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Old Knowledge, New Knowledge:
The Insertion of *The Philadelphia Negro* as a Foundational Text in Leisure Studies

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Abstract

There is a great realization that a professor teaching an introductory or philosophical foundations course in the field of leisure studies comes to, if that professor may not be from the dominant culture of most Western societies. This realization is as stark as their numerical presence in their respective departments. Why are the philosophical foundations of the field devoid of the experiences, voices, and perspectives populations of colour, or even more broadly, the populations of the global majority? The objectives of this manuscript are: 1) to briefly categorize the research in the field on Race and ethnicity; 2) to outline the key canonical texts of the field; 3) to consider and reconceptualize a racially and ethnically inclusive foundation for the field utilizing W. E. B. Du Bois' (1899) *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study* as an example. Within the 520 pages of *The Philadelphia Negro*, the term leisure is mentioned 21 times. Recreation as a term is used 19 times; and, 4) to identify how the integration of *The Philadelphia Negro* could impact or realign the field's history and master narratives and master concepts. What we are granted in leisure studies through the addition of *The Philadelphia Negro* as a foundational text is quite possibly the first sociological study, the first empirical study, the first large sample study, and the first mixed methods designed study.

Keywords: DuBois, *The Philadelphia Negro*, Race, master narratives, master concepts

OLD KNOWLEDGE NEW KNOWLEDGE

There is a great realization that a professor teaching an introductory or philosophical foundations course in the field of leisure studies comes to, if that professor may not be from the dominant culture of most Western societies. This realization is as stark as their numerical presence in their respective departments. Why are the philosophical foundations of the field devoid of the experiences, voices, and perspectives populations of color, or even more broadly, the populations of the global majority? And, why is there an absence of historical discussions on the field's role in perpetrating or condoning activities that hindered or constrained populations of color full access, enjoyment, and articulation of leisure? As we move forward in the field more globally, thinking and discussing the new and progressive ways that we can conceive the sociology of leisure, it is imperative that we rethink our philosophical foundations in reconciliation of the potential harm it may have caused (and may continue to harm) and the actual good it can invoke in assisting the myriad of scholars who are pushing for more progressive efforts and for a critical leisure paradigm (Spracklen, Lashua, Sharpe and Swain, 2017).

Such a paradigm requires a different philosophical foundation than the one that we have presented and masquerades as the true, accurate philosophical history. We discuss in our lectures and textbooks the Greeks and Romans, introducing Aristotle's virtuous mean and concepts of *schole* (leisure) and *anapausis* (recreation), yet gloss over or ineffectively mention that other cultures also had concepts that fed into an understanding of leisure. We jump in our discussions to the 1800s that introduce the structural and physical geographies birthed through the planning of the Hausmannization of France (Paccoud 2016; Pinckney 1955), the philanthropy of Joseph Strutt and the designs of Joseph Paxton in England (Bryne and Wolch 2009; Churchill, Crawford, and Barker 2017), the ingenuity of Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux alongside of the imagination of John Muir and Theodore Roosevelt in the United States (DeLuca and Demo 2001). Within these discussions the idea of diverse voices are lost, the idea of a thorough examination through historical methods are ignored, and the idea of emphasizing the importance of serving the social good is replaced with an apolitical summary of key periods in what is erected as leisure history.

The objectives within this manuscript are not to simply insert Race or to superficially present racial diversity into our conceptions of the philosophical foundations of leisure, but to be a challenge to the master narrative of leisure studies. The absence of a thorough examination of history, specifically the 1800s, has resulted in our regurgitation of a history that is also absent of detail that answers probing questions about not just what was produced but its impact on a diverse range of communities. Additionally, the absence of questioning and considering the role of the racial or gendered "Other" in producing intellectual thought, specifically within the 1800s, in analyzing and discussing the role of leisure and recreation in society initiates the ways that we continue to not acknowledge the intellectual contributions of those "Others". Inspired by the work of Stuart Hall's (1997) *Old and New Identities, Old and New Ethnicities*, not in affirming a racialized Black identity that has undergone considerable tension with colonizing powers, but more as the continued questioning of those colonizing powers in relationship to the production and articulation of intellectual thought.

Hall introduced the idea of master concepts that are erected at the expense of the racialized, ethnic, gendered, and classist "Other", they in turn have produced the master narratives of leisure at the expense of a far more inclusive or counter narrative (Stanley 2007). Stanley concluded,

When counter narratives meet master narratives [in research], they should be reviewed for what they are. These counter narratives are a deliberate, yet meaningful, intent to position the voices of marginalized groups as ones of authority and privilege and give them an opportunity to resist dominant academic discursive practices. It is an opportunity for individuals to contribute with dignity to the theorizing about the world in which they live. (p. 23)

The contributions of scholars of colour are not just new knowledges by a relatively new constituency of academics of colour, but in fact, there are old knowledges by preeminent scholars of colour in the past.

The objectives of this manuscript are: 1) to briefly categorize the research in the field on Race and ethnicity; 2) to outline the key canonical texts of the field; 3) to consider and reconceptualize a racially and ethnically inclusive foundation for the field utilizing *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study* as an example; and, 4) to identify how specific the integration of *The Philadelphia Negro* could impact or realign the field's history. The discussion here presents a unique opportunity to not only consider the work of populations of colour, but to see them as intellectual equals in creating a philosophical foundation for

leisure studies. However, this discussion may also present a bias in favor of the United States, North America, or the Global North, but this is principally due to the author of *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study* – W.E.B. DuBois, the time period in which he wrote, the lack of historical evidence of any other author of colour having written on the subject of leisure at the time – the late 1800s, and the setting in which the author wrote *The Philadelphia Negro* – Philadelphia. But the work of the *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study* is also aimed in expanding our considerations of the intellectual contribution scholars of colour but more importantly seeing those authors as representatives of a global majority despite the dominance of the Global North.

Philosophical Foundations: The Canonical Texts of Leisure Studies

Theoretically and pedagogically, the field is still influenced by canonical texts that have been identified as the philosophical foundations of leisure. These texts serve as the basis for most leisure-based inquiry. Inquiry attempts to figure things out and to make complexity understandable and manageable, and what we have come to know is that leisure is complex and becomes increasingly so based on the external forces that have created, impacted, and continue to render it as a tool used by various societies. As Rojek (2006) referenced, the claims that are made about leisure in research that are placed up “against narrative data that are always and already situated in determinate historical and social conditions that are subject to change just as the propositions themselves are subject to change” (p. 18). There is a need to situate and contextualize history that provides detail about those social conditions that arisen in society that has spawned inequity.

Plato’s *The Republic* (Shorey, 1930) argued that certain forms of leisure were beneficial to society, and, Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics* (Rackham, 1926) added that a lived life should be filled with virtue and leisure is one contributor, albeit for a selective class. While centuries later, Johan Huizinga’s (1949) *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture* and Josef Pieper’s (1952) *Leisure the Basis for Culture* respectively presented the notion to counter work with play was essential to human development and critiqued Max Weber and countered that leisure balances a person’s life. Charles Brightbill’s (1961) *Man and Leisure: A Philosophy of Recreation* conceived of leisure as a block of unoccupied time, when we are free to rest or do what we choose. Leisure is time beyond that which is required for existence and subsistence. Sebastian de Grazia’s (1962) *Of Time, Work and Leisure* expanded a notion that leisure was more than recreation but also personal growth and discovery. While Joffre Dumazedier’s (1967) *Towards a Society of Leisure* defined leisure as a residual time free from work and other obligations, that could be characterized by a feeling of (comparative) freedom through various activities.

It is only Max Kaplan’s (1961) *Leisure in America: A Social Inquiry* sought to consider the study of subcultures (“Negroes” and Jews) in analyzing how leisure may be influenced by such things as personality, family, community, social class, religion, value systems, and the State (alongside the influence of work). As Girginov (2017) noted, “any meaningful analysis of leisure must get beyond individual narrations and needs to address the notion of ideology which interpellates subjects through institutions of normative coercion” which is true in our discussions of leisure today as it was in years past (p. 653).

Theory of the Leisure Class and Social Critique

With the 1899 release of *Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* Thorstein Veblen ushered in a modern socio-economic analysis and discussion of leisure that continues to be crucial to contemporary discussions and critiques within leisure studies (and subsequently economic studies and labor studies, as well). Veblen presented a critique of consumption that opened an understanding that leisure ought to be for all classes, with caution. In this critique Veblen defined ostentatious displays of wealth as “conspicuous consumption”. He criticized the extremely rich of his era, the Vanderbilts, Carnegies, and Rockefellers, as status seekers using wealth amassed from 19th century business empires to give themselves an air of nobility as the “lords” of the means of production.

In a consumer culture, success can be measured by the luxurious and expensive goods that are owned and possessed, which in turn increases a perceived and performed social status in society. Ironically, as people may imitate the lifestyles of these lords of production, the lifestyle itself serves no functional benefit in society. The materials and goods that are also produced to show this lifestyle also serve no

practical benefit, as well. *Theory of the Leisure Class* was birthed out of three articles published in the *American Journal of Sociology* just before its release.

The very nature of work, and the historical aversion to it, is front and center in the article “The Instinct of Workmanship and Irksomeness of Labor” to set the stage for the dichotomy of work and leisure that de Grazia (1962) expounded further upon (Veblen 1898a). While within the article “The Beginnings of Ownership”, Veblen (1898b) defined ownership as an “accredited discretionary power over an object on the ground of a conventional claim” (p. 358). This notion of ownership locates it within the individual as creator and by extension community as recipient and caretaker, not corporate. Ownership is not a class for Veblen, but with the lords of production it had become one, a sort of historical anomaly from his understanding of the classical two classes of the “industrial employments” (all creators of various levels) and non-industrial (government, military, religion, and leisure). The rising of the class of the lords of productions was akin to predation. This is then exemplified within “The Barbarian Status of Women” as their creations are taken by others much like the actions of those lords of production as their labourers (Veblen 1899). Women and their works are to be ceremonially captured by men.

Expanded upon within *Theory of the Leisure Class*, types of work are thus classified and degraded in status, work is either honorific or humiliating. As a society, the aim is to distance oneself from work that was associated with women or the lower economic classes. This established a social stratification within society that ignored societal utility and emphasized class positioning. The leisured class is the creation of that stratification, a class of people that do not produce things of true utilitarian benefit. Sport, more specifically develops the “sportsman” as an occupation that has psycho-social advantages to showcase prowess and might, both provides nothing further and in fact takes away material (employment that be better used for farming) and natural resources (trees used for baseball bats) from society.

This emphasis, as a caution, would usher what would later be termed as more hedonistic leisure pursuits, for personal pleasure. In this type of social-economic thrust, we (as labourers) must be highly productive to pay for the lifestyle. Our careers, if we are privileged to have one, require us to put in long days at work, leaving little time or energy for family and friends, thus restricting our leisure. We work to create leisure and lifestyle, but denied it due to the work that is required to acquire and maintain it. It encourages us to think of leisure as a warehouse of commodities, from which we must pick and choose to be seen in our actual, perceived, or aspirational social status, a “pecuniary emulation”. For Veblen (1953), “in order to gain and to hold the esteem of [wo]men it is not sufficient merely to possess wealth or power. The wealth or power must be put in evidence, for esteem is awarded only in evidence” (p. 35). Instead of being participants of unique and personal recreation activities, we are reduced to being consumers and status seekers of leisure experiences designed and mass produced by others, the wealthy (Scott 2017).

A Critique of *Theory of the Leisure Class*

The *Theory of the Leisure Class* continues to be exceptional and seminal work that informs the field of leisure studies in profound ways (consumptive behavior, social media showcasing of experiences, the production of leisure at the sacrifice of societal needs) (Dunlap, 2010; Rojek, 2000). *Theory of the Leisure Class* can also return us to conversations that have not been used within leisure studies (i.e. the servitude of women as an outgrowth of the leisured class and for the purposes of leisure, or how the lords of production built their empires destroying nature while their children upheld the leisure of conservation areas). But it is with Scott’s (1899) statement, “published in 1899, TLC [*Theory of the Leisure Class*] is probably the first major sociological inquiry into the meaning of leisure in everyday life. Scott (1899) represents both our certainty and uncertainty in this proclamation.

As a field, we acknowledge that *Theory of the Leisure Class* is one of the oldest text related to the field, but is it the oldest? Is it the only oldest text (not including Plato and Aristotle’s writings)? Is it the sole and true foundation of modern articulations of leisure? It is this foundation that is in question as our admiration of *Theory of the Leisure Class* is devoid of a proper historical perspective that considers Race and ethnicity as integral features of social life but also the identity of other authors that were not of the dominant society. Presenting *Theory of the Leisure Class* and the other texts in most introductory or foundational courses reinforces the seeds of understanding of the three dominant understandings of leisure (time, activity, state of mind). While only presenting *Theory of the Leisure Class* and the other texts

perpetuates an understanding of certain sets of theoretical “fathers” of the field and denies the field growth and depth in three ways: 1) an early examination of leisure and social life among populations of color or populations of the global majority; 2) an alternative understanding of leisure and social life from perspectives of color or populations of the global majority from ground-breaking research; and, 3) perpetuates a consideration of leisure and social life from a single, homogenous, single, and racially reductive perspective, a Western hegemonic perspective.

Philosophical Foundations: Past Research on Race & Ethnicity

The field of leisure studies has embarked on a number of discussions over the years since 2000 to expand what is thought of in leisure practice, participation, and provision in regards to Race and ethnicity (Floyd, Bocaro and Thomspson 2008). A number of researchers have constructed a body of study for us that categorizes research on Race and ethnicity. This insight has generated a volume of research that has raised awareness and understanding on: 1) future directions of Race and ethnicity-based research (Floyd 2007; Stodolska 2000); 2) the importance of past research on Race and ethnicity (Byrne and Wolch, 2009; Shinew et al. 2006); 3) the impact of the past on current racialized and ethnocentric leisure (Erickson, Johnson and Kivel 2009; McAvoy 2002; Stodolska and Walker 2007); 4) increased participation or visibility of populations of color (Gomez 2002; Johnson, Bowker, and Cordell 2001; Roberts and Rodriguez 2008; Stodolska and Yi 2003); 5) management approaches and implications in regards to diverse populations (Gobster 2002; Martin 2004; Shinew and Stodolska; Winter, Jeong and Godbey 2004); 6) theoretical and conceptual models for research on populations on color (Gomez 2002; Stodolska 2005); 7) racial and ethnic constraints in leisure participation and engagement (Floyd and Johnson 2002; Stodolska and Yi-Krook 2005); 8) racial and ethnic differences in gendered leisure activities (Henderson and Ainsworth 2001; Yuen and Pedlar 2009); 9) racial and ethnic stratification of leisure participation (Hibbler and Shinew 2002; Lee, Scott and Floyd 2001); 10) the impact of Whiteness on leisure conceptualization, engagement, and implementation (Arai and Kivel 2009; Kivel 2005; Long and Hylton 2002; McDonald 2009); and, presenting an international understanding of Race and ethnicity both within home countries and immigrant populations in the Global North into leisure and recreation (Burdsey, Thangaraj and Dudrah 2013; Floyd and Gramann 1993; Ratna 2011; Watson and Ratna 2011; Winter, Jeong, and Godbey 2004).

However, these ten categories of research on Race and ethnicity represent what we currently see in research albeit proportionately smaller than research on other subject matter. To support the dearth of what is considered as the exemplars of contemporary research on Race and ethnicity this manuscript questions the backside of the foundations of leisure and what can be deemed as bedrock of contemporary research on Race and ethnicity. What has been earlier discussions or analysis of Race and ethnicity within a context of leisure in society? There has been a clear absence within our conceptualization of leisure of these experiences prior to Floyd (1995, 1998, 1999), Floyd and Gramann (1993), Washburne (1978), Washburne and Wall (1980a & 1980b), and West (1989). Although these issues are not exclusive of African American, Black British of African Descent, Afro-Caribbean, and Afro-Canadian, the body of literature on Race in leisure studies did begin with discussions in these population and locations. They serve here as a stand-in to other known and less known work on other racialized populations in leisure studies since the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s.

Floyd and Mowatt (2014) presented five important considerations to expand leisure studies discussion of Race and ethnicity in relationship to the United States: 1) identify social forces in Black society leading to leisure research on Black populations; 2) describe the historical development of research literature on Black people, specifically understanding the significance of African Americans as representatives of a larger Black Diaspora and their leisure; 3) describe the current demographic characteristics of Black people in the United States; 4) identify prevailing trends in research on leisure participation among Black populations; and, 5) describe research needs related to leisure trends among Black populations.

Yet previously, Floyd (1998) presented fundamental questions that still resonate today on matters of Race beyond the United States,

1. What is the nature of Race and ethnicity, and why is it relevant to leisure choices and constraints?

2. How should Race and ethnic factors be represented empirically to specify and isolate their linkages to leisure choices and constraints?
3. What class of events (behaviours, choices, constraints, benefits etc.) are closely associated with or subject to Race and ethnic influences? In other words, what is the most relevant dependent variable?
4. What role does leisure interaction play in the creation, maintenance and expression of racial and ethnic identity? How is leisure organized to meet the needs of different racial and ethnic groups? (p. 18)

He extended these with one more question, “more broadly, the question of how the study of Race and ethnicity advances the understanding of leisure might be considered?” (p. 18). While from a broader African and African diaspora perspective, Makopondo (2006) indicated that there must be a presence, an openness and sensitivity, and a commitment to diversity and inclusion efforts are crucial to forming cross-racial opportunities within leisure. But Makopondo also raised the question as to whether or not recreation programming was a primary area of concern for populations of colour who deal with quality of life issue first and foremost.

As Long and Hylton (2002) acknowledged that such an aim in our conception of the field and in conducting research initiates a “political agenda to challenge networks of power and control” (p. 101). This acknowledgment was strengthened with *A Systematic Review of the Literature on Black and Minority Ethnic Communities in Sport and Physical Recreation* in looking at experiences of colour in the U.K. offered a recommendation in research that,

‘Race’, ethnicity, heritage, and nationality should not be blurred into one ethnic portrait of ‘the other’ without consideration of the specific structural, historical, and geographical power relations that play such an integral role in their formation. The creation as well as the interpretation of large scale data sets needs to be informed by an understanding of how ‘Race’ is constructed in our society. (Long, Hylton, Spracklen, Ratna and Bailey 2009, p. 64)

The inclusion or integration of additional texts from voices of color is not simply about their inclusion for diversity. Their inclusion may in fact broaden the way we can conceive and study leisure, including the experiences of those from the global majority.

Historical Foundations: Reconceptualizing the Philosophical Foundations

In critique of this absence, two theorist/texts are presented as an intermediate discussion to enlarge the field’s philosophical foundation: 1) Robert E. Park’s (1952) *Human Communities*; and, 2) Charles S. Johnson’s (1922) *The Negro in Chicago: A Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot*. Both texts are held in high regard in Sociology and offers explanatory discussions that become a link to modern research on racial and ethnic differences, issues, and behaviors in leisure research. In addition, both examined elements of social life of non-Western or non-White communities.

Park’s (1915; 1952) Race Relations Cycle presents a social process that groups undergo in four levels as they become apart of a dominant society: 1) contact; 2) competition; 3) accommodation; and 4) assimilation. The inclusion of Park’s Cycle presents a foundational understanding of culture difference in social interaction along racial and ethnic lines. Park (1952) also conceptualized notions of human ecology. While Johnson’s (1922) study on the 1919 Chicago riot highlights the very real yet often ignored racial and ethnic tensions in society and how these tensions result in policy and social constraints. The reactions by the White populace resulted in Chicago’s Restrictive Covenants that prevented ownership and use of property for the city’s Black population.

Historical Foundations: The Impact of a Re-Conceptualized Field

Alongside the canonical texts and philosophical founders, each generation of students and scholars in leisure studies are also taught and draw upon the three founding movements of the field: 1) Parks Movement (1830-1872); 2) Physical Culture Movement; and, Youth-Serving Movement (1889). Yet there is an absence in acknowledging movements that originated during that same period that the color line and racial barriers hardened as segregation and racial codes were sanctioned. Johnson, Bowker, English and Worthen (1998) questioned and asserted, “to what extent non-visitation among rural Blacks reflects intergenerational angst associated with images of lynching and mob violence needs to be better explored”

as it related to park usage (p. 118). McAvoy (2002) discussed the forced relocation of Native American people while Mowatt (2008) showed how lynchings and racial violence contribute to Racial and ethnic tensions that can be associated with leisure. Other examples were abound in both Victoria Wolcott’s (2012) *Race, Riots, and Roller Coasters: The Struggle Over Segregated Recreation in America* that presented a rich historical critique of how Black people were restricted from or segregated into separate venues for amusement, recreation, or sport; and, Jearold Winston Holland’s (2002) *Black Recreation: A Historical Perspective* that used leisure and recreation as a means lens to discuss and assess the quality of Black people, primarily living within the United States.

The developments of 1) American forms of entertainment on the stage, in film, and over the airwaves; and 2) the extent of segregation in facility access and program provision, have in their origins offensively racist and ethnocentric ideals and beliefs. The first American stage tradition, minstrelsy began in the 1830s and still remains, was founded on the blackface worn by White performers mocking Black Americans (Mahar 1989). This stage tradition in *The Clansman* held onto elements pulled from the novel of the same name (Dixon 1905) that then inspired the foremost groundbreaking silent movie, D. W. Griffith’s *The Birth of a Nation*, which highlighted the rise of the Ku Klux Klan. While Amos ‘n’ Andy mocked Black Americans in voice and blackface when in concert halls from the 1920s to the 1950s (McLeod 2005). Although the U.S. National Park Service has undertaken a great deal of work in documenting all facets of history, very little of this work has become a part of history contained in introductory textbooks (Engle 1996; Holland 2002). Segregation is nearly absent in historical leisure service provision discussions amongst scholars in departments of leisure or recreation as well as the landmark U.S. Bureau of Outdoor Recreation’s Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission (ORRRC) study (Mueller and Gurin 1962), and the aforementioned Washbourne’s (1978) theorizing of marginality and ethnicity.

Philosophical Foundations: The Integration of New Texts into Leisure Studies

In an effort to understand and learn about the quality of life of the nearly 40,000 Black residents of Philadelphia, W.E.B. Du Bois with the support of the University of Pennsylvania conducted an ambitious fifteen-month sociological study. The resulting work, *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study* published in 1899, aimed to examine the spatial distribution and concentration of this population, insights into their daily life (both work and leisure), the conditions of their dwellings, their social and political participation, and their relationship with the White majority. As he stated then, “here are social problems before us demanding careful study, questions awaiting satisfactory answers” about the disparities that were affecting Black residents of Philadelphia (Du Bois 1996a, p. 3). Although absent from the leisure studies literature, the significance of *The Philadelphia Negro* offers several lessons for conducting research on leisure and Race within Chapter 1 “The Scope of This Study”, Chapter 10 “The Health of Negroes”, Chapter 15 “Social Class and Amusements”, and Section 6 “Amusements and Recreation” of the Special Report at the conclusion.

Within the 520 pages of *The Philadelphia Negro*, the term leisure is mentioned 21 times. Recreation as a term is used 19 times, including a standalone chapter mentioned above. Additionally, the terms amusement and entertainment are used 68 and 18 times, respectively (also with their own standalone chapter and section) (see Fig. 1 and Fig 2).

Family No. 5, a mother and child, expends for

Food	\$ 96.00
Fuel	30.00
Clothing	30.00
Amusements	10.00
Sickness	15.00
Other purposes	25.00
Total	\$206.00

Fig. 1 Screenshot of Du Bois (1899) tabling of expenses of Black Philadelphians, including amusement

nerative and respectable work. On the other hand their position as the richest of their race—though their riches are insignificant compared with their white neighbors—makes unusual social demands upon them. A white Philadelphian with \$1500 a year can call himself poor and live simply. A Negro with \$1500 a year ranks with the richest of his race and must usually spend more in proportion than his white neighbor in rent, dress and **entertainment**.

Fig. 2 Screenshot of Du Bois (1899) narrative on the expenses of Black Philadelphians, including entertainment

The Philadelphia Negro, Methodology, and Methods

According to Delgado and Stefancic (2001), a revisionist historical analysis “reexamines America’s historical record, replacing comforting majoritarian interpretations of events with ones that square more accurately with minorities’ experiences” (p. 20). While according to Solórzano and Yosso (2002), among other approaches, critical Race methodology is grounded in challenging, “the traditional research paradigms, texts, and theories used to explain the experiences of students of color” (p. 24). The foundational materials in leisure studies therefore cannot afford to be perceived as race neutral nor ambivalent toward including diverse voices and experiences. Historical materials are reviewed for content and placed in categories relevant to the overall focus of study and need to situate Race or racism into dominant literature. Dubois’ (1899) use of statistics alongside interviews of Black Americans in Philadelphia uniquely blended generalizable assertions with details from residents on how segregation impacted their lives both in work and leisure. Indeed, through both we seek to introduce Du Bois’ and *The Philadelphia Negro* within leisure studies literary history as we believe that Du Bois imparted a gift to social scientists on the need to incorporate history, see behavior as connected to culture, going to where people are (not where they frequent), using an ensemble of inquiry and methods, and facing intellectual marginalization when notions for a new society are challenged.

Over the span of fifteen months, Du Bois went door-to-door, and after describing the nature of the study he interviewed residents about their status and living conditions. He admitted that the scope of the study would not adequately address the social problems of Black people in the US, but it would provide a level of depth that was largely unknown. Of the 40,000 Black residents of Philadelphia, 9,675 Black Philadelphians were interviewed, 4,501 males and 5,174 females, for “an hour was spent in each home” in over 2,500 households (Du Bois 1996a, p. 63). What Du Bois attempted was to give “thick description” of known census data from the period. Instead of stating that a mother of three headed a home, he also presented background on how the family came to Philadelphia and the absence of the other parent. In some cases, responses yielded a counter-narrative of the pervasive image of the irresponsibility of Black men (that still exists) by revealing the troubling number of deaths due to military service or unknown causes. He also documented Black women’s independence in choosing to marry later in life or choosing to be single that was a counter to “the slave system” that regulated early marriages and conditioned the manner that Black people entered intimate familial relationships (Du Bois 1996b, p. 72).

The Philadelphia Negro and the Ensemble of Inquiry or Mixed Methods

The Philadelphia Negro is not only rich with description of historical accounts and interview summations but also detailed neighborhood mapping. City blocks were re-drawn and then filled in with information gained from on-the-ground canvassing and door-to-door interviewing. What he gifted to researchers is an ensemble of inquiry that highlights an openness to employ multiple methods, tools, and sources. This informed perspective, deepened his analysis of the social realities of the Black Philadelphians that were the “subject” of his study. Along with redrawn maps of the various Black populated Wards of the city, data were inter-spliced with commentary that informs the reader of the potential background of data but also the relevance of the commentary (see Fig. 3).



Fig. 3 Screenshot of Du Bois (1899) hand drawn neighborhood mapping in *The Philadelphia Negro*

Du Bois (1996) remarked, “The question how their leisure is employed was answered by only 257 colored domestics, of whom 206 were women and only 51 were men” (p. 464). He would later extend this line of questioning about leisure as, “questions will arise as to the amount of leisure time usually granted to colored domestics and how this leisure is employed” (p. 468). He would find it to be impossible to tabulate (see Fig. 4, Fig. 5, and Fig. 6) all the responses that were returned in answer to his interview questions, Number of hours free each month... The most of them include one afternoon each week and the evening or the afternoon and evening of alternate Sundays. For the greater number of both men and women domestics report this amount of leisure while some are allowed only one afternoon and every third Sunday or one afternoon and every fourth Sunday.... (p. 468)

TABLE XV.
LEISURE TIME OF COLORED DOMESTICS—HOW EMPLOYED.

Usual Recreation.	MALE.		FEMALE.	
	No.	Per Cent.	No.	Per Cent.
Church and church entertainments and at home	4	7.8	69	33.5
Church and visits to friends	11	21.6	22	10.7
Church and home (occasional concert or theatre)	4	7.8	15	7.3
Church and study	10	19.6	29	14.1
Theatre, concerts, balls, bicycling, etc. Home resting (women “home resting and sewing”)	5	9.8	10	4.8
	17	33.4	61	29.6
	51		206	

Fig. 4 Du Bois' (1899) table of leisure time of Domestic workers in Philadelphia

COLORED PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCHES IN PHILADELPHIA*, 1897.

Church.	Members.	Rectors and Assistants Church Societies.	Offerings of Church		Total Income.	Expenditures.										
			Per Parish.	Purposes Outside of Parish.		Salary of Rector.	Current Expense.	Poor.	Extra Special Expenses.	Diocesan.	General Missions, etc.	Total Expense.	Value Real and Personal Estate.	Incumbrances.	Endowment.	
Independent. Crucifixion and One Mission.	310	2	0	\$437.88	\$770.40	\$3095.03	\$1200	\$2477.08	\$73	\$5632.08	\$15.00	\$101.37	\$2760.35	\$45,000		\$11,000
St. Thomas'.	391	1	9	1457.90	10.00	2317.53		2008.00	70	2475.51			2582.08	60,000	\$388.73	
St. Michael and All Angels	90	1	9	227.08	6.67	1270.79	760	1381.89		1411.80	6.50		1400.56	25,000	1200.00	

* Besides these, there are the following Churches, from which statistics were not obtained: St. Mark's, Zion Sunday school, St. Faith's Mission, and St. Simon's Chapel. The first is supported mainly by a white parish, and has a new building; the second and third are small Missions; the fourth is a promising outgrowth of the Church of the Crucifixion.

Fig. 5 Du Bois' (1899) table of Church giving by Black Philadelphians, one of two locations for leisure

COLORED ODD FELLOWS' LODGES IN PHILADELPHIA, 1896.

Name.	Organized.	Members.	Sick Benefit to Membrs.	Death Benefit.	Widows Relieved.	Orphan Buried.	Amount paid for Sick.	Amount paid for Burials.	Amount paid Widows.	Amount paid in Charity.	Whole Amount Paid out.	Amount Invested.	Value of Property.	Balance Fund.	Total Property, Funds, &c.
Unity	1844	221	3	2			\$291.85	\$5.00	\$6.50	\$67.07	\$78.54	\$660.00	\$42.97	\$524.61	\$524.61
Good Samaritan	1844	80	3	1			164.00	85.00	111.85	307.36	712.50	111.85	18.66	845.50	845.50
Paternal	1844	88	7				81.00		28.36	249.49	457.50	350.00	830.84	1,322.24	1,322.24
Phoenix	1846	98	3				28.50		5.00	419.25	1480.20	200.00	364.11	1,660.30	1,660.30
Covenant	1847	77	5				214.00		7.50	347.50	450.00	550.00	86.00	1,035.50	1,035.50
Friendship	1847	44	1				43.50			68.31		200.00	5.00	265.00	265.00
Cartagecian	1848	113	15	1			272.00	70.00	16.00	795.10	2162.50	581.65	2381.25	5,227.40	5,227.40
Mt. Olive	1848	70	7				109.00		12.00	391.31	62.50	800.00	577.29	1,633.49	1,633.49
Good Hope	1848	49	4				25.00			144.44	248.00	1,200.00	66.72	1,809.84	1,809.84
Mt. Lebanon	1857	36	3	1	1	1	22.86	749.50	30.00	843.38	30.00	50.00	20.00	159.00	159.00
Equity	1857	71	6	1	1	1	136.83	175.00	25.00	413.99	200.00	203,000.00	100.00	203,200.00	203,200.00
St. Albans	1875	31	1				6.30	30.00		78.45		2,500.00		25.00	25.00
Keystone	1875	13	2					30.00						4.00	4.00
Gideon	1875	17	2				25.00	40.00	4.00	10.00	144.00		60.00	10.00	60.00
Beth Eden	1876	31	5	1			54.00	15.00	8.00	330.95			75.00	90.00	90.00
Philadelphia	1886	36	1				33.00	40.00	10.00	183.66			350.00	3.44	350.44
Pennsylvania	1882														
John Rhodes	1891	15													
Quaker City	1892	96	10				220.18	30.00	5.00	10.00	417.00		23.00	67.00	600.00
Total		1167	75	7	8	3	\$1777.98	\$938.50	\$96.50	\$100.86	\$3384.04	\$6722.54	\$27,615.50	\$4167.18	\$45,827.11

Fig. 6 Du Bois' (1899) table of Lodge membership, one of two the primary locations for Black Philadelphian could engage in leisure freely.

Du Bois (1996a) noted that,

If these figures may be taken as typical nearly 57 per cent of the Negro men and nearly 66 per cent of the Negro women in domestic service look to the churches and the church entertainments for all their recreations except those engaged within the precincts of their own homes, such as home studies, music and social visits. (p. 470)

Du Bois' early use of multiple methods (interview, archival, survey, and participant observation) may make The Philadelphia Negro the first mixed methods designed study that offered rich description as an equally first or early urban ecology, urban ethnography, and cultural geography styled study.

The Philadelphia Negro and An Early [Earliest] Example of Limitations in Research

Despite the impressive number of interview respondents, even by current standards, Du Bois was denied access to many homes and others required three trips to gain entry. His Race did not matter. In reflections on his life and his experience in Philadelphia Du Bois stated that, the experience “taught him that merely being born in a [social] group, does not necessarily make one possessed of complete knowledge concerning it” (Du Bois 1968, p. 198). The amount of information that is evident in *The Philadelphia Negro* is due largely to the amount of time embedded in the Seventh Ward of Philadelphia, as Wilson et al. (1996a) stated, “Du Bois did what more of us should do: planted himself in a Black community and proceeded to study it as thoroughly as possible” (p. 79).

The Philadelphia Negro, Difficulties in Dissemination, and Research Gatekeeping

In the introduction of the first edition of the published study (1899), “that with a strictly research appointment, Du Bois did no teaching...his presence merited one brief mention in the University of Philadelphia’s Catalogue...[thus] the most significant research in the history of the department still remained invisible (Katz & Sugrue 1998, p. 17-18). The treatment that the department gave him as a temporary appointment was paralleled by the treatment from scholars in both the fields of Sociology and History as the study was disregarded with the only book review coming from *the American Historical Review* (1900), which was curiously and negatively reviewed by an anonymous reviewer. This example showed that even politically liberal leaning institutions practiced a form of racial marginalization when it came to research on Black life and culture that could impact policy and perception. However, in no way is the discussion in this manuscript serving to exalt Du Bois, personally, but to simply locate and place *The Philadelphia Negro* as a foundational text within leisure studies. Du Bois was equally noted to have silenced the work of many scholars, Black women in particular such as Anna Julia Cooper, while exalting the equality of women in society and Women headed households within *The Philadelphia Negro* (Aldridge 2007, Moody-Turner 2015) while also championing the activism of others such as Sojourner Truth (Law, 2010).

Regardless of the social responsibility programs in the abolitionist history of Philadelphia, as Du Bois (1996b) stated, “there was little or no intellectual commerce” between Black and White communities throughout America, and this reality was as real for the communities in his study as much as it was for himself (p. 93). This reality of no interracial “community of intellectual life” contributed to the

communities in such way as that it deprived them of any source of collaboration, viability for innovation, or recognition of value.

The Philadelphia Negro and the Incorporation of a Historical Context

To provide appropriate context of the population in his study, Du Bois begins his discussion in 1638. Unlike many other cities, Philadelphia presented Black communities with opportunities to build their own dwellings, buildings, places for recreation, and gatherings. Alongside an influx of immigrant populations coming from Ireland, Germany, Sweden, and other European countries, the study's guiding question took on a heightened salience as even in 1896 the White majority would ask, "Why has the Negro not found his place?" (Du Bois 1996a, p. 44). Du Bois (1996a) located the church as the chief axis of social life,

it is the centre of social, intellectual and religious life of an organized group of individuals. It provides social intercourse, it provides amusements of various kinds, it serves as a newspaper and intelligence bureau, it supplants the theatre, it directs the picnic and excursion, it furnishes the music, it introduces the stranger to the community, it serves as a lyceum, library and lecture bureau" (p. 470).

Du Bois (1996a) even extends a critique on to the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) in not being truly accessible to Black Philadelphians,

The [YMCA] has had a checkered history, chiefly as it would seem from the wrong policy pursued ; there is in the city a grave and dangerous lack of proper places of amusement and recreation for young men. To fill this need a properly conducted Young Men's Christian Association, with books and newspapers, baths, bowling alleys and billiard tables, conversation rooms and short, interesting religious services is demanded; it would cost far less than it now costs the courts to punish the petty misdemeanors of young men who do not know how to amuse themselves. (p. 232)

Social problems in the communities we currently research and the populations that participate in our studies have a history, a long history, and a failure to acknowledge this history could minimize the magnitude of the problem or the depth of the issue.

The Philadelphia Negro and a Behavioral Connection to Culture

As leisure researchers, we may have committed a grave transgression in either separating leisure as a cultural production full of meaning that is laden with cultural capital or never integrating culture to our discussions of the social behavior of people. The late Stuart Hall (1990) noted that, "the analysis of culture is then, 'the attempt to discover the nature of the organization which is the complex of these relationships' [sum of the inter-relationships of all social practices of a culture]" (p. 60). Du Bois (1996a) captured in vivid detail the lived experiences of the residents that granted him entry into their homes. This was not just a matter of the financial necessities that mitigated leisure even in 1896 but also because the willful segregation of the Black Philadelphians still permeated parks, theaters, and railcars despite the law instituting such practices had been rescinded in 1877. As Zuberi (2004) on Du Bois' work remarked,

Culture is not separate from everyday life or economic activity...culture comprises the imaginary world of what is seen as possible and the way in which we organize our social space and social relationships that dominate everyday lives. (p. 150)

Conclusion

The Philadelphia Negro is published the same year as Thorstein Veblen's *Theory of the Leisure Class*. The study comes 50 years before the ORRRC report (1962), 79 years before Washburne's (1978) "Black Underparticipation in Wildland Recreation: Alternative Explanations" in *Leisure Sciences*, 99 years before Floyd's (1998) "Getting *Beyond* Marginality and Ethnicity: The Challenge for Race and Ethnic Studies in Leisure Research" in *Journal of Leisure Research*, and 103 years before Jonathan Long and Kevin Hylton's (2002) "Shades of White: An Examination of Whiteness in Sport" in *Leisure Studies*. Du Bois, in sociology's first community and population scale study (prior to the creation of the Robert Park's Chicago School, 1913), skillfully employed interviews alongside archival data to make strong recommendations to the city and declarations about Race relations. Du Bois (1899) stated,

...Discrimination is morally wrong, politically dangerous, industrially wasteful, and socially

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silly...the same incentive to good, honest, effective work [should] be placed before a Black office boy as before a white one...unless this is done the city has no right to complain that Black boys lose interest in work and drift into idleness and crime. (p. 394-395)

This is the sobering legacy of such a study initiated in 1896, that the refusal to deal with the problems of Race will only lead to the continued social problems of one population but ultimately on the fabric of an overall new society. Regardless of which terminology we choose to use such as entrenched White racism, systemic racism, or institutionalized racism, this seminal work that should be asserted in the literary history of leisure studies begs us as leisure researchers to come to a realization of our role, that, “we must study, we must investigate, we must attempt to solve...” the dilemmas of an old society transitioning to a new society (Du Bois 1996b, p. 3). What we are granted in leisure studies through the addition of *The Philadelphia Negro* as a foundational text is quite possibly the first empirical study, the first large sample study, and the first mixed methods designed study. As Veblen (1953) in 1899 also theorized and redefined leisure in the modern age, Du Bois also in 1899 presented a way to study leisure in context to historical, cultural, and systematic factors in society. Joined with Jane Addams’ (1909) *The Spirit of Youth in the Street* as the first example of articulated programming philosophy in published form, we are gifted with theory (Veblen), research (Du Bois), and practice (Addams) in the modern age.

From this discussion, opportunities for expanding and countering the master narratives of the philosophical and canonical foundations of leisure studies were proposed. Specifically, (1) canonical texts from sociology of Race should be considered for inclusion because they provide insight to the quality of life of populations of color that are not reflected in leisure’s canonical texts; (2) provide more accurate and complete characteristics of social history and context in which the classic movements originated and were initiated in to social life; and, (3) offer a considerable argument for the re-evaluation and restructuring of our historical explanation of the field to future generations of professionals. This manuscript counters the established foundations by providing new threads or examples of discussions or considerations. The additions of text like *The Philadelphia Negro*, and by extension Addams (1909) (whose *The Spirit of Youth*, is worthy of its own analysis), could offer the field a level of depth in understanding, a broader context to consider in preparing students to work in the field, and lastly, provides researchers an alternative perspective in thinking about leisure and social life. Race is firmly intertwined with the existence of leisure as a phenomenon and as a social construction (Hylton and Long 2016; Mowatt 2017). At its very heart the proposal seeks to counter what Phillip (2000) noted in his analysis of the field that, “Race...is no longer important to the analysis of leisure” (p. 122).

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