ways of knowing, open forums, mentorship, and peer groups (Gildersleeve, Croom, & Vasquez, 2011; Hiraldo, 2010; Love, 2018). With specific regard to higher education, CRT exposes the voices of Black students and highlights the need for practices that are informed by social justice and cultural relevance (Lopez, 2003). Furthermore, CRT scholarship provides enhanced comprehension of Black students in order to inform practices that will better serve them within and across the education landscape.

USING CRITICAL RACE THEORY TO CONTRAST MASTER AND COUNTER-NARRATIVES

For our efforts to demarginalize examples Black contributions to postsecondary education, we selected texts that were either assigned in our history of higher education course (e.g., Lucas, 2006) or works that we had prior independent engagement with on our educational path. Using CRT as our guide, we set out to juxtapose the dominant narratives with one main goal is mind: to disrupt the narrow truths presented in many higher education history texts. CRT was used broadly to demonstrate the permanence of racism and the revisionist nature of history in American educational settings. More specifically, this theory and its tenants created a way for us to identify key areas where Lucas (2006) framed his work in ways that eluded the efforts or contributions of Black Americans. Throughout the next section revisionist narratives are juxtaposed with counter-stories from authors whose work represents more full accounts of higher education history, particularly a history that is inclusive of Black narratives.

DEMARGINALIZING BLACK COUNTER-STORIES

The 17th century marks the beginnings of postsecondary education in America. This narrative is often shaped around the white, male, and religious underpinnings that characterized the era. This is especially true when referencing some of the most cited historians in the field, such as John Thelin and Christopher J. Lucas. In their texts, considered by many to be seminal higher education history sources, both authors offer chapters that detail these eras by describing the civic development and denominational trends that characterized the times with little to no mention of the enslaved Africans whose labor enabled not only the physical aspects of colonial institutions, but also the economic system of the colonies. During the 18th century, America's colleges and universities continued to thrive and with this growth came the increased presence of African slaves on college campuses. From construction labor to serving faculty, staff, and students, enslaved persons involuntarily provided support and advanced institutional development (Wilder, 2013). Again, their existence is widely erased by some of the fields most celebrated historians.

The same can also be said for subsequent centuries as Black persons continued to play integral roles in the system of U.S. higher education. Moreover, reframing the historical origins of postsecondary education in America by centering race through counter-storytelling provides an opportunity to contextualize the foundations of our higher education system. The following sections depict master narratives and counter-narratives to show how sanitized historical accounts often shape Higher Education and Student Affairs (HESA) students learning around the history of the American higher education system. While we would have preferred to foreground the counter-narratives, the master narratives are offered first to allow the reader to see what is commonly conveyed to HESA students. Black-centric counter-narratives immediately follow in an effort to bring these stories from the margins to the center and offer a literary push back against the dominant discourse.

MASTER NARRATIVES OF THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURY

Lucas (2006) describes the experiences of students at Harvard in the 17th century, making little to no mention of the existence of the enslaved Africans that were integral to the establishment and maintenance of these institutions. Lucas (2006), for example, offers a historical perspective that reinforces the ahistorical notion that white males in the colonies did not subscribe to a caste system early on in their pursuit to build the colonial colleges. The author writes, "Although shaped by aristocratic traditions of scholarship and learning, colonial colleges in the seventeenth century were never the monopoly of a single caste" (Lucas, 2006, p. 108). This is just one example of history as recalled through the white male gaze. Lucas' (2006) account of the colonial era makes religion a priori while comparing and contrasting the development of colonial colleges with that of Europe precedents. In this text, the founding of Harvard is told mainly through the lens of Puritan settlers, framing the transition from the 17th to 18th century as a decline in Puritan values and orthodoxy (Lucas, 2006). Thelin (2011) gives brief consideration to the non-existent state of African American postsecondary education during this time. The author cites the lack of concern for Black education and explicitly states that there is no existing documentation or evidence of commitment to educating Black students.

The 18th century was characterized by an increase in denominationalism, growing liberal policies, and white class separation, all pivotal in terms colonial era college development. According to Lucas (2006), growth in enrollment was abound and the residential institution became the norm. The profile of the average colonial student became increasing that of the wealthy, white male aristocrat who was considered more entitled to education than the sons of clergymen and merchant class colonists. Like many scholars, the author cites the infamous "Bad Butter Rebellion of 1766" to highlight the student life issues that transpired (Lucas, 2006, p.112). The pre-revolutionary war era in the colleges was framed by conduct issues and conflicts that arose from the shift among students from more pious identities to more privileged ways of living. Within the Lucas (2006) text, key takeaways from this

period include religious diversity, the rise in secular education, and a structural—and social—shift in the student bodies of colonial campuses.

COUNTER NARRATIVES OF THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURY

One of the central tenets of CRT is the permanence of racism (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Examining the colonial era through a CRT counter-storytelling lens requires us to acknowledge that race and--what would be considered by modern standards--racism were ever-present, even in the earliest American colleges. Wilder (2013) does this well by highlighting the role enslaved African persons played in the founding of colonial colleges such as Harvard, Yale, and Colombia. Though not permitted to attend these elite establishments, enslaved Africans were present and essential part of the early colleges as the profits from the system of slavery and the unpaid labor from Black bodies funded, built, and maintained these institutions (Wilder, 2013). The founding of Harvard University, a common higher education history narrative, serves as an example of the ways in which chattel slavery was interwoven into the establishment of colonial colleges. According to Wilder (2013), "the birth of slavery in New England was also the dawn of slavery at Harvard" (p. 29). In a 2017 interview, Wilder recounted how the "early benefactors who gave money to Brown and Harvard, for instance, made their fortunes running slave ships to Africa and milling cotton from plantations in the American South" (Smith & Ellis, 2017, para. 5). In the Wilder (2013) text, he goes on to state that the Moor at Harvard was actually the first enslaved Black person documented in the colonies, demonstrating the earliest connections between the Black race and the American system of higher education. The researcher confirms the commonly cited poor conditions experienced by Harvard students—including the inedible food and unsanitary living conditions—while also acknowledging the presence and role of the enslaved person who was present at the time.

Of course, enslaved Africans were not permitted to enroll as students within colonial institutions (Fleming, 1976; Wilder, 2013). The students who were permitted to attend are often described as upper-class white men, seeking training to become religious and civic leaders (Lucas, 2006; Moore, 1976). Though this is true, often exempted from dialogue is the fact that the earliest students were also colonizers and enslavers who participated in the massacres and conflicts that characterized life in the New England colonies (Wilder, 2013). This notion was evident even in the recruitment of students, which often included efforts to specifically target wealthy plantation owners from the islands whose income was sustained through the system of slave labor (Wilder, 2013). According to Wilder (2013), "there were more slaves than faculty, administrators, or active trustees; in fact, there were arguably as many enslaved Black people at Dartmouth as there were students" (p.114). Moreover, the expansion efforts undertaken during this time period, which included the acquisition of lands dedicated for institutional development, was accompanied by the acquisition of unfree Africans that constituted the majority in terms of skilled workers (Wilder, 2013).

MASTER NARRATIVES OF THE 19TH CENTURY

The common 19th century master narrative explains the evolution of antebellum colleges after the Dartmouth case held that "the college was neither a civil institution nor its holdings public property" (Lucas, 2006, p. 116). The late 1700's through the mid 1800's saw an explosion of colleges established around the country. Typical master narratives discus how Jacksonian ideals and the college movement led to a shift from college going for elitist purposes to the notion that college was accessible to the 'common man' for social mobility while failing to acknowledge that the common man did not include Black men (Lucas, 2006; Rudolph, 2011). In fact, Black men were not attributed full personhood due to the Three-Fifths Compromise reached among delegates in 1787 which determined that if slaves were counted as a part of a states' population, they would count as three-fifths of a person (Goldstone, 2005). In their writings of 19th century collegiate life, historians often speak to the continued diversification of college type, and the arguments for and against college elitism. Black Americans are scantily, if at all, mentioned in most higher education history accounts at this time, and when

they are mentioned, it is to note that learning to read and right was illegal and college attendance was not allowed since this century overlaps with the constitutional end of slavery (Lucas, 2006; Rudolph, 2011).

Lastly, master narratives often introduce state universities and land grant colleges followed by (White) women's colleges, coeducation between White men and women, and Black colleges with an emphasis on the charity of White philanthropic efforts that made possible the founding of *some* historically black institutions (Lucas, 2006). These White philanthropic efforts included religious missionary organizations working alongside the Freedmen's Bureau to establish colleges like Morehouse University in Atlanta Georgia; however, these master narratives typically fail to divulge the egocentricity of these organizations to convert newly freed slaves to Christianity and purge the nation of the perceived nuisance of uneducated Black people (Gasman, Lundy-Wagner, Ransom, & Bowman III, 2010).

COUNTER-NARRATIVES OF THE 19TH CENTURY

The counter-narrative for Black Americans in the 19th century continues to be the expansion of physical college campus through the labor afforded by chattel slavery. Not only did the nation's' oldest colleges derive their wealth directly and indirectly from slave labor and the slave trade, but some students even brought their slaves to school to serve them while they were at school (Edelman, 2015, para. 9). Many early presidents and university founders also owned slaves that served them throughout the development of the universities and fought diligently to develop economically based pro-slavery rhetoric to sustain the ability to use slave labor for university gains (Brophy, 2016). For example, William and Mary professor Nathaniel Beverley Tucker was famously known for his pro-slavery debates theorizing that emancipation for slaves would be "utterly subversive of the interest, security, and happiness of both blacks and whites, and consequently, hostile to every principle of expediency, morality, and religion," and emancipation was "totally impractical" (Brophy, 2016, p. 4). Enslaved African Americans literally built university infrastructure. Some colleges built from slave labor include the University of Virginia (founded by Thomas Jefferson), King's College in New York (now Columbia University), Dartmouth College, Yale University, Brown University, Harvard, and the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University).

Regarding medical schools and scientific inquiry, slave corpses were commonly used as cadavers for experiments and Black people were commonly forced against their will to take part in experiments for the advancement of medical science and phrenology (Edelman, 2015; Washington, 2006). For instance, half of the empirical articles printed in the *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal* of 1836 included experimentation on Black slaves who were routinely used as experimental subjects for eye surgery, genitourinary surgeries, cesarean sections, ovariotomy surgery and bladder stone surgery (Washington, 2006, p. 57). These examples demonstrate how Blacks were forcibly ingrained into the American higher education system through their physical labor and bodies. Through slavery until the end of the 19th century, Black Americans acted as the backbone to the foundation of the American higher education system by forcibly underpinning faculty, students, physical campuses, and ingenuity for medical research.

The early founding of Historically Black Colleges and Universities are usually detailed in commonly used history source texts; however, less often shared are the details surrounding the involvement of Black church denominations and how these institutions served to educate African American women. Leak and Reid (2010) describe how African Methodist Episcopal (AME) churches, along with Black Baptist churches, expressing a significant spirit of self-determination, placed a high emphasis on developing educational opportunities and improving social mobility among Blacks. Their efforts resulted in the establishment of several colleges, including Wilberforce in 1856 and Arkansas Baptist College in 1884. Furthermore, while Black women are often omitted from the master narratives of this period, Commodore, Baker, and Arroyo (2018) provide a more thorough overview of Black women's history in higher education than most commonly cited historians. In a chapter that could be considered a counter-narrative within itself, the authors detail how HBCUs limited Black women's access

and educational opportunities and speak to the establishment of Black women's colleges, including Spelman College, which, along with Bennett College, continues to educate students to this day.

MASTER NARRATIVES OF THE 20ᵀᴴ CENTURY

Early 20th century master narratives of higher education typically discuss academic freedom, the evolution of college students and campus life, curricula expansion and the introduction of two-year colleges (Lucas, 2006; Rudolph, 2011). The discussion typically turns to academic witch hunts due to the influences of WWII, particularly the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, commonly known as the G.I. Bill—which Black Americans did not benefit from in the same way as their White student counterparts (Greenberg, 2004). The popular narrative often highlights remarkable growth of white student enrollment through the first half of the 20th century, as well as the role of the federal government and private business sector in developing college campuses (Lucas, 2006; Rudolph, 2011). Black Americans are mainly highlighted in the discussion of the Civil Rights movement, beginning with Brown v. Board of Education (1954) and the subsequent struggle with desegregating institutions. Student activism and dissent and the further broadening of curricula and multiculturalism are often addressed without specifically focusing on Black contributions to these areas (Lucas, 2006). In has been called 'one of the most significant works on the history higher education in America,' Rudolph (2011) writes—within the book's epilogue—about the state of 'Negro' colleges and students. In the text's only major focus on this student population, the author briefly addresses how the African American students were impacted by the country's oppressive history and racial caste system (p.489). Despite the historian's acknowledgement of the strong development of historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs), the lack of substantive attention to this area and its relegation to the epilogue demonstrate both the dearth of importance placed on Black collegiate history and how the prevailing notions communicated about 20th century failed to include the contributions and experiences of Black Americans.

COUNTER-NARRATIVES OF THE 19ᵀᴴ CENTURY

In the 20th century, counter-narratives include acknowledgement of how Black Americans contributed to higher education within the context of multiculturalism and diversity and inclusion (Gasman, Nguyen, & Conrad, 2015; Miller, 1990). While the G.I. Bill and the associated enrollment increases had some impact on Black student access, the bill failed to include a requirement that participating colleges and universities incorporate nondiscriminatory acceptance practices (Thelin, 2011). Despite the persistence of racial barriers, historical markers including racial integration into schools and student activism through the Civil Rights movement and the Black campus movement serve as significant reminders of Black higher education involvement during this period. The actions of Black collegiate paved the way for other marginalized students to have an acknowledged voice and presence on college campuses (King, Crowley, & Brown, 2010; Gasman et al., 2015).

Nieves (2018) specifically highlights the contributions of Black women to the American higher education system through the foundation of industrial and normal schools in the South. American higher education history is filled will tales of women like Jane Serepta Dean (1848-1913) who persisted from slavery to freedom and was able to collaborate with progressive northern Whites to found Manassas Industrial School in 1892. Also, women like Elizabeth Evelyn Wright (1872-1906) founded the Voorhees Industrial School in 1897 which later became Voorhees College. Through the school's creation, Wright was able to enhance racial pride through industrial education and the employment Black architects to build the school and neighboring community (Nieves, 2018).

These examples demonstrate how depictions of Black Americans have been grossly distorted in recollections of American history or left out of American history all together (Gosse, 2016). Conjointly, histories of American higher education tend to invalidate or erase Black American contributions (Miller, 1990). Thelin (2011)– citing Perkins (1967)– makes mention of the issues associated with Black women's access and exclusion from women's colleges; however, most typically used texts such

as Lucas (2006) fail to explicitly acknowledge these histories. The texts that do provide these contexts are mostly used in degree tracks that specialize in African American history specifically (King, 2014).

Integration and Black student activism during the Civil Rights Movement

The history of multiculturalism, in its various forms, on campuses of higher education today is rooted in the struggle that Black Americans endured for equal education. A major component of the beginning of multiculturalism in higher education included the desegregation of traditionally white institutions. *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) was the initial marker that deemed "in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal…" (Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, 2018). Even with this Supreme Court ruling, Black American students were not easily integrated into higher education or the K-12 system and their frustration with continued unequal treatment manifested into student activism in conjunction with the Civil Rights Movement (Patterson, 2001). Many historians agree that the Civil Rights Movement erupted out of Black student activism against segregation, specifically the case when four students from North Carolina A&T University sat in at a segregated Woolworth lunch counter on February 1, 1960 (Chafe, 1981).

The Civil Rights Movement not only included political activism to physically integrate Black American students into traditionally White institutions but also to integrate Afro-Centric curriculum and culture onto traditionally White pedagogies. The Civil Rights movement led to the entrance of Afro-centric studies and culture onto campuses that created a framework for other races to do the same. Traditionally, conventional scholarly literature depicted African Americans as deficient and second-class citizens (King, Crowley, & Brown, 2010). This depiction was not uncommon and could be seen in the vast majority of American historical recollections because American history, in general, is viewed through a White supremacy lens (Yacovone, 2018). Once institutions of higher education were integrated and the Civil Rights Movement was aflame, Black American students and faculty wanted to change the narrative about Afro-centric literature and culture on college campuses (King, Crowley, & Brown, 2010).

Prominent scholars, like Carter G. Woodson (a Harvard University graduate), attempted to reorient the place and contributions of African Americans in society as well as scholarly literature (King, Crowley, & Brown, 2010). Woodson's contributions to American higher education emphasize how the lack of recognition of Black American contributions has not gone unnoticed by scholars, but remained mostly ignored. Woodson and his colleagues recognized the need for research on the disregarded history of Black Americans and founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (currently the Association for the Study of African American Life and History) in 1915. Revered as the father of Black history, he is attributed with the creation of Black history month and as one of the advocates for the inclusion of Black history and Black contributions in the recollection of American history.

The Black Campus Movement

The groundwork laid by Black Americans to not only have equal rights to education but also rights to an accurate depiction of Black American and African culture in the literature, was instrumental to multiculturalism on college campuses. The Black Campus Movement not only included the creation of and incorporation of Afro-centric literature, but also included the creation of Black American and African Studies as well as student organizations catered to African American culture known most popularly as Black Student Unions (Gasman et al., 2015). Black Studies scholars began to resituate African Americans in American history by showing that people of African descent were not just the product of slavery and colonization but rather a people with rich history, deep literacy, and distinguished intellectual attributes (King, Crowley, & Brown, 2010). Rigorous work using scholarly research methods and writing styles allowed African Americans to challenge inaccuracies and give voices to the once silenced culture. "The approval, establishment and proliferation of Black Studies at the

university level in the 1960s appeared to signal the validation of a liberal arts and social science curriculum that included more constituencies than it previously omitted." (Miller, 1990, p. 61). The resulting development of various racial and ethnic studies programs (and even LGBTQ studies) were born from the Black Studies and Black Campus Movement (Miller, 1990). Black Americans contributed to the "heavy lifting" needed to make spaces for other groups of students to have a say in curricular and physical inclusion on college campuses.

DISCUSSION

As mentioned above, the purpose of this conceptual paper is threefold. First, to demarginalize the role of Black Americans within the HE history narrative. Second, to demonstrate the need to reconsider the course reading selections used to facilitate learning in this area, and third, to emphasize the importance of higher education history as vehicle for understanding current issues across the postsecondary landscape. The following discussion contextualizes the master and counter-narratives across these three aims.

DEMARGINALIZING BLACK CONTRIBUTIONS TO HIGHER EDUCATION HISTORY

CRT theorists agree that history plays a significant role in terms of understanding the current state of racial inequality that permeates individual experiences, systems, and larger structures within society (Zamudio et al., 2011). In countering the master narratives, it becomes evident that our contemporary experience has been shaped by "colonial processes" (Zamudio et al., 201, p. 4) and that the historical role of African Americans is often downplayed. Within both the greater society and the context of higher education, the unpaid, exploited labor of enslaved Africans is often ignored as a contribution to the foundations of the country's development (Franklin & Moss, 2000). The counter-narratives presented above show how Black people were central to the advancement of the American system of higher education. The story of Black American higher education is a story about strength and overcoming the institution of slavery, racism, segregation, and repeated attempts to deny the right to access advanced education. By placing Blackness at the center of our stories it becomes increasingly evident that the story of Black participation is simply the story of American higher education and that the historical contributions of Black people, as both laborers and knowledge producers, have been invaluable components that have helped shape the progress and prosperity of postsecondary education in the United States.

UNDERSTANDING THE IMPACT OF EUROCENTRIC COURSE READINGS

A key element of this paper is the notion that higher education history, as an often required course for Higher Education and Student Affairs (HESA) students, is an integral part of the professional development of postsecondary leaders. Card, Chambers, and Freeman (2016) provide evidence in support of this assertion through their study of core curriculum in higher education doctoral programs. Moreover, American College Personnel Association (ACPA), cites history as a central theme in one of its core professional development competency (values, philosophy, and history or VPH). This competency "connects the history, philosophy, and values of the student affairs profession to one's current professional practice" (ACPA & NASPA, 2015, p.12). With the academic and professional value placed on history, it is imperative that HESA students have accurate knowledge and an understanding that exceeds revisionist variations. The master and counter-narratives above, demonstrate how Eurocentric texts often fail to convey the complete fullness of our past. The course reading selections offered by many HESA history instructors, through their revisionist lenses potentially lead to the reproduction of inequality and White supremacy in educational settings (Yacovone, 2018). For example, the text used in this paper, *American Higher Education: A History*, is in its second edition and has been cited over 1,000 times according to the Education Resources Information Center (ERIC). Several other texts written from the white male perspective (e.g., Geiger, 2014; and Thelin, 2011)

are just heavily relied upon and pose the same considerations for teaching history solely through this lens.

HIGHER EDUCATION HISTORY AS A VEHICLE FOR UNDERSTANDING THE PRESENT

Van Alphen and Carretero (2015) offer the notion of thinking historically as an objective of history teaching and learning. This concept speaks to "the capacity to analyze the complex social and political situations of the present, taking into account the influence of past events" (van Alphen & Carretero, 2015, p.515). In higher education, history serves as a primer for many contemporary trends and issues. Building name dilemmas, confederate statue controversies, free speech issues, and campus protests are just a few of the many problems steeped in historical context that continue to vex college campuses today. Addressing these issues requires knowledge of the past and leaders making decisions in this area should rely on accurate historical information.

By reframing historical antidotes through CRT storytelling, it becomes evident that full, accurate, Black narratives are missing from many of the field's most highly cited and utilized texts. One of the takeaways from the analysis presented above is the need to reconsider how Black Americans are reflected in literature and curriculum in higher education history courses. First and foremost, Black people are human beings whose stories, experiences, and contributions to American higher education should be extolled. Additionally, with the extensive changes taking place within and around the current postsecondary landscape, it is imperative to focus on developing a well-trained, racially literate body of leaders (Harper, 2017). As shown above, these white male centered narratives offer a short sided, version of higher education history that does not articulate the full picture of American postsecondary education. By demarginalizing the experiences of racial and ethnic populations, the picture becomes clear and HESA students have a better opportunity to think critically about the past and make better informed decisions in the future.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PRACTICE IN HIGHER EDUCATION AND STUDENT AFFAIRS PROGRAMS

Collins (1998) argues that "the Curriculum" across P-20 education "operates as a contested location for knowledge" and the author goes on to say that what is considered "legitimate" curriculum often centers the interests of the elite and offers one idea of the truth (p. xi). This notion leads to our central recommendation for HESA faculty instructors and departmental leaders: *reconceptualize course reading lists and interrogate syllabi development practices to promote more inclusive learning spaces*. Diversifying the course reading selections will not only demonstrate more of the true historical narratives that will help students gain understanding of the functions of white supremacy, systemic oppression, and racism, it will also help increase connectedness and belonging in our graduate classrooms (Yacovone, 2018).

In the context of this paper, we specifically recommend diversifying history course reading selections to aid HESA students—future scholars and leaders of postsecondary education—in developing racial literacy and an enhanced understanding of the functions of supremacy higher education. Among the many considerations for reconceptualizing course reading lists and syllabi, we would argue that these practices should include the intentional incorporation of Black scholarship, specifically encouraging efforts to cite Black women whose theorizing and contextualizing of historical events and concepts is often more justice-centered (e.g., Crenshaw, 1989; Collins, 1998; Patton, 2016).

Examples of texts that are generally more inclusive than the aforementioned resources (e.g., Lucas, 2006; Rudolph, 2011; Thelin, 2011) include – but are not limited to – Wechsler, Goodchild, and Eisenmann's (2008) *The History of Higher Education: ASHE Reader* and Chambers' (2016) *Law Social Justice in Higher Education*; with the later offering historical accounts of higher education using the legal policies that have impacted students by race, ethnicity, and sex. With regard to Black history specifi-

cally, Wilder's (2013) *Ebony and Ivy* and Anderson's (1988; 2002) works on Black education and race in higher education are also useful in terms of acknowledging and highlighting African American contributions and experiences. Further, with specific regard to Black women's history, Commodore, Baker, and Arroyo (2018) outline several of the lesser known efforts, experiences, and historical figures from this racially gendered sub-population that have shaped and influenced the American postsecondary system.

CONCLUSION

Patton (2016) uses a CRT lens to connect the past to the present and disrupt the commonly offered narratives presented in postsecondary settings. The author also positions U.S. higher education history as a primer for continued racial inequality (Patton, 2016). We also employ the lens of CRT within this work to challenge Eurocentric narratives that reinforce hegemonic notions within dominant accounts of history in higher education and demarginalize the contributions of Black Americans to the nation's higher education system.

In a country laden with an obstructive veil of racism, to erase the contributions of minority groups from history is to further ostracize those groups from American culture. Moreover, to ignore the contributions of racial and ethnic groups, such as Black Americans, to our educational system, is to further marginalize these groups within the higher education setting. Much like generations prior, Black students and other students of color continue to experience inequities in outcomes and racist campus climates across the postsecondary landscape (Allen, McLewis, Jones, & Harris, 2018; Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000). As this prevalence of racial issues continues, it remains as important as ever to promote the use of scholarship that subverts the current system, improves racial literacy, and centers the knowledge of Black scholars and other marginalized groups. This work also aligns with that of scholars such as Chambers and Freeman (2017) who argue that higher education researchers should "rethink the canon" and more deeply consider whose voices are heard and what work is marginalized, thus reinforcing dominant viewpoints. As it stands, white voices dominate most higher education literature. As this paper shows, there are many academicians— several using CRT—who produce research that presents more realistic depictions of postsecondary education.

Further, while higher education history courses are but one avenue for curricular change in postsecondary settings, they are integral to the learning and development of HESA graduate students and future leaders. Black folks often say, "You do not know where you are going until you know where you have been" (anonymous), an old adage that speaks to the importance of knowing your history within the Black community. This sentiment rings true for leadership and vision setting in higher education as well, demonstrating the importance of history as one of the major competency areas in terms of learning and development for postsecondary leaders. As demonstrated through this paper, HESA instructors' choices around scholarship have implications for classroom learning and for the future of research and practice.

In closing, this conceptual paper has implications for many campus leaders, including HESA department chairs, faculty, and more specifically, history instructors. Higher education history curriculum needs reform and course reading selections are an ideal place to start. This paper also poses considerations for HESA students, and hopefully encourages them to push back against the master or dominant narratives conveyed throughout their educational journeys.

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